

Intervening with agriculture: a participatory action
case study of guerrilla gardening in Kingston, Ontario

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Abstract:

The purpose of this study was to analyze guerrilla gardening's relationship to urban space and social life using a critical Marxist approach. To achieve this two case studies of urban agriculture, one of guerrilla gardening and one of community gardening were developed. Through this comparison, guerrilla gardening was framed as a method of spatial intervention, drawing in notions of spatial justice and the right to the city as initially theorized by Henri Lefebvre. The case study of guerrilla gardening focuses on Dig Kingston, a project started by the researcher in June of 2010 and the community gardening case study will use the Oak Street Garden, the longest standing community garden in Kingston. The community gardening case study used content analysis and semi-structured long format interviews with relevant actors. The guerrilla gardening case study consisted primarily of action-based research as well as content analysis, and semi-structured long format interviews. By contributing to the small, but growing, number of accounts and research on guerrilla gardening this study analyzes the unique contributions of guerrilla gardening to understandings of urban agriculture by linking together material practices, social spaces and envisioned or possible geographies.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Urban agriculture is hardly a new addition to city landscapes (Cosgrove 1998). Historically, a variety of different agricultural practices ranging from livestock raising to food processing and distribution have all occurred within city boundaries (Cosgrove 1998). However, there has been increased interest from both popular and academic sources focusing on community gardening and urban farming as methods of urban agriculture (City Farmer 2010, Higgins 2008, Flores 2006, American Community Gardening Association 2005, Cosgrove 1998). One manifestation of urban agriculture that has seen increased media attention and participation in the last decade is guerrilla gardening. From popular newsprint, glossy magazines, online discussion forums and even videogames, guerrilla gardening clearly has captured the attention of a group of writers, activists and potential gardeners (Tracey 2007, Kamel 2008, Muir 2008, Reynolds 2009, Toronto Public Space Committee 2010).

Guerrilla gardening has received popular media attention and increased practice but there is a lack of in depth analysis or academic work. While often mentioned in broader studies of art intervention or even as a curiosity in reviews of urban agriculture, few authors have focused exclusively on guerrilla gardening (Pinder 2005, McClish 2007, Perucci 2009, McClish 2010). Despite this, guerrilla gardening is mentioned alongside community gardening (McClintock and Cooper 2009, Thom 2009, Hou 2010). Both are methods of urban agriculture in the sense that they occur in urban spaces, however guerrilla gardening is a relatively new practice making its association with community gardening contentious (Johnson 2006, Hou *et al* 2010, Ryan 2010, Reynolds 2010, Zanetti 2010). This lack of focus on guerrilla gardening has resulted in its awkward placement somewhere amidst work on urban agriculture and spatial intervention with neither approach giving it explicit treatment.

However guerrilla gardening, by virtue of its name and practice has connotations of transgression and intervention (Ryan 2010, Zanetti 2010). Furthermore, related work in the field of urban agriculture suggests that guerrilla gardening uses space in a much different way than community gardening, relating more to street art through a level of performativity that frequently has political connotations due to its existence in city space. (Johnson 2006, McClish 2007, Zanetti 2010). However, it should be noted here that there

are varying shades of guerrilla gardening, thus bringing in contextually important meanings and uses depending on when and where the gardening is undertaken (Reynolds 2010, Ryan 2010, Zanetti 2010). Regardless, community gardening's relatively well established nature makes it a useful starting point and base of analysis. By investigating how these two practices of urban agriculture differ, a better understanding of what guerrilla gardening entails, and ultimately achieves, can be obtained.

In light of this, it is the goal of this study to compare two case studies, one of a community gardening, and the other of guerrilla gardening as they are practiced in Kingston Ontario. In so far as both occur in urban settings, the different spaces the two practices produce will be given attention employing Lefebvre's notion of the production of space, which links together material practices, discursive meanings and envisioned possibilities. In this way, Lefebvre's conceptualization of space entails multiple spatiotemporal scales and, as will be highlighted through this research, has real implications for urban life as a site of power and contestation. The connections of the different processes entailed in Lefebvre's spatial triad occur across scales and have powerful implications for how social relations are produced and reproduced. Through Lefebvre and more contemporary analyses of his work, geographers have begun to tease apart the power dynamics and processes that go into the production of space (Thom 2009, Hou 2010, Reynolds 2010). Furthermore, through applied work the way manipulating and producing new, non-capitalist spaces links to the articulation of the right to the city in an effort to make urban landscapes more just.

This study will look at the space guerrilla gardening creates and how it contributes to real and imagined spaces that actively critique and question urban landscapes. The conceptual framework guiding this research pulls from three sources of information: a thorough literature review of critical geographic understandings of space (with reference to Lefebvre's urban social space and the right to the city along with more recently developed links to spatial justice), public media discourses surrounding community and guerrilla gardening, as well as my own understanding of guerrilla gardening as a participant researcher.

This study is largely informed by my own involvement in street art collectives and online communities of guerrilla gardeners and space activists. Combined with my personal

interest and involvement as a guerrilla gardener the research methods for this work broadly fall under participatory action methodologies. My standpoint as both a researcher and participant will be further elaborated on throughout the course of this paper; however, this dual role taken up by participatory action research is found in previous academic work on guerrilla gardening (Ryan 2010, Zanetti 2010).

My participatory action based research methodology included content analysis of selected documents, semi-structured interviews and researcher logs. As such, my overall goal was to detail how guerrilla gardening can engage urban actors with their environment and what that engagement meant for creating a more just and equitable urban landscape. Through this work, the major themes that emerged revolved around the different spaces and social relations created by guerrilla gardening and community gardening. Specifically, the insecure nature of guerrilla gardening as well as its links to broader critical actions and its transgressive nature generated a different dialogue and social network as compared to community gardening case study.

My research shows that the Dig Kingston guerrilla gardening project instigated broader questions on how space is divided and used. While the community gardening case study at Oak Street Community Garden produced a more stable and long term space and practices, and understandings of community gardening encouraged a strong attachment to the garden site. Due to attachments to this particular space and the continual reproduction of the community gardeners and the garden itself, the networks and possibilities touched on by the gardeners focused on more normative understandings of community gardening and urban agriculture rather than wider spatial and societal change.

These findings will be further elaborated on in the results section and cross threaded with understandings of the way space formulates social relations and urban life, both as a source of power and order but also as a potential conduit for engagement and change in the discussion section. Finally, I will consider my work within the broader context of guerrilla gardening and spatial transformation, addressing some of the implications and applications of my work in order to contribute to the growing body of reflexive work on urban agriculture and spatial intervention.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Urban Agriculture

As previously noted, this study aims to look at two examples of urban agriculture practices in the Global North, specifically in the context of Kingston Ontario. While there is noteworthy work, both in an academic and practical sense, coming from cities in the Global South for this study meanings and examples will be drawn from the literature on the Global North (Jacobi *et al* 2008). This is an important point to make, as suggested by Reynolds (2010) who observes that previous work on urban agriculture tends to draw in international development discourses by using examples from across the world without clear conceptual connection or explanation (Reynolds 2010). Indeed many scholars and non-governmental organizations have lauded urban agriculture as a pathway for community food security and enterprise (Cosgrove 1998, Twiss *et al* 2003, American Community Gardening Association 2005, City Farmer 2010,) Meanwhile, literature regarding the North has noted these meanings but tends to highlight urban agriculture as more recreational activity while emphasizing community building and increased green space (Cosgrove 1998, American Community Gardening Association 2005, Reynolds 2010,).

While attempts at developing firm definitions of urban agriculture have been suggested in the past, it remains highly contextual (McClintock and Cooper 2009, Reynolds 2010). A number of different studies looking at specific regional urban agriculture systems all point to the fact that urban agriculture includes a diverse group of non-profit, for profit organizations and institutions that together formulate a specific urban agriculture landscape (Cosgrove 1998, Heynen 2009, McClintock 2010, Reynolds 2010). Furthermore, as noted by McClintock and Cooper in their 2009 study on Oakland's urban agriculture system the area's history and pathway to urbanization are important concepts to keep in mind (McClintock and Cooper 2009). For example, when looking at Oakland, Reynolds (2010) noted that the urban agriculture system there had cross-pollinated significantly with local environmental justice and anti-racism groups. The ability of urban agriculturalists and community leaders to link Oakland's landscape of racial difference and uneven resource distribution to food access and livelihood development is a frequent topic

of academic study (Heynen 2009, McClintock and Cooper 2009, Reynolds 2010). Work from Heynen (2009) found similar links, noting the development of Black Panther breakfast programming in Oakland as a linkage to the current urban agriculture landscape that includes components of this group's work dating back to the 1970s.

For the purposes of this paper it is important to keep this holistic understanding of urban agriculture in mind, as it incorporates urban agriculture's connections to wider political and social movements as developed by recent academic work in the field: "Urban agriculture can be envisaged as part of a movement that seeks to instigate social and environmental change within the agrifood system." (Reynolds 2010, p49). However, it is important to note that urban agriculture has boundaries; while Reynolds (2010) and similar authors see urban agriculture as transformative it is mostly within the context of food system change by connecting components of production and consumption. Through more recent work scholars are beginning to understand urban agriculture not just as practice, but the way it links urban actors to each other and their built environment (Eizenberg 2008, Heynen 2009, McClintock 2010, Reynolds 2010). Furthermore, even a surface look at public media outlets ranging from mainstream news sources to more politically affiliated ones, indicates that the language used in discussing urban agriculture in the Global North harkens notions of wider social change (Flores 2006, Higgins 2009, City Farmer 2010).

Alongside this more nuanced conceptualization, many authors are adopting more critical views on urban agriculture (Allen 2008, Heynen 2009, McClintock 2010, Reynolds 2010). The main points of contention resulting from urban agriculture's newfound popularity are both functional and philosophical. More functional critiques question the productivity of urban agriculture and the quality of the produce with specific reference to heavy metal contamination (Twiss *et al.* 2003, American Community Gardening Association 2005, McClintock and Cooper 2009). On the other hand, philosophical debates caution against applying urban agriculture as a fix-all solution to the social and ecological issues stemming from uneven urban landscapes (Allen 2008, Reynolds 2010). While urban agriculture is undoubtedly a positive avenue for addressing a variety of issues, the context projects are undertaken in needs to remain at the forefront. Indeed, organizers and academics alike need to avoid imposing urban agriculture onto communities without

considering the social, political, environmental and agricultural landscape in which they occur (Allen 2008, Eizenberg 2008).

This top-down application of urban agriculture becomes more problematic when race is added to the equation as is frequently the case with many white organizers occupying higher positions who frequently, although not always, are from outside of the community (Allen 2008, Heynen 2009). While not always the case, this leaves localized community members of racialized backgrounds on lower levels of engagement and power (Reynolds 2010). Additionally, the enterprising nature and goal of getting community members involved in their own urban agriculture projects for profit may reflect neoliberal ideologies (Allen 2008). As noted by Allen in her 2008 work on urban agriculture, shifting responsibility down to the individual avoids engaging with the wider systems that generate issues of inequality (Allen 2008). By putting the responsibility on individuals to farm their way out of poverty, the neoliberal ideology of working one's way out of cyclical poverty and "pulling up on the boot-straps" is repeated and legitimized without addressing large scale structural issues and causes (Allen 2008).

These critiques are important to consider, and a sign that urban agriculture is growing into a self-reflexive movement. As noted by Reynolds and McClintock (2009) this movement away from accepting urban agriculture as an automatic positive forces organizers and advocates to understand the unique context that a given project is occurring in and allow for more bottom up organization and control (McClintock and Cooper 2009, McClintock 2010, Reynolds 2010). Through this reflection and reassessment of goals and objectives, it is far more likely that voices that are not traditionally in power will be heard and in a position to lead and shape potential urban agriculture projects.

With these critiques in mind, urban agriculture projects such as community gardening and guerrilla gardening are still important to undertake and, as I shall argue, provide essential ways of engaging with the city and advocating for food and spatially based justice. The notion of spatial justice is still emerging but involves applying the collective right to the city through direct action. Conceived as such, spatial justice can be contextually defined but it rests on incorporating different uses and voices in powerful, assertive and potentially radical new ways. This concept of spatial justice will be

formulated for this study in the following sections using texts from Soja, Lefebvre and Harvey (Lefebvre 1991, Lefebvre 1996, Harvey 2000, Harvey 2008, Soja 2010).

By food justice I am drawing from McClintock's conception of nutritional and environmental education coupled with community development thus promoting awareness and connection to large scale issues such as uneven resource distribution (McClintock and Cooper 2009, McClintock 2010). McClintock sees the development of urban agriculture practices as a potentially powerful pathway towards connecting issues and movements associated with ecological and social justice (McClintock 2010).

Taking these considerations in mind, the creation of a diverse urban agriculture landscape is one of many steps that can be taken to developing a more just food landscape. However, certain practices like guerrilla gardening provide an important pathway towards empowering urban dwellers while also questioning broader taken for granted aspects of urban space and their associated relations. As noted here, current academic work on urban agriculture takes on a regional or project based approach as the practices, meanings and results differ between place. With this in mind, two specific practices were chosen for this study, community gardening and guerrilla gardening, which are both becoming more common place in urban landscapes.

Community Gardening

Historically, a major focus within publications on urban agriculture has been on community gardening (Schmelzkopf 1995, Cosgrove 1998, Jacobi *et al* 2000, American Community Gardening Association 2005). Community gardens entered into the consciousness of the Global North alongside World War II through government sponsored "victory gardens" (Cosgrove 1998). Widely advertised and popularized, victory gardens marked a shift away from gardening as only a recreational activity or for hard times (Cosgrove 1998). Not only were the gardens seen as a method to promote food sovereignty and help the war effort but they were also important social activity (Schmelzkopf 1995, American Community Gardening Association 2005,).



Image 1: Victory Garden poster from the 1940s, published and circulated in the United States, although similar campaigns occurred in Canada. (From: http://www.livinghistoryfarm.org/farminginthe40s/crops_02.html)

An ebb and flow of interest in community gardens continued thereafter, however increased interest in community food systems and food access in the 1970s sparked increased academic attention from North American academic authors (Cosgrove 1998). In part driven by community gardens formed and maintained by immigrant populations in the rapidly changing North American urban landscape of late 1970s and 1980s, researchers took roughly another ten years to publish work teasing apart the dynamics of particular gardens (Smith and Kurtz 2003). Notable contributors include Smith and Kurtz (2003) who provided in depth looks into New York City's community garden landscapes with attention to their historical development as well as their current status in the city.

This interest has grown especially strong in the last decade from academic literature as well as public media and planning disciplines (Twiss *et al* 2003, American Community Gardening Association 2005, Higgins 2008, Thom 2009). Now, understandings of community gardens include a breadth of different perspectives including quantitative cataloguing of benefits to a focus on garden politics and the experiences of individual gardeners (Staeheli *et al* 2002, Smith and Kurtz 2003, Twiss *et al* 2003, American

Community Gardening Association 2005, Milburn and Vail 2010). As is usually the case, this increased interest from mainstream and academic spheres has seen a paralleled reflection in public policy (City Farmer 2010). From the First Lady gardening on the White House lawn to the city of Kingston adopting an official policy, it is clear that community gardening has entered the public consciousness on a variety of different levels (American Community Gardening Association 2005, Higgins 2008, City Farmer 2010). It should be noted that more recent researchers have shifted more to looking at the entirety of a specific city's urban agriculture system versus specific community gardens, such as the work coming out of UC Davis and Santa Cruz in conjunction with their affiliated extension programs (Twiss *et al* 2003, McClintock and Cooper 2009, McClintock 2010, Reynolds 2010).

There has been a growing body of both mainstream and academic work that has sought to help gardeners, activists and policymakers develop gardens based on a specific community's needs (Jacobi *et al* 2000, Twiss *et al* 2003, American Community Gardening Association 2005, Flores 2009, McClintock and Cooper 2009). Whether linking garden activities to issues of accessibility, developing methods of presenting a garden plan to a city or the most effective way to use an individual plot, community gardening has clearly become a topic of interest (American Community Gardening Association 2005, Flores 2006, Higgins 2008, City Farmer 2010). While dialogue regarding the benefits and potential drawbacks of community gardens are important, they are inevitably focused on presenting a certain type of garden to policy makers and community groups.

For example, in the American Community Gardening Conference documents and tools are presented to both scholars and community organizers that allow them to advance the notion of community gardening on a variety of scales (American Community Gardening Association 2005). However, it presents a top down approach and the issue of the motivation or desire on the part of the local community to obtain a garden is overlooked, a theme noted by Reynolds (Reynolds 2010). Furthermore, all of the pictures and diagrams presented alongside garden plans follow a now normalized method of a large garden made up of individual plots (Twiss *et al* 2003, American Community Gardening Association 2005, Flores 2006).

Additionally, many scholarly sources are drawing from international development discourses focusing on issues of food security, health, environmental management,

economic development and social inclusion (Jacobi *et al* 2000, American Community Gardening Association 2005, McClintock 2010). Undoubtedly, these issues are important ones to raise when considering community gardens, especially when lobbying for a new garden or the expansion of an existing one as these issues have proven effective in persuading municipal governments (Twiss *et al* 2003, American Community Gardening Association 2005, City Farmer 2010). However, framing community gardening and urban agriculture through this lens often results in a lack of sensitivity to community gardening's ability to connect with wider social movements and masks its less visible, non-economic, outcomes (Heynen 2009, McClintock 2010, Reynolds 2010). As such, it tends to wash over the diversity in already existing community gardens and forgets to critically engage with the position a specific garden may have within its neighbourhood, city or even the region (McClintock and Cooper 2009).

Finally, when looking at both popular and alternative media outlets, there is a split in how community gardening is framed. More popular media sources focus on individual gardens and the gardeners themselves with attention to more tangible outcomes of their work (Higgins 2008). For example, a series of 2008 articles from the Washington Post focused on the output of the gardens as well as linking their work back to the historical legacy of victory gardens (Higgins 2008). There is little note of how the garden came into existence or its relationship to the surrounding community and the wider city. This contrasts to work from the academic sphere, which has paid attention to how gardeners have obtained space in particular historical moments and the underlying politics of running and developing a community garden (Schmelzkopf 1995, Staeheli *et al* 2002, Smith and Kurtz 2003).

Further contrast comes when looking to more alternative media sources (Flores 2006, City Farmer 2010). These sources are labelled as alternative since they come from smaller publishing houses, tend to have smaller readerships and include voices that otherwise may not be included in mainstream discourses on community gardening. From a survey of these sources there are more connections made with the wider environmental movement and the need for autonomy (Flores 2006). Specifically, the notion of food security is invoked with reference to the current food system being "unsafe", "unsustainable" and the need to garden to survive (Flores 2006).

From these sources, community gardening becomes linked with more utopian ends; through community gardening methods and techniques new structural systems can be imagined and acted out simultaneously (Flores 2006, City Farmer 2010). Despite differences on an underlying ideological basis, both mainstream and alternative media sources focus on the technical aspects and actual practice of gardening (Flores 2006, Higgins 2008, City Farmer 2010). This is likely due to the presumption by the authors that the audience is made up of potential gardeners who have access to the resources and motivation to garden for themselves.

As detailed in this section, the growing interest in community gardening has led to a coherent body literature that points to a group of agreed upon benefits and emerging themes. However, there is a gap within the literature that looks at the spaces community gardens produce opting instead to frame community garden only in the context of urban agriculture. By this, I am referring to the lack of literature analyzing how community gardens claim and create space in the urban landscape and what the implications of this social space have on opening up critiques and new spatial possibilities. Work by Eizenberg (2008) has begun to open up this avenue but framing community gardens with in the context of Harvey's 2000 book, outlining his concept of 'Spaces of Hope' with specific reference to how identity is asserted and urban residents become empowered through gardening. However, connections have yet to be made on the potential for these spaces to contest, reorder and remake urban space.

Guerrilla Gardening

For the purposes of this study, guerrilla gardening will refer to gardening or planting in an unadministered way in an urban space. By unadministered I mean that guerrilla gardening is not performed by a specific state or official organization. Instead, it is an individual or a group of individuals who frequently operate spontaneously, anonymously and voluntarily. While there may or may not be unlawful activity the lack of explicit permission and unexpected nature allow for guerrilla gardening to be a form of spatial intervention (McClish 2007). This connotation of spatial intervention adds an element of subversion or transgression that is not found in other forms of urban agriculture, most notably community gardening. In this way guerrilla gardening relies upon

more legitimized forms of urban agriculture to derive relational meanings and practices. Through guerrilla gardening, which frequently occurs in forgotten urban space, questions about who decides how urban space is used and for what means are called into mind (Johnson 2006, McClish 2007, Ryan 2010, Zanetti 2010). This definition of guerrilla gardening is by no means exhaustive and draws in meanings developed from media sources (both mainstream and alternative), academic work and my own understanding as a guerrilla gardener and researcher (Tracey 2007, Reynolds 2009, Ryan 2010, Toronto Public Space Committee 2010, Zanetti 2010).

In searching for academic sources explicitly on guerrilla gardening, the majority of the information is drawn from unpublished dissertations and reports (Johnson 2006, Ryan 2010, Zanetti 2010). From these authors, themes regarding subversion whether on an individual or wider political scale, and the urban nature of guerrilla gardening are common characteristics (Ryan 2010, Zanetti 2010). The concepts that sit well within the individual reports and amongst the growing body of literature include notions of intervention, spontaneity, non-state or voluntary actors and their physical location in the urban environment (McClish 2007, Ryan 2010, Zanetti 2010). It is interesting to note that throughout all of the reports, the actual gardening is de-emphasized as compared to community gardening sources (Ryan 2010, Zanetti 2010). Instead the focus is more on the context the gardening occurs in along with the underlying subversive connotations, whether for gardeners as a performance or passersby who connect with the gardens (Johnson 2006, Reynolds 2009, McClish 2007).

Through all of these sources, one common trait is the position the authors are required to take in their work as both researchers and participants (Ryan 2010, Zanetti 2010). In this way, the act of gardening may have a certain meaning for the authors but the concepts and discourses drawn from interviews with their peers provide slight variations on their own themes. As Zanetti found in his 2010 dissertation on London guerrilla gardeners, the main organizer, author of a popular book and his personal opinion of guerrilla gardening, provided different perspectives with slightly variable meanings and definitions. As such, Zanetti (2010) provides an important warning to potential guerrilla gardening academics; there is no one meaning or interpretation of a particular guerrilla

gardening group or project. Instead, it is highly contextual with some overriding themes based on the goals and emerging conceptual understanding of guerrilla gardening.

The academic world is still just beginning to give guerrilla gardening analytical attention and it is typically mentioned in passing as a novel example in studies on art intervention or urban agriculture (McClish 2007, Thom 2009, Reynolds 2010, Ryan 2010, Zanetti 2010). However, there are a number of different non-academic sources that provide situated accounts as well as technical and background information (Tracey 2007, Reynolds 2009, Toronto Public Space Committee 2010). While mainstream media outlets have only begun to pick up on guerrilla gardening in the last five years, alternative print sources as well as online blogs and discussion posts have been key to the development of the meanings and associations attached to guerrilla gardening (Tracey 2007, Muir 2008, Kamel 2008, Reynolds 2009, Toronto Public Space Committee 2010).

However one difference is that the more alternative media employ a tone of recruitment, encouraging the reader to intervene in urban space themselves: “Count on all of this to not only sharpen the significance of your everyday routines but—stay with me here—to put you on the right side of history in the most important battle of our time: the struggle to determine how we’ll all live together in the cities of the future.” (p.2, Tracey 2007). This notion of guerrilla gardening as a critique of city space is absent from mainstream sources (Kamel 2008, Muir 2008). Furthermore, the connection made between everyday action to city space and urban life is an important one that will be returned to in coming sections. Also, it is worth noting that Tracey (2007) as a gardener-author makes explicit links between guerrilla gardening and wider urban change through future, imagined and better cities (Tracey 2007). While explicit connections may be missing, both mainstream and alternative media sources include discussions of space specifically in regard to how it is used and who is allowed to frame and give it meaning (Johnson 2006, Kamel 2008, Muir 2008, Tracey 2007).

Mainstream media sources, such as the Toronto Star, tend to frame guerrilla gardeners as a mischievous group, emphasizing their playfulness and potentially illicit activities (Kamel 2008). However, as compared to alternative sources, the mainstream authors do not make any connections to public space or the notion of a wider critique of urban systems and structures (Kamel 2008, Muir 2008). More alternative media accounts

from those embedded in the practice and culture of guerrilla gardening take a more strident tone: "...enhancing public spaces with guerrilla gardening can be seen as a public right." (p.5, Tracey 2007). This notion of rights is an important one to bear in mind; nowhere in community gardening literature, even from more alternative sources, is there such an explicit reference to the city as a public good and the capacity for everyday action by altering space (Tracey 2007, Kamel 2008, Muir 2008, Reynolds 2009). While gardening is viewed as a connector amongst people and between people and the environment, invoking the changing of space as a right implies that guerrilla gardeners (who by definition do not have legal permission) are ethically in the right regardless of the law or government's standpoint on their activities (Tracey 2007, Reynolds 2009,). In this way guerrilla gardening projects present a way for urban dwellers to express themselves and critique taken-for-granted spatial uses and power structures.

Another point in the literature is that guerrilla gardening does not have a comfortable relationship with some of urban agriculture's underlying principles (Cowen 2006, Sharez 2006). For instance, some critical scholarship has cited guerrilla gardening and other interventionist tactics as a form of spatial appropriation, noting the lack of connection made with broader social justice issues within the city (Sharez 2006) In this way, guerrilla gardening's ability to connect with other social movements in the same way that other methods of urban agriculture are able to is contentious (Cowen 2006). Food justice advocates propose further questions by rightly pointing out that guerrilla gardening does not contribute to local food security in a tangible way thus bringing it under direct fire of functional critiques (City Farmer 2010). It is with regard to guerrilla gardening's unstable position amongst urban agriculture and other social movements that this particular study will focus on the social space it creates as compared to community gardening. Through this, emphasis will be placed on the importance of loosening the reins on who can produce space and what that results in for empowering and engaging individuals in their city space.

Towards A Spatial Definition

As previously detailed, it is clear that there is a lack of information regarding where guerrilla gardening stands in the wider network of urban agriculture although it is often

mentioned in work on this topic (Thom 2009, City Farmer 2010, McClintock 2010, Reynolds 2010). Despite this, it is clear that using geographical and spatial lenses to understand how guerrilla gardening and community gardening relate to the urban landscape is one approach in differentiating them. By examining guerrilla gardening as an articulation of spatial critique, movement towards teasing out where guerrilla gardening differs from other urban agriculture practices can be initiated. As such, an understanding of urban space and the social production of space is essential to differentiating guerrilla gardening from other forms of urban agriculture like community gardening.

The social production of space, as developed by Henri Lefebvre and contemporary geographers like Edward Soja, is a useful starting point. Lefebvre (1991) saw the social creation of space through a spatial triad consisting of representations of space, spaces of representation and spatial practices.

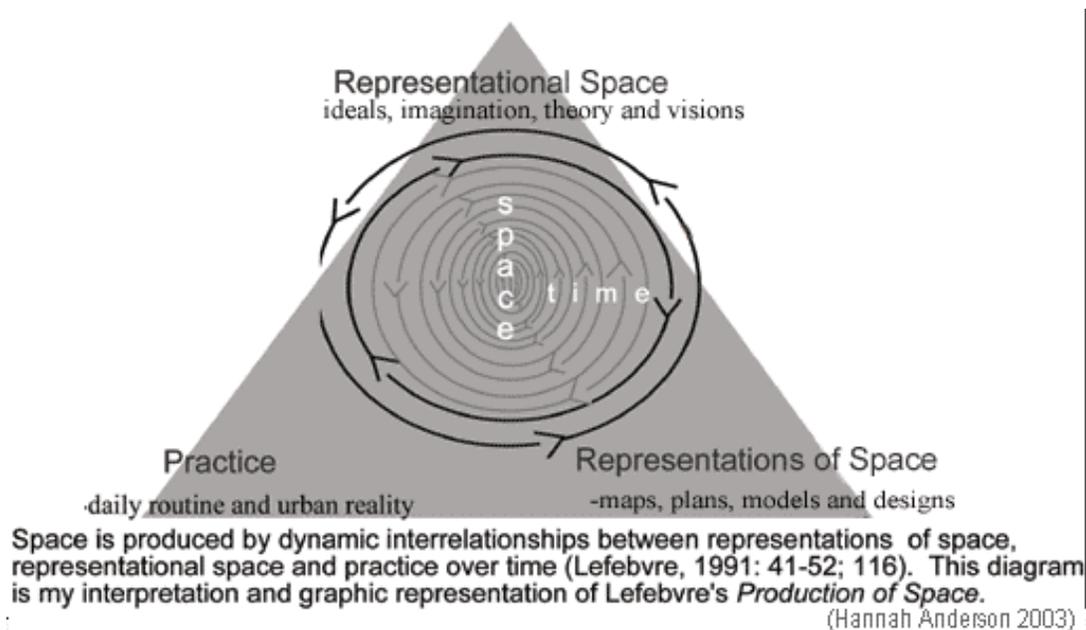


Figure 1: Schematic of Lefebvre's spatial triad from Hannah Anderson's 2003 work applying Lefebvre's *Production of Space* to Critical Mass, an urban cyclist movement.

By taking these three together the complex processes that formulate space and the ways in which space gives meaning to urban society can be dissected; space is constantly being produced and reproduced by social relations (Lefebvre 1991). This concept of space as an emerging material and social construction stemmed from what Lefebvre saw as a one

dimensional, Cartesian understanding of space in both theory and practice (Lefebvre 1991). By ignoring the social element to space and reducing it to an object, the ways space orders social relations and projects power (particularly in the context of capitalist social relations) are ignored. As noted by Lefebvre (1991), “The contradiction lies then, in the clash between a consumption of space which produces surplus value and one which produces only enjoyment—and is therefore ‘unproductive’...” (Lefebvre 1991, p.359) Through this objectified understanding of space as only being productive, space is seen as an absolute thus rendering invisible the complex set of processes and relations that have occurred and are also occurring in real time. As such, the power of the processes occurring in Lefebvre’s spatial triad are masked, hiding the way they construct relations and interactions on a variety of different spatiotemporal scales (Harvey 1979).

Key to Lefebvre’s argument, and the context of this paper, is that spatial relations produce and reproduce structural processes and dominant ideologies (Goonewardena *et al* 2008). Through this process, space dictates what is ‘common sense’ or normative and thus structures how we relate to each other and the city on a variety of different scales. Here, it is important to note that the power relations within space that produce and reproduce hegemonic cultures are emerging and constantly being contested, whether intentionally or not: “...spatial theories and spatial strategies can be used to reinforce oppression and control as well as to stimulate resistance and enhance the search for spatial justice.” (Soja 2010, p.43). Through this understanding, contemporary geographers have picked up on the unstable nature of the power present in space in both theory and practice (Goonewardena *et al* 2008).

In this way, spatial orderings and meanings are not static but, in order to maintain their power, must constantly be reasserted. Contemporary space as theorized and shown by recent geographic scholarship, is largely produced by neoliberal capitalism, which has produced specific physical and social spaces (Harvey 1979, Harvey 2000, Mitchell 2003, Harvey 2008, Soja 2010). While a full discussion is not in the scope of this work, the experience of this space produced through neoliberalism is one that is alienating and dissociative which can partially be attributed to how space is produced and reproduced on a variety of different scales (Merrifield 2006).

It is through this understanding that spatial critique by challenging spatial orderings and structures becomes a key avenue towards contesting not only spaces but power structures and conditions (Harvey 1979, Mitchell 2003, Harvey 2008, Soja 2010). For Lefebvre (1991), it was only through engaging in space the “locus of lived experience”, that social transformation can be achieved thus, “to change life, however, we must first change space. Absolute revolution is our self-image and our mirage—as seen through the mirror of absolute (political) space.” (Lefebvre 1991, p190) It is within this legacy that many scholars have begun to reposition social protest and activism around spatial issues (Mitchell 2003, Harvey 2006, Soja 2010). Specific examples include the work of Don Mitchell (2003), David Harvey (1979, 2000) and Edward Soja (2010) who all have pushed for a more spatialized understanding of how injustice works through the production of taken-for-granted geographies. Specifically, Soja (2010) argues for the production of more just spaces by asserting the right for urban dwellers to have their views and needs reflected in space. Taking this a step further, these authors argue that by reproducing just spaces and reordering spatial relations, more just landscapes and a fully lived, less abstract urban space can be realized (Harvey 2000, Marcuse 2009, Soja 2010).

All of these authors link back or make specific reference to Lefebvre’s work, especially the notion of the right to the city, when arguing for the production of more just spaces (Harvey 2000, Mitchell 2003, Harvey 2008, Marcuse 2009, Soja 2010). Widely seen as the most coherent synthesis of Lefebvre’s work on urban space and social life in his *Right to the City* essay, Lefebvre (1996) argues that citizens have a fundamental right to live a full urban life; a right taken away by the abstracted space of late capitalism. As Lefebvre notes: “...in the most positive terms [the right to the city] signifies the right of citizens and city dwellers, and of the groups they (on the basis of their social relations) constitute, to appear on all networks and circuits of communication information and exchange.” (Lefebvre 1996, p.164-165). Incorporated with other more recent geographic work, the formation of a healthy urban society relies on the continual articulation of this right to the city through engagement on a variety of different scales and systems. Indeed, the relentlessness of capitalism in producing space means that it needs to be challenged by an increasingly diverse set of methods and practices (Soja 2010).

In this way, Lefebvre's analysis of urban space undoubtedly sees spatial change as an essential and radical undertaking, even a reverse of the way that most contemporary cities are ordered and operate (Lefebvre 1991, Lefebvre 1996, Merrifield 2006, Marcuse 2009). Despite this, aside from inspiring language, there is little by way of a firm example of how to shift our space and cities (Lefebvre 1991, Lefebvre 1996). The leftover issue of how urban societies can shift towards the imagined geographies of engagement that Lefebvre poses as applications of the right to the city are being excavated by contemporary scholars and activists (Purcell 2002, Harvey 2006, McClish 2007, Soja 2010). Especially with the translation of Lefebvre's major texts in the last two decades, critical urban geographers and radical social scientists are taking up the notion of collective urban rights and their potential power. For example, Harvey (2006) suggests: "The question of what kind of city we want cannot be divorced from that of what kind of social ties, relationships to nature, lifestyles, technologies and aesthetic values we desire. In this lies one of Lefebvre's lasting legacies; we can change ourselves by wielding our collective power to change our cities." (Harvey 2006, p.1). Indeed, Lefebvre's name is mentioned numerous times in academic work that pushes for everyday scaling of issues of social justice in the city.

More practical and applied direction comes from recent work analyzing Lefebvre's writing in an attempt to pick apart some of his more powerful statements and assertions (Gottdiener 1994, Purcell 2002, McCann 2002, Mitchell 2003, Merrifield 2006, Aronowitz 2007, Harvey 2008, Goonewardena *et al* 2008, Marcuse 2009, Soja 2010). As interpreted by Marcuse, the "cry and demand" for the right for the city can be separated into those that are directly and materially oppressed (demand) and those superficially integrated but constrained creatively or socially (cry) (Marcuse 2009). Despite different relations, these groups share a common one-dimensionality in their life experience (Marcuse 2009, Thom 2009). By harnessing this shared emptiness, actors can be united in a common goal of taking back their right to the city and reclaim abstracted spaces.

It should be noted that the Marcuse piece has a latent class bias within it (Marcuse 2009). Marcuse (2009) tends to paint too wide of a brush over the experiences of urban dwellers and the argument that someone's lack of connection to space (on a more theoretical level) is similar to another's lack of housing access is somewhat naïve. While it is certainly not in the scope of this paper to undertake such a debate, nor would such a

debate be productive towards achieving any sort of spatial transformation, viewing the right to the city as a universal concept is an important one.

Edward Soja's work *Seeking Spatial Justice* provides the beginnings of a pathway towards a reconciliation (Soja 2010). In *Seeking Spatial Justice*, Soja uses Lefebvre's notion of the right to the city as well as readings of Lefebvre undertaken by David Harvey (Soja 2010). Soja links these theorizations together to recognize that spatial re-appropriation backed by the understanding of the right to the city as an active right allows for the challenging of controlled consumption and power of the current urban landscape: "At the core of the approach outlined was the strategic objective of creating more lasting and effective ties between separate social movements and activist struggles based on a shared experience of the injustice and oppression inherent in the social production of urban space." (Soja 2010, p.191). This idea that the users of space have the right to react back and make their ideas, activities and wants visible on the landscape and at a variety of different scales is key to Soja's conception of spatial justice (Soja 2010).

Indeed, the right to the city and notions of spatial engagement provide a unifying theme under which a variety of different methods of social protest and critique are beginning to take shape (McClish 2007, Thom 2009, Hou 2010). This need to contest taken-for-granted power structures and their connection to spatial form is found in Lefebvre, Soja and Harvey's theoretical works (Lefebvre 1991, Lefebvre 1996, Harvey 2000, Soja 2010). Specifically, there is agreement that Lefebvre's work argues that artistic practice, whether by turning urban life into a work of art or through more traditional artistic practices and actions provides an avenue toward reshaping the city and urban social life (Lefebvre 1991, Merrifield 2006, Aronowitz 2007). As noted by Merrifield (2006) in his analysis of Lefebvre's work: "Yet before imagination can seize power some imagination is needed; imagination to free our minds and our bodies, to liberate our ideas and to reclaim our society as a lived project." (Merrifield 2006, p.66). In this way, Lefebvre's work provides a link between the importance of theoretical and academic work occurring alongside action and practice.

Amongst these authors and looking at current activist practice, it is clear that the current system which generates urban inequality and injustice must be challenged at a variety of different scales while at once realizing alliances and connections between lived

reality, activist practice and academic research (Soja 2010). Furthermore, taking Lefebvre's call to action in mind alongside recent work from critical geographers like Don Mitchell (2008), the importance of not only acting and producing new spaces but also reflecting, understanding and conceptualizing this action is emphasized. As such, an iterative approach to theory and action is a starting point if movement towards connecting social action across and between different scales is to be achieved along with the goal of producing more just spaces.

CHAPTER 3: METHODS

Using Participatory Action Research

While there is limited academic work on guerrilla gardening the most extensive reports and studies have incorporated participatory action methodologies (Ryan 2010, Zanetti 2010). Scholars from the growing body of literature on urban agriculture and food justice have begun using more open, participatory research models in developing reflexive and grounded understandings of urban agriculture and related social movements (Allen 2008, Heynen 2009, McClintock and Cooper 2009, McClintock 2010, Reynolds 2010). Given the objectives of this study, my positionality as a participant-researcher and the underlying concepts of spatial justice and engagement garnered from the literature review, participatory action methodologies provide a powerful avenue for understanding what sort of space guerrilla gardening produces. As well, participatory action research (PAR) is well suited for the transgressive and fringe elements of guerrilla gardening as it is sensitive to the relationship between knowledge and power (O'Brien 2001). In this way, PAR actively shifts the balance towards non-dominant perspectives that are commonly neglected by mainstream research methods (Reason 1994).

PAR methodologies tend to have two broad objectives; the first is the production and transfer of knowledge through careful planning, action and reflection while the second is to empower actors and participants by challenging dominant discourses and modes of knowledge production (Reason 1994). It is important to note here, that this process of planning, action and reflection is iterative: "...a process of self-awareness through collective self-inquiry and reflection." (Reason 1994, p.328). Figure 2 from O'Brien (2001) provides a useful schematic of the research process, outlining the looping and shifting roles required in action research.

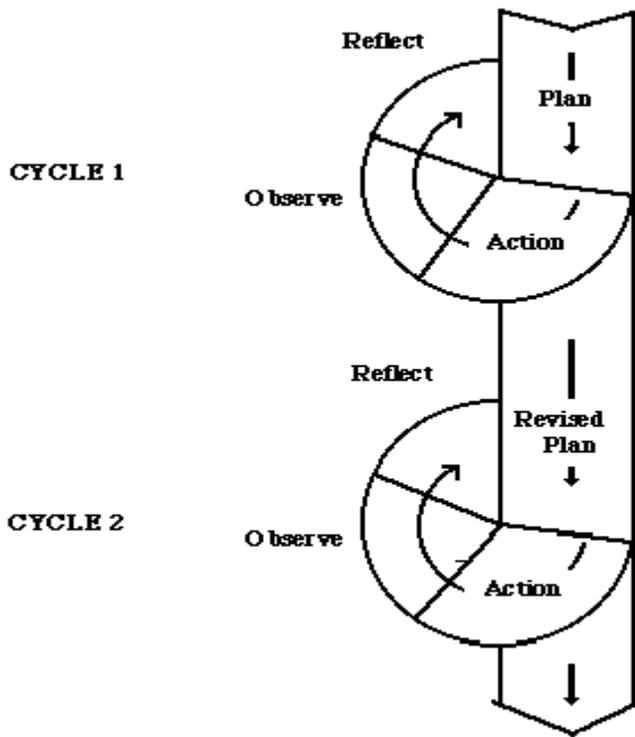


Figure 2: Representation of the looping PAR methodology (O'Brien 2001).

In this way, PAR presents a break from more traditional top down research approaches by emphasizing dialectical and dialogical process of research (Reason 1994). This approach allows for the researcher to tap into the latent knowledge existing in communities thus providing crucial connections between academic analysis and social action.

These two objectives fall in line with the aims and goals of this particular research project, that is empowering participants to engage in space while also developing a better understanding of why that engagement is important within the wider context of urban space. PAR methods will provide a starting point towards investigating guerrilla gardening's ability to challenge taken-for-granted spatial uses and relations. Furthermore, PAR methods account for and recognize the unique set of benefits and challenges posed by researcher-participant role. Instead of viewing researcher involvement as bias that would disrupt objectivity, PAR rests on the notion that knowledge is produced through experience and therefore is contextual (Reason 1994).

The researcher's standpoint is accounted for through the development of a critical subjectivity (Reason 1994). This kind of standpoint can be developed by fully engaging

with one's perspective, bracketing off prior beliefs and experiences while also remaining open to new experience and knowledge (Reason 1994). This bracketing off process is a way of teasing out the researcher's own perspective as the work progresses (Reason 1994). As such steps, outlined below, have been taken to tease out my own subjectivity and aid in the ongoing reflection process.

However, it is equally important to allow for the space to tap into the researcher's own intuition: "...the investigator cannot fulfil qualitative research objectives without using a broad range of his or her own experience, imagination, and intellect in ways that are various and unpredictable." (McCracken 1988, p.18). Bearing this in mind, space has been opened up in the results and analysis processes to tap into my unique role as a full participant and researcher. The key, which this methodology achieves, is to develop one's critical subjectivity as an insider and outsider to the research in a way that is transparent and accountable.

Formulating a Methodology

As noted by Reason (1994), PAR methods frequently involve the development of in depth case studies. It was determined early on that drawing a comparison between guerrilla gardening and community gardening would be a useful way to organize the methods and analysis. Furthermore, as observed by Yin (2009) by contrasting two case studies stronger conclusions regarding guerrilla gardening can be made. The guerrilla gardening case study will focus on Dig Kingston, a guerrilla gardening project started by the researcher in June of 2010, and the community gardening case study is based on the Oak Street Community Garden, one of the largest community gardens in Kingston.

The use of case study research can involve a variety of different techniques ranging from direct observation, interviews and document analysis (Yin 2009). Some of the critiques against case study research include issues of validity, especially difficulty in repetition, a lack of rigor and the embedding of the investigator in the research (Babie and Benaquisto 2002, Yin 2009). However, these critiques are countered by the depth and richness of information that can be generated by a well-executed case study (Babie and Benaquisto 2002). According to Yin (2009), to avoid some of the drawbacks to case study research, effort must be made to increase the number of different sources data is obtained

from and design the methodology in a logical and transparent way (Yin 2009). With this in mind, the connections made between the research questions, data, analysis and conclusions were developed in a step-wise sequence allowing for reflection as proposed by action research methodologies. Therefore, outlines of study questions, propositions, assumptions and units of analysis were developed prior to data collection, which can be seen in Appendix A. Furthermore, as a participant-researcher an initial concept map exercise was undertaken to allow the full use of the researcher’s imagination and catalogue any premonitions or early conceptual connections (Appendix B).

When devising the best way to explore these two case studies, it became clear that using three different methodological techniques would be both useful and practical given the scope and length of this work (Figure 3).

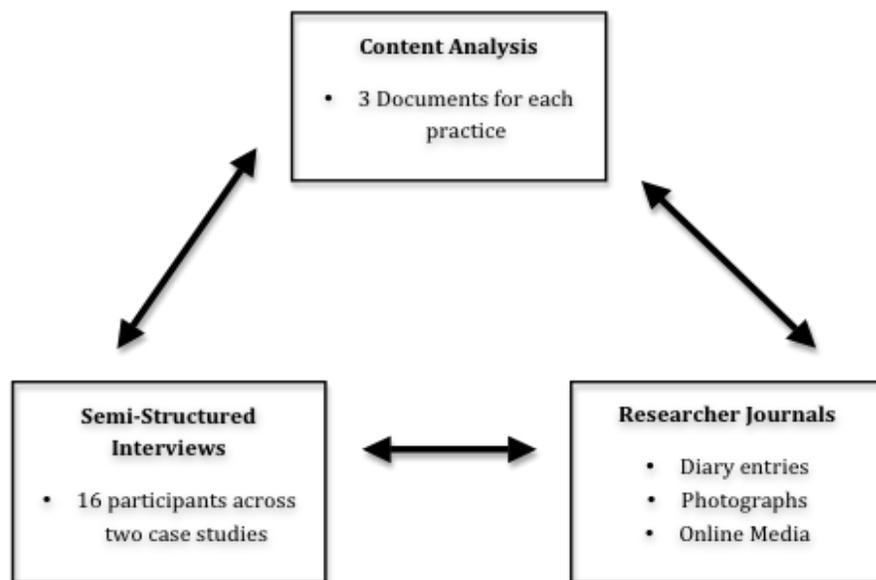


Figure 3: Researcher’s schematic of the three different methodological techniques used for developing the two case studies. Note the double arrows indicating the reflexive, iterative process of analysis.

Both case studies used content analysis of selected documents on guerrilla gardening and community gardening. As well, both case studies draw from a series of interviews conducted by the researcher with Dig Kingston participants, community gardeners and other community members. Finally, the researcher’s journals collected during the

implementation of the Dig Kingston project were used to develop the guerrilla gardening case study.

The content analysis documents include at least one alternative media source, published book and a mainstream media source (Appendix C). The alternative media sources were found using the researcher's previous knowledge of community and guerrilla gardening practices and labelled as alternative based on their smaller readership and distribution. The published book sources provided a niche outlook at the different practices while having more permanence and access to different audiences due to their medium. Finally, the mainstream media sources were gleaned from newsprint outlets publishing to a larger, predominantly North American audience. For these articles, Google news was used to scan mainstream media with hits coming back for recent articles from the Toronto Star and Washington Post. The goal of this exercise was to obtain a general understanding of both practices outside of the specific case studies and how they are understood and represented to the wider public. After reading the documents, logs were then written with attention to general themes and concepts in the articles.

The second methodology used to develop the case studies were 16 semi-structured interviews. These participants can be grouped roughly into three different categories. The first group consisted of guerrilla gardeners (Participants 12-16), who were directly involved with the researcher in implementing the Dig Kingston project. Participants for the interviews from the Dig Kingston project were contacted via email so as to allow the participants the opportunity to decline without feeling pressure to participate in the study. The second group consisted of community members who through previous contact or knowledge would provide more perspective on guerrilla and community gardening in Kingston and consisted of a municipal official involved in implementing the city of Kingston's new community garden policy, an urban agriculturist and representatives from a local community food security organization (Participants 8-11). Finally, the group of community gardeners from the Oak Street community garden were recruited through an invitation to participate sent over their email list-serv with permission from their web administrator (Participants 1-7). While this method of recruitment could have excluded gardeners who lack computer access or may have been away during the time the email was sent, a large group of gardeners were interviewed so as to ameliorate this potential issue.

Following a reply of interest to the initial contact email, all participants were sent a letter of information and consent form to look over, which was then brought to the interview to review once more (Appendix D). All record of email correspondence with participants will be kept on the researcher's secure, password protected account until April 2013 after which they will be deleted so as to remove any contact or demographic information. In order to protect the confidentiality of the participants, the interviews were digitally recorded using the researcher's computer. These files were stored as encrypted files on a password protected computer that only the researcher has access to. The files will be kept in this manner until April 2013 after which they will be deleted. This process was detailed to participants in a letter of information and consent, which was reviewed prior to the interview. Furthermore each participant was given a copy of a signed letter of information and consent form for their records. This protocol follows the Queen's University general ethics guidelines and review board procedures, which this study was approved under.

With reference to the interview process, due to my personal connection with some of the participants and the research itself, special effort was made in constructing myself as an insider and outsider to guerrilla gardening (McCracken 1988). As such, the general process of conducting and analyzing the information from the interview roughly followed the framework outlined by McCracken (Figure 4).

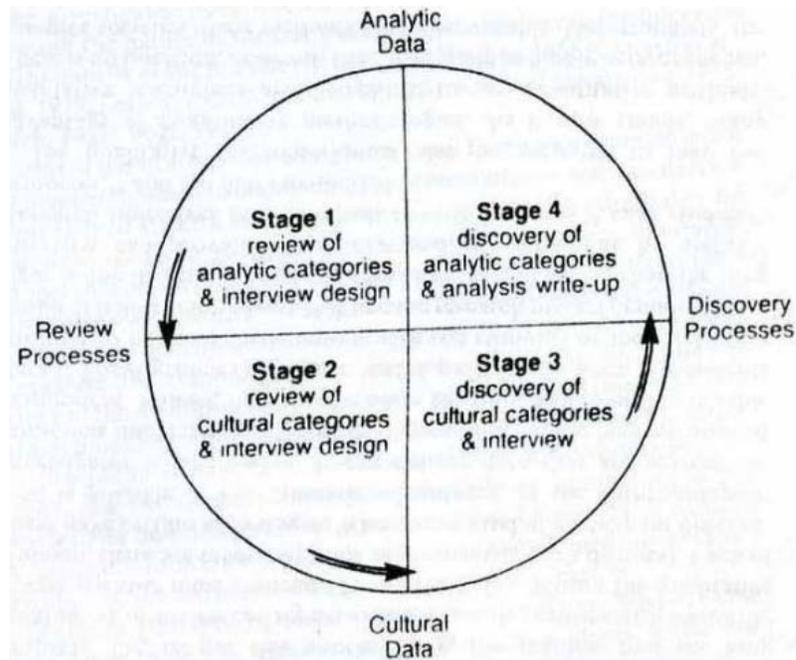


Figure 4: Iterative process of interviewing and analysing data collected from participants (McCracken, 1988)

McCracken highlights the use of an iterative qualitative method, which relates to understandings developed by action research epistemology advocating for a dialectical and reflexive knowledge building process (O'Brien 2001, Reason 1994). The ultimate goal of this methodology was to position myself as an investigator within the research in such a way that highlighted the contributions made by my perspective while also maintaining enough distance so as to gather useful interview responses from the participants (McCracken 1988). The end goal of undertaking such a process of looping inquiry was to survey the ground upon which the interviews were constructed as well as cultivating intellectual capital by systematically looking at my own experience as a participant-researcher and information collected from other methodological techniques (McCracken 1988).

Tools to aide in constructing myself as an interviewer included the use of a consent form, recording device, set of flexible, predetermined questions and probes (Appendix E). Further work in developing myself as an outsider came from writing three types of memos. The first was a technical memo taken during the interview to have the space to jot down thoughts or connections without disrupting the flow of conversation. The second type of memo was transcribed before interview sessions where I reflected upon my assumptions,

presuppositions and expectations. Finally, the last type of memo was taken after the interview to reflect on the interview process and to analyze how the interview went as a whole and, allowing me to self-assess as both a researcher and participant.

The final method employed was through the researcher journals of the Dig Kingston guerrilla gardening site, which included text based diary entries spanning from May to October 2010 and photographs taken on a monthly basis. These diary entries included observation, reflection and planning revolving around the project and guerrilla gardening in general. Online documentation including a Facebook page and blog where photographs and text entries were posted was also included in this section. Similar to information collected from the other techniques, logs were taken to catalogue the major themes and concepts. These entries were approached chronologically and analyzed with reference to themes and concepts pulled from the two techniques.

Conceptual Framework

Synthesizing the concepts drawn from the two case studies with those from the theory outlined in the literature review was aided by the construction of a conceptual framework. This framework was developed with sensitivity to the cyclical process of action research and attention to teasing out my perspective as an insider and outsider to the research. A series of logs were taken down for each methodological technique so as to organize the concepts and themes that were pulled from the content analysis, interview data and researcher journals. Table 1 lays out the different documents used by the researcher in order to aide in the development of a critical subjectivity and organize my analysis of the results.

Methodological Technique	Analytical Document	Type and Analytical Component
Semi-Structured Interviews	Memos (3 types)	1.) Technical 2.) Pre-Interview 3.) Post-Interview
Semi-Structured Interviews	Logs (2 types)	1.) General Layout of Interview 2.) Themes/Concepts
Content Analysis	Logs (1 type)	1.) Themes/Concepts
Researcher Journal	Logs (1 type)	1.) Themes/Concepts

Table 1: Summary of the analytical documents generated alongside each methodological technique

The analytical documents, which included the memos and logs, were developed independently of one another and coded for general themes and concepts. The analytical documents were then compared across each other and with the concepts and themes pulled from the literature. Following the recording of the interviews, they were played back and a series of logs were taken down to aide in pulling themes and concepts. These first logs were then scanned again looking for broader linkages amongst the different interviews as well as the literature, analysed documents and researcher standpoint that were documented in the memos.

This cross-threading of concepts and themes pulled from the various sources was not carried out in a linear fashion; instead, once developed the logs were cycled through, compared and contrasted looking for relationships or disagreements. In this way, the analytical documents were the first step taken towards mapping out the different concepts and themes derived from the different methodological techniques. Mapping exercises using these themes were also used to determine relationships amongst the themes and proved to be a useful analytical tool. Thus, this system of logs, memos and concept maps allowed me to switch to my final role in this project as a researcher-author.

Overall, the development of this conceptual framework allowed me to blend the data collected from the Kingston specific case studies with broader understandings and theory outlined in the literature review. Through this process, it was determined that framing the analysis around the space that the community gardening and guerrilla gardening case studies produced would be an effective approach. Specifically by focusing on the general themes pulled from the results a set of meanings and understandings associated with each practice rose to the surface. Upon revisiting the analytical documents from the literature review, the way in which these meanings constructed the practices, dialogue and imaginations of the participants became important factors that connected back to the theory regarding the connection among spatial practices, meanings and new, imagined spaces. These connections will be further elaborated upon in the results and analysis sections; however it is important to note that developing such connections required an iterative and open conceptual framework.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

Community Gardening: Oak Street Community Garden

As outlined in the methodology, the Oak Street Community Garden (OSCG) case study was used for comparison to the Dig Kingston case study. Using interviews with gardeners at Oak Street as well as municipal officials, local food activists and the researcher's own involvement in Kingston's food system, an understanding of the OSCG was developed. According to several participants, the plot was a victory garden during World War II (Participant #3, Participant #7, Participant #10). While it is not clear how, the garden was lost for several decades and came back under cultivation in 2005 (Participant #8). This re-emergence of the garden was led by a small group of individuals who were involved with other community gardens in the Kingston area. The land was tilled and planted with the help of local farmers as well as participants from the prison farm program (Participant #6, Participant #8). Partnerships were formed with local high schools, the Loving Spoonful, a local food security group, as well as the Kingston branch of the Ontario Public Interest Group (OPIRG), an umbrella organization that supports grassroots initiatives in Kingston (Participant #7, Participant #8). These groups aided in the tilling, planting and harvesting of roughly an acre of potatoes and carrots that were donated to the Loving Spoonful for distribution to the food insecure¹ through local meal programs within Kingston (Participant #8).

These initial partnerships are still maintained by the OSCG despite changes to the garden layout and function (Participant #3, Participant #10). The garden is now Kingston's largest community garden, made up of 123 individual plots that include a market garden, communal tasting garden and food bank plot. The market garden operates as both a

¹ Here food insecure is referring to individuals having difficulty getting access to adequate food. From Anderson it is defined as "limited or uncertain availability of nutritionally adequate and safe foods or limited or uncertain ability to acquire acceptable foods in socially acceptable ways" (Anderson, 1990, p. 1598). Admittedly, this is a broad and somewhat ambiguous definition, but I have avoided using definitions proposed by other organizations or state bodies that tend to define food insecurity, hunger and related terms through more politicized lenses. For more discussion on this issue refer to Heynen's work on hunger and social reproduction (Heynen 2010 and Heynen 2009) along with the more popularized work of Joel Berg (Berg 2008).

training program for local youth and as an urban farm called *The Main Street Market*. Volunteer gardeners run the communal tasting plot that is planned and maintained each year for passersby and local residents who do not have plots in the garden. Finally, volunteers from the Loving Spoonful plan, maintain and cultivate several plots for donation to the organization's food re-distribution programs. The Loving Spoonful is still very involved in the garden's governance as well as maintaining the food donation plot. Additionally, the garden's partnership with OPIRG has been maintained and provides funding for infrastructure projects such as a tool shed and picnic bench (Participant #8, Participant #9). The OSCG maintains its relationship with local high schools as well, benefitting from their help in constructing a sign in compliance with required volunteer hours (Participant #6).

The garden's relationship with the municipal government has grown steadily since its founding. This dialogue has increased in the last year due to the development and implementation of a municipal community gardening policy. While it is not in the scope of this paper to fully analyze the effects of this policy, it has undoubtedly repositioned the way that gardeners relate to the city. Participants who were leaders in lobbying the city for the creation of gardens prior to the policy noted that the process was slow and bureaucratic. The speed of this process seemed to depend on the current city council and leadership in the municipal government. One participant remarked that their experience starting another garden, the Sunnyside Community Garden, was considerably slower because it seemed "the city did not know what to do with us...we were training the city and the city was training us." (Participant #6) This contrasts to their involvement with the OSCG where: "It turned out there was someone at the city, who is long gone now, [and] he just gave green lights all the way." (Participant #6). In this way, the governmental and geographic moment when these two gardens were situated had a significant impact on how they were founded. While not in the scope of this particular research project, it would be interesting to look at how the different experiences of starting these two gardens affected the way they operate as a garden and in the wider Kingston community gardening network.

The development of the policy occurred alongside consultation with community food organizers from the Loving Spoonful and groups of already existing community gardeners (Participant #1, Participant #10, Participant #11). As detailed by conversations

with city officials, the policy was largely a city response to the growing demand in Kingston's downtown core for more community gardens in Kingston (Participant #11). This rise in demand for community gardens has undoubtedly occurred alongside a nationwide increase in community gardening practices and interest in food systems, as documented in the literature review (American Community Gardening Association 2005, Flores 2006, Higgins 2008, Reynolds 2010).

On a more practical level, as outlined by conversations with participants affiliated with the municipality, the policy was in response to formulating the city's role in facilitating community gardens on city land (Participant #10, Participant #11). This is an important point to note; the municipality does not have any formal policy or response to gardening on non-municipal or private land (Participant #11). In effect, this places boundaries around where community gardens and gardens in general are permitted to be established in Kingston. While these boundaries have an obvious physical nature, it was evident that the recent policy also put constraints on the imaginations of gardeners.

This constraint was demonstrated when conversations with participants turned to their larger visions of urban agriculture and gardening in Kingston. Many of the community gardening participants wanted to see more gardens (Participant #1, Participant #4, Participant #6). Specifically, several participants stated that now that they have become involved at the OSCG, they see potential garden sites across the city and would like to see more in Kingston's parks and public spaces (Participant #8). When asked about the possibility of gardening on private land there was a divide; some participants seemed intrigued by the idea (Participant #1) while others expressed concern regarding legal trouble (Participant #6) or impeding on already existing spatial uses (Participant #7).

This response was undoubtedly coloured by their own standpoint and exposure to different forms and practices of urban agriculture. For participants that had not heard of guerrilla gardening before or strongly identified as community gardeners, the idea of gardening on someone else's property without permission did not seem to make sense: "I would probably lean a little more to the guerrilla gardening with permission...I'm not against seeing them go up. I guess personally I would be worried about people getting mad about it...I'd support it in that sense but maybe more formally." (Participant #7). Given the experiences of the participants this is not a surprising assertion; when one understands

how much work, care, emotion and energy goes into gardening, the idea of planting in a temporally and spatially insecure context seems counterintuitive.

In effect, whether due to the policy or normalized understandings and practices, community gardening is tightly associated with certain types of space. The space needs to be of specific dimensions and in a location that is conducive to the long term sustainability of the garden. This is one point that community gardening and guerrilla gardening differ significantly; guerrilla gardening is not necessarily concerned with year to year longevity, whereas community gardens need to maintain a long lifespan in order for gardeners to feel attached and invested in that space. As seen from both the interviews and the literature review, in order for a garden to establish strong connections with other community organizations and work into the culture of a city as a fixed, reliable location and potential partner a stable location and organized leaders seem to be essential (Twiss *et al* 2003, American Community Gardening Association 2005, Eizenberg 2008, Participant #9, Participant #11). It should be noted that not all gardens develop into or aim to have broader community connections (American Community Gardening Association 2005, Higgins 2008). However, from the interviews and my prior knowledge, the number of connections the OSCG has with other organizations as well as its outreach work, position it as a potential partner in community development work in Kingston (Participant #8, Participant #9)

According to municipal officials, the policy was framed to focus on the municipality's role in liability and insurance as well as ensuring equity and accessibility (Participant #11). City officials and community gardener participants both noted that there has been some conflict regarding insurance and liability, with regard to raising funds and definitions of hazards (Participant #6, Participant #11). Despite this, the community gardeners recognized the services the municipality provided the garden under the policy agreement and valued their help in maintaining the physical space of the garden (Participant #8). Specifically, many participants were pleased with the city allowing access to water lines as well as trimming the grass around the perimeter of the garden to aide in maintenance (Participant #3, Participant #5). In this way, the gardeners at OSCG and the city have a symbiotic, complementary relationship conducive to compromise as both partners feel that they need each other. As an aside, it would be interesting to explore this relationship

compared to other gardens that do not have the same number of members and influence in Kingston as the OSCG, as this may be a factor in the OSCG's close relationship to the city.

Discussing the garden and gardening with participants resulted in a few different recurring themes. The first was that almost all of the participants expressed a need to garden, due to not having enough or any space at home. This need to garden varied from wanting the physical experience of gardening to a need for access to quality produce: "I love doing it. I want to have good produce and that's the way I can do it... It's kind of all I spend my money on really. When I had that first red pepper I think I left my body." (Participant #4). Indeed, the topic of food security and food autonomy² along with the problems participants saw in the contemporary, conventional food paradigm came up in almost every interview. Interestingly, this usually came up alongside questions regarding why gardeners gardened and what role they saw community gardening playing in Kingston's urban agriculture network. While OSCG leaders and food security activists recognized that community gardening makes a minimal impact on food security, it provides a component of awareness and engagement that other food security and food justice related activities do not. As cited by one participant community gardening provides a different kind of education that although operating at a piecemeal scale, works towards combating a perceived culture of detached food consumption and production (Participant #8):

"It's (the food security) on a personal basis between people. And on a community level I think community gardens contribute more significantly to food security because of the knowledge that gets retained...That kind of food security is different than the food security we normally talk about...In the context of all of this, I don't think these are legitimate ways to fight poverty. I think these are ways to slowly chip away at our attitudes towards food. Our interactions with food as individuals and communities and what urban spaces are

² In referring to food autonomy, I am relying on the farming peasant organization *Via Campensina's* definition of the related term, food sovereignty. As supplied from their website. While this definition employs broader global trade issues, the main point for this application is: "...the right of farmers, peasants to produce food and the right of consumers to be able to decide what they consume, and how and by whom it is produced." (Via Campensina 2007).

supposed to represent. I think it's a little piece of a culture war rather than really changing food systems." (Participant #8)

This notion of shared values concerning the state of the global food system provided a unifying theme touched on by gardeners. Some did not explicitly mention this concern, but it was clear that many shared a common interest in food system politics and dynamics. Whether through community food security or shifting towards a specific politics of consumption.

Through socializing and getting involved at the OSCG many participants found a space where they could work outside the current industrialized food system, providing an alternative that incorporated direct action and involvement. Indeed, the participants recruited from the OSCG valued the relationships formed through the garden whether by the transferring of technical knowledge and gardening tips or through the shared experience of working on communal plots and projects at the garden. As such, many participants noted that the social aspect of the garden was an important component to why they continued to garden at the OSCG as compared to gardening at home (Participant #1, Participant #4, Participant #6).

However, it should be noted that a few participants who were heavily involved in the garden's governance and upkeep voiced concern over getting all of the garden members involved (Participant #1, Participant #8). While there has been an increase in involvement as the OSCG has evolved, there is still a struggle to change the faces among the volunteers for committees and leadership positions. Indeed, one participant noted that this was not a huge problem, but one that has been pervasive over the years: "I guess our biggest issue was getting enough people, the individual plot holders (to volunteer). So what we did find especially in the first year, a lot of people (were saying); 'I've got my plot and I'll work on my plot and then I'll go home.' We really wanted to get people sold on doing things as a group." (Participant #6). It seems that many of the participants who were more involved in communal activities and side projects were more invested in the garden's well being. As one participant remarked, frequently the most enthusiastic members are the ones who are simply volunteering to help upkeep the communal tasting plot but do not have a plot of their own (Participant #6).

Overall, through the interviews as well as my previous understandings of community gardening and analysis of the literature review documents, a case study of the OSCG in Kingston was developed. The major themes gleaned from this case study are elaborated on further as information from the Dig Kingston guerrilla gardening case study is sifted through and reflected upon with the results from the OSCG case study in mind.

Guerrilla Gardening Dig Kingston

Dig Kingston was the name of a guerrilla gardening project started by the researcher and several co-gardeners in June of 2010. The project began as an experiment in what could be grown in six concrete planters in downtown Kingston and how the public would react and interact with the vegetables grown there. From June to October, the miniature gardens were host to tomatoes, kale, Swiss chard, peas, beans and finally spinach. As previously stated, my interest in guerrilla gardening stemmed from involvement with a street art collective, Guerilla Gorilla, from which members for Dig Kingston were recruited. From there, I developed a partnership with my employer on a nearby organic farm, gaining access to leftover seedlings, greenhouse space and other materials.

I led the Dig Kingston project as a guerrilla gardener, however contacts involved in street art and art intervention projects in Kingston were recruited for help as well as a few local farmers. As such, the project relied upon a diverse group for implementation but I was the primary leader and undertook much of the work with help and advice from my co-gardeners. When interviewed, the co-gardeners cited that they would participate in guerrilla gardening projects again, but felt that they were not leading the Dig Kingston project and thus would be reluctant to undertake anything on their own in Kingston (Participant #12, Participant #13).

The goal of the project was not only to garden and produce vegetables, but was also to expose the public to an unexpected patch of vegetables, thus disrupting the normal uses and practices occurring in that space. The site was nearby some powerful and contradictory spatial uses and codings, including a large four story parking garage, a gravel parking lot and a large grey hospital. Keeping this in mind, the site was chosen in part because of its visual aesthetic but also because of the high traffic around in the area.



Image 2: Photo of the Dig Kingston site in late July, taken by the researcher. View is looking East down Brock St.

By disrupting these spaces of production that were associated with institutions, government and strict spatial order, we (as guerrilla gardeners) hoped to challenge what could occur in those spaces while also encouraging the public to interact with the gardens.

As anticipated by the researcher and co-gardeners, the spaces that Dig Kingston occupied were marked heavily by the city and the nearby hospital. This was reflected in the conversations with passersby and other community members who at first thought that the planters were being maintained by hospital employees or patients. However, once observers saw the researcher and the other guerrilla gardeners working in the plots this original coding of the planters was disrupted.

Some passersby remarked that the plots should be marked to label who had been doing the gardening and to encourage the public to take from them. While this suggestion was considered, it was concluded that maintaining the anonymity of the plots was a key point to their success:

“When does it become when someone is taking ownership over public space? By not overtly naming it, it takes on different meanings for whoever passes it...The plants could be anyone.

In that sense it's a little more ambiguous...It gains more meaning because its up for longer and more people can see it...it can mean a lot of different things to a lot of different people but most positive." (Participant #12)

By not having an obvious identity or marker it was thought that the experimental and engaging components of the project would be enhanced. As cited by one of the co-gardeners, constructing the meaning of the project as beyond one individual was key to constructing the meanings of project along to potential passersby: "It's less about you and more about what you're doing. It's not like it's your life's work..." (Participant #13). While this may have limited the project's ability to connect with wider community organizations and interested individuals, it placed the branding or crediting of the plots as secondary versus the physical engagement and interaction on site.

The first round of tomatoes were planted in June of 2010, by the researcher and two other guerrilla gardeners. Using extra dirt and salvaged tomato seedlings from a local farm, the first planting occurred in the evening with little interaction with passersby. Only two groups of people walked by during the planting and seemed intrigued by the activity but did not instigate conversation. At this point, we (as guerrilla gardeners) were unsure of the legality of our activities and opted to plant at one o'clock in the morning on a weekday to avoid attention or contact with the authorities. This precaution would eventually be dropped as the project progressed, realizing that gardening and working in the plots during the day was a more effective method of engaging with the public as well as less stressful on us as gardeners.

Relationships between the gardeners and some passersby formed and conversation topics ranged from how space is used in Kingston, gardening techniques and knowledge of Kingston's food system. For example, one passerby became a frequent visitor, leaving tomatoes out to ripen in the sun as well as monitoring when municipal workers came by the planters to water them. This upkeep by the municipal workers presented a dilemma for us as gardeners. The fact that the workers maintained the space suggested that the Dig Kingston project was not an inherently transgressive one. On one hand, there was a sense of playful subversion in the municipality caring for something that was critical of how it used space, and on the other there was a concern that the municipal workers performing their job in that space would suggest that the gardens had been planted by the

municipality. This point is an important one to keep in mind; without explicit labelling or previous knowledge, the Dig Kingston project relied heavily on the performance of gardening activities by the gardeners in order to code the space as a guerrilla garden.

Of related interest was that once the tomato plants grew to a more visible height, someone added their own cherry tomato plant into one of the plots, which was then taken care of by the Dig Kingston gardening group. Along with the conversations with passersby, it was a sign that someone noticed our work and felt compelled to contribute, thus resonating with the group's goals of getting the public to feel comfortable and engaged with the planters. The tomatoes were cared for primarily by the researcher and were maintained until they grew too tall and were allowed to spill out over the planters and on to the ground. This incorporated a different visual aesthetic of cascading plants but also appeared somewhat messy and chaotic.



Image 3: Photo taken by the researcher of one of the plots in mid-August. Note that the tomato plants had overgrown their trellis system and the addition of sugar snap peas. View is looking West up Brock St.

As such, people who were passing by frequently re-arranged the plants, putting them back into the planters and draping them on a nearby fence. As a researcher-gardener, this was encouraging as the public felt enough agency and attachment to the plants that they could

manipulate them and take care of the plants. However, this posed a problem as the summer progressed and the constant movement in and out of the planters caused the plants stress which ultimately led the gardening team to pull the tomatoes out by the end of August.

The switch to less obvious vegetable varieties in August was noted by some of the observers and passersby. Particularly, there was a group of employees at the adjacent hospital that were disappointed that the tomatoes were gone, citing the tomatoes as an occasional source of food to their lunches as well as a place to watch during their breaks. The replacement with peas, beans, kale and chard created a very different dynamic by the planters.



Image 4: Photograph of one of the garden plots taken by the researcher in mid-September. By this point, the tomatoes had been removed and replaced by greens and peas. View is South, facing the adjacent hospital Hotel Dieu.

These varieties of vegetables were less obvious and accessible to many potential consumers, with some not recognizing what the plants were or not knowing how to harvest or prepare them. When working in the plots it was possible to do informal food education but this was only when gardening and maintenance work was being undertaken. This

transition in the plots was also when the parking garage nearby the planters was under construction thus bringing in a regular group of workers. One remarked that they enjoyed the peas and the sentiment behind the plots, stating that he and his co-workers frequently picked trash out of the plots.

Furthermore, since myself and the other gardeners returned to university in early September we spent less time around the plots thus limiting our understanding of how people were reacting to the plots and our interactions with the public. However, upon discussing the project with local food activists and other community members during the collection of data for this research project it became clear that people were still visiting the plots and taking greens from there (Participant #8, Participant #13).

The process of interviewing and speaking with the other guerrilla gardeners and community members in Kingston about the project deepened my understanding of the project's scope and impact. Through formal and informal discussions facilitated by this research project as well as through facilitating workshops and classroom discussions, it became clear that a very diverse group of people had noticed, interacted with and connected to the planters (Participant #9, Participant #12, Participant #14).

Specifically, through the formal semi-structured interviews, a number of themes emerged from discussing Dig Kingston with those who identified as guerrilla gardeners and those who did not. The discussion with guerrilla gardeners quickly turned into a broad one revolving around issues of public and private space, underutilized spaces in the city and who has control over urban space:

“In theory (guerrilla gardening is something) that is just but within a potentially unjust system. It premeditates bending rules a little bit. As either a means of displaying the injustice...It may be city policy that you need to have a managed system but it just seems really silly and a waste of money that it's not happening. By demonstrating that this can be used, you know, I'm assuming that if you were to ask the city they would probably say no.”
(Participant #14)

The legal grey area, or bending of the rules, involved in guerrilla gardening added in tones of subversion and critique similar to that found in the literature review. Furthermore, the notions of anonymity and playfulness emerged as important factors in contributing to why guerrilla gardeners and those who interacted with the gardens found meaning, agency and engagement through Dig Kingston.

Interestingly, some of the guerrilla gardeners did not self-identify as gardeners and all remarked that they would not otherwise garden on their own (Participant #12, Participant #13, Participant #14). As such, the Dig Kingston project for the co-gardeners was more about the act of intervening in a public space and less about a need to garden or interact with nature: “More idealistically, I think that, that sort of intervention of unused planters that had an intention to be, I guess there were flowers in there before, and now there’s tomatoes in there that people can actually pick and interact with themselves...Flowers are kind of just something that a city does and it happens in every city.” (Participant #12) As seen from this particular gardener, the notion of the unexpectedness and relational difference to institutionalized gardening was an important factor in how they understood guerrilla gardening. By institutionalized gardening, I am referring to the city’s practice of using pansies or another annual, decorative flower in the city planters across the downtown core of Kingston.

Despite identifying that the actual gardening was less meaningful, one guerrilla gardener remarked that it gave them a deeper appreciation of how food is grown and the work involved. While it was not an explicit goal of this project to build the capacity for co-gardeners to undertake their own projects, the interviews did reveal that those involved in the Dig Kingston project developed a deeper appreciation and positive connection to guerrilla gardening practices and their potential to transform space (Participant #12, Participant #13).

As the season came to a close, the remaining plants were pulled out and spinach was seeded into the garden plots. Unfortunately, due to weather and time constraints this project did not get going as planned and with the dropping November temperatures the spinach seedlings died quickly. Despite the project ending in a physical sense, it continued through online media in the form of a Facebook page and Wordpress blog. Through this online presence, photos and updates of the Dig Kingston plots and the gardening activities were documented and archived. Not only did this allow for more temporal security by retaining both the visual and ideological components of the project but it also allowed for a potential space to connect individuals interested in guerrilla gardening in Kingston. Furthermore it allowed for the Dig Kingston project to connect to similar interventions and guerrilla gardening initiatives both in Kingston and elsewhere, opening up a possible space

for inspiration and envisioned spaces. Considering that I was introduced and compelled to guerrilla garden by online art intervention and guerrilla gardening communities the importance of creating and maintaining these virtual spaces should not be de-emphasized.

The project also continued its development rolling into a research project, which has not only allowed for analytical engagement but also the opportunity to connect with different community members regarding urban agriculture, guerrilla gardening and spatial intervention. While working on the analytical side of the project eventually cut into time that could have been spent planning or gardening, by speaking and connecting with community advocates and other gardeners my understanding of the urban agriculture system in Kingston has deepened and allowed for me to introduce guerrilla gardening as a practice to gardeners and activists.

In the end, the Dig Kingston guerrilla gardening case study was developed by blending together interviews with participants and careful analysis of my own standpoint as a guerrilla gardener and researcher. Further analysis of the themes from the Dig Kingston case study will be carried out alongside the OSCG case study as well as understandings from the literature review.

CHAPTER 5: ANALYSIS

Major Themes

From the two case studies four general themes were gleaned; relationship to the city, cross-pollination with other community groups, organizational structure and the spatial and temporal scale (Appendix F). These four themes were factors in determining the social spaces that the Oak Street Community Garden (OSCG) and Dig Kingston produced. As discussed in the literature review, the notion of urban social space developed by Lefebvre (1991) and other critical urban geographers rests on a dynamic and fluid understanding. This is replicated in the relations and dialogues opened up by the two different practices; the different meanings associated with these two spaces are a result of the practices and the resulting dialogues and projected imaginary spaces were very different. In this lies one of the major differences between the OSCG and Dig Kingston projects; the imagined possibilities of spatial practices and meanings connected to Dig Kingston invoked wider critique and contestation of how space is used and coded. Dig Kingston, by virtue of its anonymity, insecurity and non-state association, allowed for new possibilities and potential spaces of engagement, agency and critique. The OSCG created important spaces for the critique of specific issues and systems. For example it allowed for gardeners to tangibly participate in alternative food systems outside of industrialized agriculture and address issues of food security both on a personal level and through partnerships with the Loving Spoonful. Despite this, the OSCG is bounded by normalized understandings of community gardening and the still emerging, but formalized, Community Gardening Network in Kingston, Ontario.

Relation to the City

As previously detailed, the OSCG has a relatively close relationship with the city; the garden relies upon the city for certain amenities, services and a stable location. With the development of the new community garden policy, the garden has been partnering and working with the city more than ever before. As a result of this dialogue the gardeners at the OSCG have knowledge regarding who to contact at the city as well as having a working relationship with many of the city officials involved in community gardening in Kingston (Participant #1, Participant #6). Furthermore, a better understanding of the city's support system and expectations has been developed, allowing for the organizers at the OSCG to

understand potential boundaries and limitations. Through increased communication, tighter bonds have been formed between the city and the OSCG, especially through policy consultation and the development of a community garden network to promote community gardening in Kingston. In this way, the gardeners and organizers at OSCG can feel relatively comfortable in the security and sustainability of their garden.

This contrasts with Dig Kingston's relationship with the city. While dialogue with the city was never avoided nor was any overt statement regarding the city's involvement made, part of Dig Kingston's identity was that of a non-state actor. Some passersby did not realize Dig Kingston's non-state identity, likely due to the plants being located in city owned planters and the municipality watering and maintaining them. Regardless, Dig Kingston opened up discussions around how space was being used in the city and how it could be used differently, as one participant noted: "It also challenges our notions of public and private space and what can happen in liminal spaces, spaces that are not really used...Once it stops challenging your notion of private property and land use. (It) becomes institutionalized in some way." (Participant #8) When recognized as a non-state project occurring without permission, the transgressive elements of guerrilla gardening were recognized. This connection between the act and transgression or bending of the rules seemed to capture some of the participants' imaginations evidenced by changes in tone and interest in participating in future guerrilla gardening projects (Participant #1, Participant #4, Participant #7, Participant #8).

Further evidence of engagement with the critical aspects of Dig Kingston was seen in the responses of both passersby but also community members who were interviewed: "...engage our fellow community members in dialogue about what is the public sphere. Like what role should it play in our lives? What role and responsibility do we have to participate in it? Those kind of questions." (Participant #5). Additionally, the fact that the project was coded as a non-state actor granted individuals permission to engage with the planters, regardless if the guerrilla gardeners were there or not, by taking care of the plants, harvesting vegetables or even planting their own tomato plant.

Cross Pollination

A second theme was the way that the OSCG cross-pollinated and formed partnerships with other community organizations. As previously detailed, this was likely

due to the context in which the OSCG was founded since many different community groups assisted in the garden's implementation. These connections could have decayed over time but the gardeners and organizers at the OSCG have maintained these partnerships and fostered new ones over the garden's lifespan. The importance of these partnerships should not be under-estimated; as detailed in the literature review this is one of community gardening's strengths in the North American context (McClintock and Cooper 2009, Reynolds 2010). By working with other local organizations the ability of urban agriculture projects like the OSCG to assist in education, awareness and community development goals is put into practice. Furthermore, it establishes the OSCG as an important node in Kingston's wider network of community organizations working on issues ranging from local food security, community development and youth education. In this way, the OSCG's work with local organizations is reflective of other models of community gardening and urban agriculture as outlined in the literature review section. As such, it provides support to the notion that community gardens can be more than just their individual plots and possible spaces of connection and communication in formulating more just landscapes.

Once again, this theme provides a point of contrast to the Dig Kingston site. Throughout the project, no explicit efforts were made to connect with community organizations. Instead, contacts and interactions with community members were on a one-one basis at the garden site or in informal discussions. The dialogue opened up by these micro-scalar interactions was empowering both for gardeners and passersby as the gardens provided a focal point for the people who moved through that space and instigated broader, critical questions. These broader questions included critiquing how the city uses its planners to whether such space is private or public (Participant #8, Participant #11, Participant #13). Stemming from this, the issue of whether or not citizens have the right to manipulate that space and change it was frequently discussed (Participant #6, Participant #7, Participant #13). As a whole, hardly any participants saw Dig Kingston or guerrilla gardening in general as an act that was ethically or legally wrong (Participant #8, Participant #9, Participant #13). While some worried over the legality from a personal standpoint (Participant #6), few thought that guerrilla gardening was malicious or illegal.

This begs the questions of why the city planters, and more broadly urban space in general, were controlled and manipulated with such strict and implied rules regarding

what belongs. The state or municipality's control and use of the planters seems to have been an afterthought both for passersby and for the municipality itself, considering that the planters remained unused for the month of June and were not re-planted with the municipality's flowers. This taken-for-granted municipal and institutional coding was disrupted by the Dig Kingston project, thus questioning the role of citizens in producing space and shifting towards a more active role. As suggested by authors such as Cowen (2006) and Sharez (2006), Dig Kingston could fall into the trap of being a form of spatial appropriation.

Guerrilla gardening could be interpreted as a form of spatial appropriation if it is producing more space that is in the purview and control of the middle class or other privileged groups. For example, Cowen (2006) found issues with guerrilla gardening's lack of connection to broader urban political and social movements. However, the unique position of the researcher and other gardeners allowed for connections to other organizations in the Kingston community. Specifically, through the Dig Kingston project dialogue was opened up with the Loving Spoonful, city officials, food advocates and individuals interested in practicing guerrilla gardening. This dialogue resulted in workshops and outreach work conducted by the researcher as well as links to other guerrilla gardening projects occurring in Kingston, which resulted in an exchange of knowledge and support.

While Dig Kingston did not develop explicit ties to other more formal organizations, likely due to the legal grey area it occupied, by making gardening and spatial critique visible it opened up dialogues that otherwise may have never occurred. These dialogues were not only with formal organizations and individuals as the project was rolled into an academic one, but also with everyday individuals who passed by and interacted with the project. Dig Kingston's reach was expanded from the Kingston context through online media as well as more traditional communication methods allowing it the potential to engage with a variety of communities at different scales. In this way, it opened engagement with broader issues regarding how space is framed and used while also providing a potential avenue for visible change away from productive, capitalist space through direct action.

Organizational Structure

A third theme was the organizational structure. Through interviews with community gardeners, it was clear that the OSCG was an identifiable organization. Many gardeners noted that they joined the OSCG because it was one of the few gardens that had an easy method of contact and had an informative, accessible webpage. As a larger garden, part of the OSCG's success has been its ability to maintain its garden site while continuing to open up new plots and expand. This has been achieved through rules and regulations requiring members to maintain their plots, pay dues and contribute a certain number of hours volunteering on a sub-committee (Participant #6). The sub-committee governance structure at the OSCG strives to be non-hierarchical and includes tasks varying from outreach to new members to weed whipping and grass mowing (Participant #1, Participant #6, Participant #8).

As mentioned, this governance structure is essential to reproducing the garden on a year to year basis and helps avoid problems of volunteer burn out or lack of commitment from members. Additionally, the formal organization allows for a collective identity amongst the gardens thus helping to foster social networks and relationships. This was reflected in the pride and attachment many of the community gardeners interviewed expressed both in regard to their individual plot(s) and the garden as a whole through sub-committee work (Participant #2, Participant #3). However, the result of having such a firm structure is that the garden ends up falling in with set practices and expectations regarding what a community garden is and what can occur there.

While it is likely not an intended effect, the structuring of OSCG results in a projection of a specific type of garden that is predominantly controlled by those already gardening at the OSCG. As such, despite efforts to include as many people as possible, outsiders to the garden may be excluded from engaging in or knowing about the garden. This was seen in the interviews regarding OSCG, where one participant expressed concern over the garden expanding too slowly, thus excluding those on the waiting list (Participant #14).

Dig Kingston did not have a specific organizational or institutional model. Instead, the organization developed over the course of the project and I took on the majority of the leadership and direction responsibilities. This contrasts to reports and work on other guerrilla gardening groups; most were described as collectives or loosely organized

individuals living nearby where they were gardening. In this case, Dig Kingston could differ from other projects due to the embedded researcher-participant role that I had taken on. Since I had conceived of Dig Kingston prior to incorporating it into academic study, I may have taken on more responsibilities than anticipated. Through my position in the community and connection with a variety of different Kingston community members I had access to the required resources and materials for the project, which may not have been the case for other gardeners and their respective projects.

It is possible that other guerrilla gardening organizations have similar organizational structures with one or two individuals as key nodes or drivers of the project. As is frequently the case, it is likely a mix of the two. As previously mentioned the co-gardeners were recruited through previous experience with art interventions but had little gardening experience, which may have made them less inclined see themselves as leaders of the project. Furthermore, other co-gardeners included individuals that did not live nearby the site and felt more involved as facilitators, helping with the acquisition of materials and supplies. In this way, proximity and continued access to the project space and involvement of volunteers may be key factors in developing involvement and connection for future guerrilla gardening projects.

While the overall direction of the project may have been through the researcher, the fact that passersby and co-gardeners visited the Dig Kingston site after the initial planting, interacting with the plants and other individuals nearby suggests that the planters took on a collective identity, open to manipulation and interpretation. Regardless of the structure, by remaining an anonymous entity the project took on an imagined and contextual organizational structure projected by passersby. It was through maintaining anonymity that Dig Kingston as a gardening project was able to take on a collective identity as cited by some of the co-gardeners.

The open meaning attached to Dig Kingston was both a source of strength and weakness. In some ways it likely slowed or blocked connections with more formal organizations or individuals. However, by remaining open to interpretation different passersby and individuals occupying that space formulated a more diverse set of relations to the plots. Indeed, some felt comfortable enough to garden alongside the project and contribute while others found the plots to be a source of food and still others used the area

as a gathering point. These variable meanings were not and could not have been anticipated by the researcher and co-gardeners when the plots were initially planted.

The variable meanings can be attributed to the experimental and emerging nature of guerrilla gardening resulting in connection with other guerrilla gardening projects or other spatial interventions. Some passersby and participants had previous knowledge of guerrilla gardening, resulting in them identifying Dig Kingston as a guerrilla garden. This contrasted to participants who did not have prior understandings of guerrilla gardening and thus did not immediately associate Dig Kingston with certain aspects of guerrilla gardening but came to understand some of the goals and meanings as they interacted with the gardens and learnt more about them.

Spatial and Temporal Scale

The spatial and temporal scale involved in the activities at the OSCG was a reoccurring theme. As seen in the literature review, much has been written about how to establish a community garden that is spatially and temporally secure (Jacobi *et al* 2000, Staeheli *et al* 2002, Twiss *et al* 2003, American Community Gardening Association 2005). As detailed in academic work maintaining the garden space amidst a competitive urban landscape is an ongoing process for many gardens (Schmelzkopf 1995, Smith and Kurtz 2003, Eizenberg 2008). Luckily, the OSCG appears to be relatively stable in its size and growth. While this has changed slightly over time, and will likely continue to do so, the confidence in land access and demand for garden plots means that the garden can expand on its own terms while having certainty in its continued existence.

This stability is due to a variety of factors including the new policy, dialogue with the municipality and the role the OSCG plays in the wider Kingston community garden network as one of the larger, more longstanding gardens. The last point here, that because the garden is older, is somewhat tautological; however, because the garden has a firm identity and place in the city's community garden network, it has more support through a greater number of gardeners, volunteers and community contacts that all provided more security.

This is one of the more prominent contrast points between Dig Kingston and the OSCG. By definition, Dig Kingston was spatially and temporally insecure. In this sense, it allowed for multiple meanings to be placed on the site. Some immediately connected the

gardens to subversion and critique noting that by bending the rules and planting vegetables it contested the city's use of the space, which would be planting perennial flowers (Participant #12, Participant #14). In this sense, Dig Kingston relied on a relational definition in contrast to what belongs in city planters and what kind of gardening can occur in the city. As noted in the media articles, this notion of mischief and play is defining characteristic of guerrilla gardening linking it to the sentiment of acting first and asking for permission later that generates instability (Tracey 2007, Kamel 2008, Toronto Public Space Committee 2010). Dig Kingston was capable of capturing this in co-gardeners as well as passersby who recognized the action as guerrilla gardening, whether through previous knowledge or discussion with gardeners.

Furthermore, through this insecurity, the Dig Kingston project effectively challenged what was supposed to be in the planters. In this way it engaged passersby who may have normally overlooked what was in them or who was in control of that space. This insecurity coupled with the playfulness of the project resulted in the planters being seen as unaggressive and not malicious in intent. This contrasts to other forms of guerrilla gardening that use more aggressive language and tactics ranging from the unearthing of concrete to seed bombing (Johnson 2006, Tracey 2007, Reynolds 2009, Ryan 2010). It can be argued that the lack of this sort of language and assertiveness made the Dig Kingston project less politically stimulating and subversive as compared to other projects. However, the non-aggressive nature of the Dig Kingston project may have made it more accessible for those who did not know what guerrilla gardening was, thus allowing it to reach a wider audience.

While not exhaustive, these four main themes provide an entry point from which to analyze the different social spaces community gardening and guerrilla gardening can produce. It should be noted that there is considerable range in different community and guerrilla gardening practices thus producing spaces that differ based on context. As such, these two case studies in the Kingston context can provide examples of community gardening and guerrilla gardening in action as well as some of the proposed implications of such spaces as methods of formulating critiques to embedded and unjust city spaces, as will be discussed in the following section. Furthermore, the extent to which the practices and social spaces included in the two case studies result in different imagined spatial

possibilities will be revisited. Shifting between these three processes, in a similar vein to Lefebvre’s trialectical conceptualization of space, will highlight how the open and experimental components of guerrilla gardening allow for engagement and change on a small scale but with wider implications if connected and incorporated at different scales and levels.

Practice, Social Space and Imagined Spaces

The potential relationship(s) suggested by Lefebvre (1991) between practice, social space and imagined possibilities in constructing space have real implications when considering how embedded, unjust landscapes can be challenged, deconstructed and reconstructed. In light of these two case studies the way spatial practices, as mediated by contextual practices and broader meanings, produce and are produced by social networks and dialogues will be addressed. The way in which these social networks, dialogues and practices contribute to imagined spatial possibilities will also be addressed. The dynamic movement between these processes is one that is non-linear, frequently overlapping and not always equal.

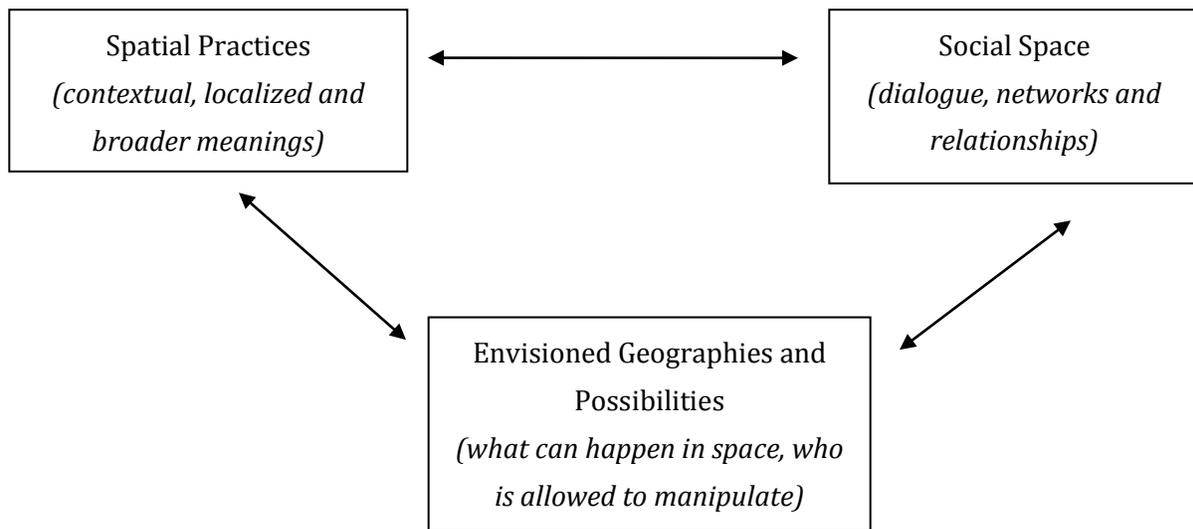


Figure 5: Researcher schematic of the relationship between the types of practices, representations and social spaces produced by the two case studies. Roughly based on Lefebvre’s dynamic, trialectic understanding of urban space.

As such, the relational connections drawn here may be contextually situated both in place (Kingston, Ontario) and my standpoint. Regardless of this, the importance of

projected possibilities and envisioned geographies resulting from guerrilla gardening as compared to community gardening are much more open. These open boundaries and meanings allow for more radical and critical visions of what city space can be and who can dictate the framing of that space. As a result, practices such as guerrilla gardening provide avenues for new spatial orders and meanings that are not dominant and force a reevaluation of urban social space.

The spatial practices, outlined through the themes, contributed towards generating a specific social space. According to Lefebvre (1991), social space can include a variety of different networks, relationships, connections and dialogues that produce and are reproduced by that particular space. In the context of the OSCG, the social spaces that were most important in dictating the practices and envisioned possibilities were the relationship to the city, organizational structure and networks formed between the gardeners. Due to the normalized meanings and understandings of community gardening, outlined in the literature review, and its relationship to urban agriculture the social space of the OSCG resembled that of pre-established community gardening practice.

The tight relationship with the city, formalized governance structure and use of sub-committee volunteering to promote a garden social network is a format replicated amongst other community gardens (Twiss et al 2003, American Community Gardening Association 2005, Higgins 2008). This format clearly works in establishing (relationally to guerrilla gardening) long term security both from a spatial and temporal standpoint. In this way, the OSCG is produced and perceived as a legitimized space as it maintains both the social relations and material practices that constitute a community garden.

The OSCG produced a space where gardeners could establish an alternative to participating in an increasingly globalized, post-Fordist food system, which is consistent with themes from the literature review documents (Flores 2006, Eizenberg 2008). This alternative was established through the material practice of gardening but also through the social space of the OSCG. By gardening at the OSCG, gardeners learnt new techniques and knowledge about both the localized food system and broader food system issues. By having space to physically and socially articulate their views, gardeners realized a sense of connection and identity with their fellow gardeners and other alternative food system actors in Kingston.

Almost all of the community gardening and local community participants had envisioned possible spaces relating to urban agriculture and community gardening. Herein lies an important differentiation between guerrilla gardening and community gardening; the community gardening and city official participants were very much focused on urban agriculture initiatives whereas guerrilla gardening and community members responding to guerrilla gardening questions, cited a desire to see more unexpected interventions that invoke wider spatial critique. As detailed through the themes and discussion on social space, the OSCG has a close relationship with the city that has been especially influenced by the recent development of a community gardening policy for Kingston. While contextually specific, this boundary was reflected in the way community gardeners expressed a desire to see more gardens developed through the system set up by the policy.

Since the policy only oversees gardens on city land there is a possibility of further partitioning of limited public and civic space among different interests. More community gardens are a goal for many citizens and city officials alike, however as cautioned in work from Reynolds and McClintock, careful thought and planning needs to be taken before starting a community garden (Allen 2008, McClintock and Cooper 2009, Reynolds 2010). Furthermore, by limiting gardens on public and civic land the given spatial ordering of the city is accepted and worked within rather than contesting or critiquing it.

While the garden space allows gardeners to assert their identities as well as develop important skills and social spaces, the control and power of where the gardeners can create this space is still dictated by the municipality and normalized conceptions of what community gardening entails. By controlling where gardening can occur, the city perpetuates embedded spatial power structures and meanings, which continues to limit potential different uses and envisioned geographies. The result is a landscape that does not contain active voices and diverse practices, thus limiting the ability for citizens to express their right to the city. In this way, the envisioned geographies of the OSCG are bounded and lack the implicit critical connotation taken on by guerrilla gardening spatial possibilities.

Returning again to the themes, the material factors that contributed to the meanings and social space constructed by Dig Kingston were its relation to the city, organizational structure and insecure spatial and temporal structure. The unexpected introduction of vegetables into previously uncared for city planters produced a new set of practices and

social relations. Through direct action, citizens were encouraged to manipulate and add to the garden plots and socialize with each other around the plots. These practices were in part due to the meanings and associations attached to Dig Kingston due to the material reality of the plots but also the related meanings linked to guerrilla gardening.

These related meanings of guerrilla gardening include those found in the literature review such as the transgressive, critical, spontaneous and unexpected nature of guerrilla gardening (Johnson 2006, McClish 2007, Ryan 2010, Zanetti 2010). Some of these meanings were attached for community members and gardeners due to previous knowledge of guerrilla gardening, as found through the interview process. But these meanings also come to the surface due to the practices occurring at the Dig Kingston site and interactions therein.

Through the social spaces produced by Dig Kingston, possibilities and envisioned geographies of difference and action were articulated, allowing for passersby and guerrilla gardeners to interact and manipulate a part of their city. By actively articulating and producing new space, Dig Kingston critiqued the way the city used its planters and destabilized spatial expectations. Furthermore, and perhaps most importantly, through a non-state identity the project operated in a legal grey area that questioned who is allowed to manipulate and alter city space.

The 'Act first, Ask later' mentality incorporated into guerrilla gardening undoubtedly generates spatial and temporal insecurity. It is through insecurity that guerrilla gardening can challenge what belongs in or out of place in the city. By not having a specific organization responsible for the act and occupying forgotten or liminal urban spaces, guerrilla gardening projects will necessarily remain unstable and insecure. However, this insecurity and instability is key to maintaining a guerrilla gardening project's critical and subversive nature; by being out of place guerrilla gardening calls attention to the way space is used.

In this way, guerrilla gardening is not necessarily about food security, although there may be a small positive affect for some, and more about driving a wedge into taken for granted spatial uses and meanings. This opening up of difference is essential towards producing more open, less absolute and more active urban space: "...an active right to make the city different, to shape it more in accord with our heart's desire, and to re-make

ourselves thereby in a different image.” (Soja 2010, p94) As articulated by Soja and other critical geographers like Marcuse, there is a need for spatial manipulation in order to formulate more just cities and social relations.

This sort of spatial empowerment refers to the “active right” for urban dwellers, who are both spatial objects and subjects, to produce their own space. Instead of inhabiting the powerful and frequently ubiquitous spaces of late capitalism, urban inhabitants have a right to contest, question and critique the city they are a part of. Referring back to Marcuse’s interpretation of the right to the city, this incorporates the “cry” portion of his analysis. As previously noted, there is a fundamental issue in comparing the “cry” and “demand” as explained by Marcuse; comparing a guerrilla gardener’s alienation to a homeless person’s lack of basic housing is not productive or possible. Drawing from Cowen and Sharez such a comparison may well be a spatial appropriation or even an appropriation of rights resulting from a comparison of manifestations due to unjust geographies (Cowen 2006, Sharez 2006).

Linking Research with Action

As such, what Dig Kingston has shown is the importance of drawing in connections and interlocking the production of one material space with multiple social spaces and envisioned geographies. This was primarily achieved through integrating Dig Kingston into this research project; making myself visible as both a researcher and guerrilla gardener allowed for the widening of the Dig Kingston project’s reach in the Kingston community. By developing the project into an academic one, two main connections were achieved.

The first was on a more theoretical and philosophical level as I have tried to weave in meanings from the right to the city and the production of just geographies. Through this, it is clear that while there is no one given meaning for a particular guerrilla gardening project it has the potential to produce new spaces of critique and engagement for gardeners and passersby alike. Indeed, many of the passersby should not be classified as such because they took active roles in caring for, manipulating and interacting with the garden plots of the Dig Kingston project.

However, as evidenced through the second connection, the ability of a given guerrilla gardening project to move beyond generating localized envisioned geographies is

contingent upon forming strong social spaces through dialogue and networking. This does not always require that the project pull back its anonymity, as I have been forced to do as a participant-researcher for this project. Indeed, the use of online communities and documentation is a powerful tool and one that shaped the researcher's envisioned geographies resulting in taking on the Dig Kingston project in June of 2010. While this dimension was not fully explored here, it would be an interesting point for future research.

Despite this, if wider connection and the production of more just geographies that push for a widespread articulation of the right to the city is to be achieved the full anonymity associated with guerrilla gardening must be sacrificed. Clearly, there are shades to anonymity as evidenced through Dig Kingston; my involvement was revealed over the course of the development of this research project and likely remains unknown to many who interacted with the Dig Kingston site. However, this sacrifice proved to be worth it as connections were made with local food security groups, other spatial interventionists and many urban dwellers in Kingston.

CHAPTER 6: IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

As established in the beginning of this study, the relationship between community gardening and guerrilla gardening is an unsteady one. Community gardening, both in a wider and Kingston specific context, has a definite set of practices and meanings produced through the practice of gardening but also through normalized meanings and expectations on what a community garden is. Conversely, guerrilla gardening is still emerging and firm definitions have yet to be developed. It is debateable whether or not guerrilla gardening will ever be firmly defined or whether having such a definition will be useful. Regardless, through the Dig Kingston guerrilla gardening case study the performativity, relational definition, anonymity, loose organization and insecure nature emerged as important themes in lending meaning to the project.

While both community and guerrilla gardening are nested within traditional conceptions of urban agriculture in that they both occur in urban environments, the spaces they produce are very different. By comparing case studies of community gardening and guerrilla gardening in the same context through Lefebvre's understanding of contemporary urban space these differences have been made clearer. Perhaps most importantly, the results of this study highlight and conceptualize the connections between practice, social space and envisioned geographies. Alongside Lefebvre (1991) and contemporary readings of radical geographers, the envisioned geographies of guerrilla gardening provide an example of an articulation of the right to the city.

While this might not be the case for every guerrilla gardening project, as suggested by Cowen (2006) and Sharez (2006), the Dig Kingston guerrilla gardening achieved this by producing an open and critical space of possibility. As such, this suggests that there is a range within guerrilla gardening practices, definitions and meanings depending on the context it occurs in. However, due to the emerging and fluid nature of guerrilla gardening spaces there is a component of openness and critique that is absent from cities where capitalist, productive space dominates the landscape. As detailed through the analysis section, these critical and open spaces of engagement, when linked with other community organizations, have powerful implications for moving towards more just landscapes.

Looking at this study, there are four main points of contribution:

- Better understanding of guerrilla gardening; including barriers, resources and potential limitations
- Separation between guerrilla gardening and the more normalized practices of urban agriculture.
- Application of right to the city; guerrilla gardening as a avenue for developing more just spaces and articulation of agency and critique
- Power and importance of combining academic inquiry and direct action

The first point was achieved by providing an in depth case study of guerrilla gardening thus allowing for a better understanding of some of the limitations, resources and possible issues that could arise when implementing a guerrilla gardening project. Specifically for Dig Kingston, the leadership and organizational structure was a point that differed from other projects and may have impacted the level of attachment the co-gardeners felt towards the plots. Additional barriers and concerns include location and considering whether or not passersby will connect a given project to guerrilla gardening. As seen through the Dig Kingston project, some passersby were not familiar with guerrilla gardening and did not immediately connect the project with a wider network of guerrilla gardeners working in other cities. Despite this lack of immediate connection, it provides a potential pathway for education about guerrilla gardening.

Expanding on the location point, similar to the findings of urban agriculture academics, a given guerrilla gardening project's meaning is highly contextual and based in the place it occurs in and the space it ultimately produces. In this way, guerrilla gardening does fit in with the current research on urban agriculture. Both in the sense that guerrilla gardening is highly contextual but also because it relies upon other practices of urban agriculture, such as community gardening, to draw relational meanings and definitions. This was seen in the comparison of the themes drawn from the two case studies; in many cases the Dig Kingston project directly contrasted themes and meanings drawn from the OSCG. However, this contrast does not mean that the two are in opposition or competition; as shown here both create important social spaces and envisioned geographies with potentially transformative qualities.

This relates a second implication of this particular study; by applying theories of spatial justice and transformation through spatial practices guerrilla gardening is a potential avenue towards opening up more critical and active urban spaces. The importance of having these spaces, as shown by Soja (2010) and Lefebvre (1991, 1996), is that they provide opportunities for urban dwellers to articulate their right to the city. By guerrilla gardening, material, social and envisioned spaces are generated that question how space is framed and allow for the visibility of more critical voices.

As suggested by more critical work from Cowen (2006) and Sharez (2006), simply because a space is not produced by the state or a private actor does not necessarily make it a just one. As mentioned before, Dig Kingston very well could have fallen into such a trap of appropriation. However, through academic research the Dig Kingston project was able to link up with other community organizations, interventionists, gardeners and interested individuals. As such, the project began to connect with other non-capitalist spaces and actors moving it towards Soja's (2010) vision of just urban landscapes of multiple scales and networks. In this way, this research project highlighted the power of incorporating inquiry and action. Through this approach more meaning was given to the Dig Kingston project, allowing it to become more than one spatially and temporally insecure instance of gardening.

Looking ahead to future pathways for research, there are a number of open threads in regard to understanding guerrilla gardening. Through this research, themes of performativity and online documentation have been highlighted as important factors in producing and reproducing meanings attributed to specific gardens. However, this relationship could be explored further, especially with regard to organized social movements and spatial interventions. Indeed the way in which these virtual spaces may allow for more meaningful guerrilla gardening projects highlights the important link between documentation and direct action in connecting across and between different places and scales.

Another potential line of further inquiry is the connection between the critique put forth by Cowen (2006) and Sharez (2006) and spatial appropriation. My proposition that Dig Kingston was not an appropriation due to its cross pollination and connection with other local organizations may be contentious due to my position as a participant researcher

and it would be worthwhile to see further work exploring this notion of appropriation. Specifically, there is a possible suggestion through Lefebvre's (1996) right to the city concept that puts the onus of responsibility on urban dwellers to take to the city and reclaim space to remake the city. While this is an inspiring and important assertion it may overlook potential alliances and connections with more institutionalized actors, such as municipal governments.

As seen in my work, the municipality did not have a firm understanding of guerrilla gardening, thus they did not see Dig Kingston as an encroachment on their control over space. In this sense while guerrilla gardening views the municipality and the state as antagonistic, by loosening its strict spatial code and opening the city up to spaces produced outside of the purview of productive or capitalist forces, new possibilities for the articulating the right to the city could be developed and put into practice. As such, future work looking at the relationship between activist practice and its relationship to more institutionalized and formalized bodies is necessary in order to fully understand how more open, engaging and just urban spaces can be produced.

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Appendix A: Research Memo/Assumptions

1.) Study Question

How is guerrilla gardening different from community gardening? What components does GG bring in that CG does not? Why is this important/significant?

2.) Study Propositions—define purpose and criteria for success

- Guerrilla gardening involves intervention in public space
- Community gardening is frequently government mandated or approved
- Guerrilla gardening is anonymous
- Guerrilla gardening can be illegal
- Guerrilla gardening occurs in forgotten spaces
- Community gardening involves individual plots for leasers
- Guerrilla gardening is associated with street art
- Space is where everyday social life is acted out
- Space is becoming increasingly fragmented
- Increasing fragmentation has led to alienation, forgetting the importance of the city landscape
- By intervening and re-engaging with space we can re-engage with the city through spatial politics and involvement

3.) Unit of Analysis

Case study of Brock St guerrilla gardening installation—Dig Kingston

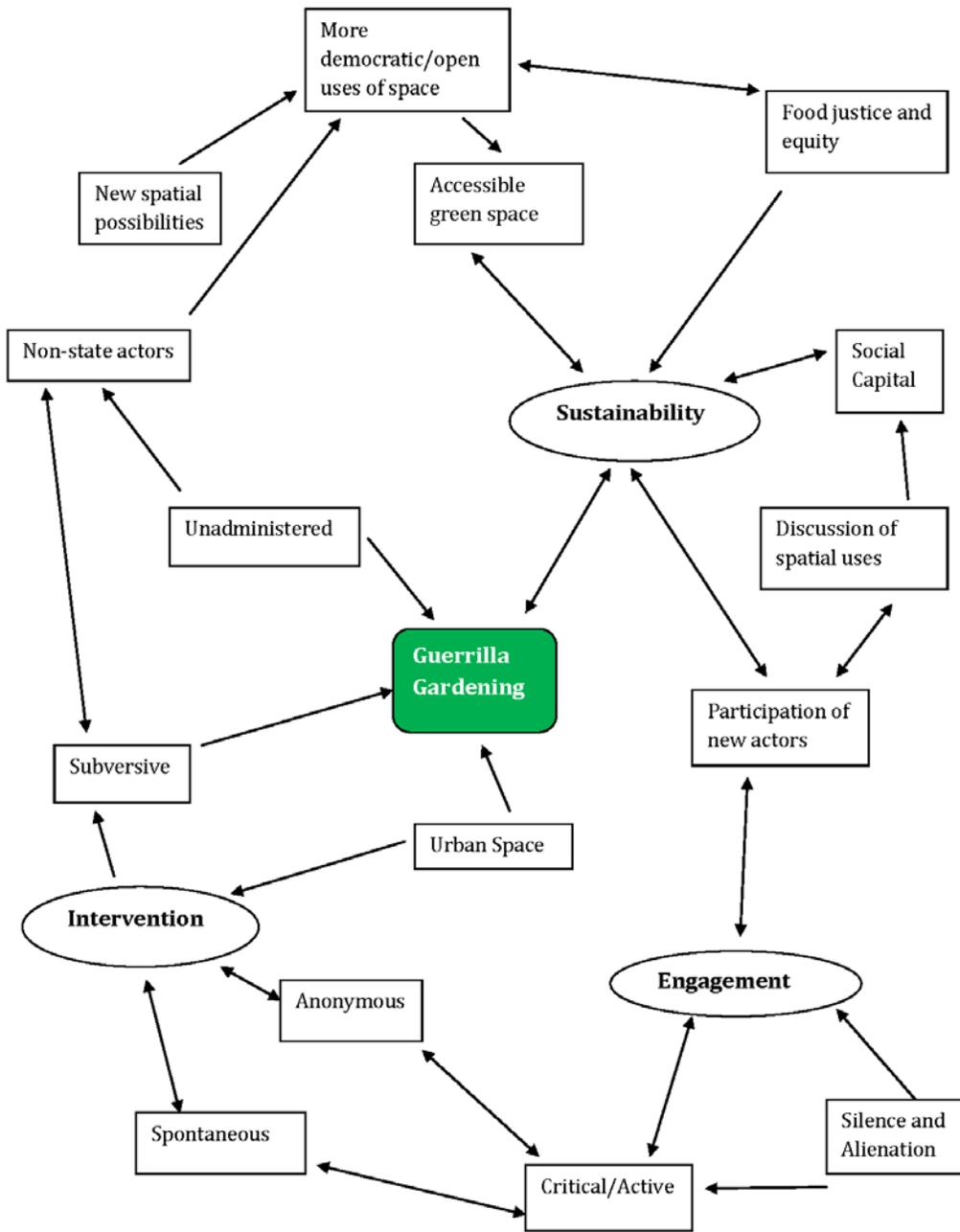
- Individuals involved in organizing and planting
- City officials
- Observations of individuals walking by and interactions pulled from logs
- Reactions/links with community food activists/other interveners in space

Case Study of Oak St Community garden

- Probe for gardeners at Oak St
- Links to community members/activists
- City officials (recent policy development)

4.) Linking Data to Propositions/Criteria for Interpretation

Appendix B: Initial Concept Map



Appendix C: Selected Content Analysis Documents

Guerrilla Gardening:

- 1.) Tracey, D. 2007. *Guerrilla Gardening: a manual*. Cabriola Island, British Columbia: New Society Publishers
- 2.) Muir, K. 2008. "The Dark Ages: guerrilla gardening". *The Sunday Times*, July 12 2008: London, England. Online: http://women.timesonline.co.uk/tol/life_and_style/women/the_way_we_live/article4285290.ece.
- 3.) Kamel, D. 2008. "Guerrilla Gardening". *The Toronto Star*, June 2 2008: Toronto, Ontario. Online: <http://www.thestar.com/article/435197>
- 4.) Reynolds, R. 2009. "Guerrilla Gardening.org". Last Accessed: December 22, 2010. From: <http://www.guerrillagardening.org/>.

Community Gardening:

- 1.) Flores, H.C. 2006. *Food not Lawns: How to turn your yard into a Garden and Your Neighborhood into a Community*. White River Junction, Vermont: Chelsea Green Publishing Company.
- 2.) American Community Gardening Association. 2005. *ACGA Community Greening Review*. New York, New York.
- 3.) Higgins, A. 2008. "Harvesting Food and Knowledge". *Washington Post*, June 26 2008. Online: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2008/06/25/AR2008062500445.html?sid=ST2008062501698&pos=>
- 4.) Higgins, A. 2008. "Following a Growing Drama, With Many Plots." *Washington Post*, April 17 2008: Washington DC, USA. Online: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2008/04/16/AR2008041601173.html>.

Appendix D: Sample Introductory Email and Consent Form

Date: _____

Introductory Email

Dear _____,

I am contacting you to ask you if you (or any of your group members) would be interested in participating in a study I am conducting through the Queen's University Department of Environmental Studies on urban agriculture in Kingston. The final paper is entitled "Intervening with Agriculture: a case study of guerrilla gardening in Kingston, Ontario" and I will be looking at both guerrilla and community gardening as they are practiced in the city. At the end of the work I am hoping to better understand both practices with attention to guerrilla gardening and how it relates to urban space and sustainability.

For your participation, I will interview you for no more than 45 minutes. I will use a digital recorder if you are comfortable with recording our conversation and will have a small list of questions to guide the interview. The questions will relate to urban agriculture with some emphasis on guerrilla or community gardening, with an emphasis on one or the other depending on your experience.

If you are interested, I will interview you on topics regarding urban agriculture. I have attached a letter of information to this email that goes into more detail about the study and your potential involvement in my work.

Thank you for your time. I look forward to hearing back from you soon.

Best,

Annie

Annie Crane
Queen's Department of Environmental Studies
BAH '11 Candidate
7ac4@queensu.ca
613-484-9999

Letter of Information/Consent

Title: Intervening with agriculture: a case study of guerrilla gardening in Kingston, Ontario

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Leela Viswanathan

Department of Geography/School of Urban and Regional Planning

Queen's University

Kingston, Ontario

(613) 533 0000 (ext. 75038)

Email: leela.viswanathan@queensu.ca

You are invited to participate in this study on urban agriculture in Kingston, Ontario. The goal of this study will be to look at both guerrilla and community gardening as practiced in the city of Kingston.

In doing so, I hope to tease apart the different ways the two practices contribute to urban space and sustainability. At the end of this study, I hope to contribute to current academic and popular conceptions of guerrilla gardening and how it relates to cities and sustainability.

For your participation, I will interview you for no more than 45 minutes. I will use a digital recorder if you are comfortable with recording our conversation and will have a

small list of questions to guide the interview. The questions will relate to urban agriculture with some emphasis on guerrilla or community gardening, depending on your experience.

There is no known risk for participating in this study. There could be some anxiety or discomfort when starting the interview as you get accustomed to being recorded but I will make an effort to make the recording device as unobtrusive as possible. If at any point you feel uncomfortable, you can withdraw at anytime. While there will be no direct benefits to the participants, you may benefit by reflecting on your involvement with urban agriculture in Kingston. The overall study hopes to develop a better understanding of guerrilla gardening and urban agriculture, which may benefit you if you engage in these activities.

Every effort will be made to protect your privacy and information collected during the interview will be kept confidential. I may use quotes from our interview together in my final paper but your name will not be used nor will any information that can identify you. To ensure your privacy, the recordings of the interviews will be kept on a password locked computer and encrypted so as to block anyone but myself from opening them. The digital files of the recorded interviews will be deleted two years after the study has been completed (April 2013).

Your participation in this study is voluntary and you can chose to withdraw at any point even after signing the consent form or part way through the study. If you chose to withdraw there will be no consequences and any data you have provided will be destroyed. The results will be used in an undergraduate thesis for the Queen's University Department of Environmental Studies. The final report will be available upon request from the researcher and through the department. The results may also be published in other sources (academic and popular) and you will be notified as such.

Any questions about study participation may be directed to Annie Crane at 7ac4@queensu.ca or (613) 484 9999. Any ethical concerns about the study may be directed to the Chair of the General Research Ethics Board at chair.GREB@queensu.ca or 613-533-6081.

This study has been granted clearance according to the recommended principles of Canadian ethics guidelines, and Queen's policies.

Consent Form

[Note: Please keep a copy of the Letter of Information and Consent Form for your records.]

I have read the above information presented in the Letter of Information about the study being conducted on community and guerrilla gardening in Kingston, Ontario by Annie Crane at Queen’s University. I have had the opportunity to ask questions about my involvement and to receive any additional details I have requested. I understand that participation in this study is voluntary and I may withdraw at any time and that the results will remain confidential. I have been given a copy of this form. I agree to participate in this study.

Signature: _____

Print Name: _____

I agree to have this interview tape recorded: _____ (initials)

I do not agree to have this interview tape recorded: _____ (initials)

Appendix E: Sample Questions and Probes

For Guerrilla Gardeners:

1. How would you describe your involvement in guerrilla gardening?
2. How would you define guerrilla gardening?
 - a. What's your basic understanding?
3. Do you have any experience gardening?
 - a. (in a backyard for example)
4. Do you have any experience/interest in intervening in space?
 - a. About how much time/effort/energy do you commit to it?
 - b. Where do you tend to intervene?
5. Are there any benefits from your involvement?
6. Has your relationship to that space changed? How?
7. How do you think others perceive the site?
8. Would you participate in a similar project again? (start on own?)

For Community Gardeners:

1. How long have you been gardening for?
 - a. Have you gardened anywhere else in the city? (at home or other gardens?)
 - b. If so, how was this experience different? Similar?
2. What do you garden/plant? For what purpose?
 - a. How much time/energy do you put into it?
3. What relationship does the garden have with the municipal government?
4. What are some barriers/problems?
5. What are some benefits that you see coming from your involvement at Oak St?
6. What is your relationship like with the other gardeners?
 - a. Any community/garden events?
7. What is your relationship like with the area the community garden is in?
 - a. Do you live nearby?
 - b. If not, would you come over to that area otherwise? Are most people from the area or elsewhere?

Appendix F: Table of Themes

	Community Gardening	Guerrilla Gardening
Relation to City	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tight relationship • Defined by policy • Big garden means valued by city • Emerging Kingston Community Gardening Network (affiliated with city) • Amenities and services required from city • Permission needed to maintain space 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Non-state by definition • Lack of permission from city (transgressive link?) • Inherently critical • City aware of Dig Kingston's existence
Cross Pollination	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Connections with community groups from start • Embedded in general understanding of community gardening practice • Continued involvement and dialogue • Takes on multiple meanings • Pathway to social change? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No explicit effort/contact made • Found connections through academic project/researcher standpoint • Small scale connections (individual, everyday level) • Coded as guerrilla gardening by those aware of practice (connects with actions and interventions at different scales and places) • Brought up broader issues of spatial uses • Site of connection
Organizational Structure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Governing structure/organization key to sustaining over long term • Maintenance of garden means has to look a certain way (plots and entire space) • Social space/networks via organization and volunteering 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No strict model or structure to use as example • Role as researcher interplaying with organizational role • Passersby/citizens project organizational identity and structure onto that space • Self-organizing through

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Self-organizing through gardeners in city, involved individuals at other gardens 	<p>previous social networks—pull in new ones as well</p>
Spatial and Temporal Structure/Scale	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stable and secure place/lifespan • Long term (comparatively) • Legitimized space through city permission, existing practice/understandings • Large in size—requires specific type of space 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Insecure (multiple meanings?) • Instability due to lack of permission • Unexpected locations—invoke mischief/playfulness • Small scale; legal grey area (less about the garden itself)