Minor Thesis

Willing Workers on Organic Farms

The influence of 'WWOOFing' on food provisioning practices

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ABSTRACT

Nowadays food is a subject of global concern and fashion in the same time. With the worldwide crises of obesity and related to it diseases on one hand, and nutrient deficiency and food insecurity on the other, the pressure to promote healthy eating and re-educate society in respect to food, has never been bigger. Blaming food systems or individuals are two polarised sites that people tend to take in debates about the sources of these food-related problems. An alternative way to look at such problems is to look at the food-related routines that people perform in their daily lives to see what they consist of and to find out how they can be changed. This study takes WWOOFing- a worldwide opportunity to work and live at organic farms- as a case to investigate to what extent WWOOFing influences food provisioning practices. This approach focuses then more on how people manage to stay healthy rather than how to cure food-related diseases. The findings of this study shed light at food provisioning practices that are performed at WWOOF farms: to find out what it takes to for example to grow own food, prepare and eat meals that are rich in fresh, organic and seasonal produce or to preserve food. In order to gain this type of understanding, this study looks at the competences, materials and meanings as elements that constitute those practices. Thanks to using YouTube videos made by WWOOFers from all around the world, as well as case studies of two WWOOF farms in which interviews with WWOOFers and participatory observations took place, this study provides a nuanced explanation of how food provisioning practices are performed in practice, but also how they can vary across various WWOOF farms. This study ends with practical recommendations that policy-makers can use to design food-related campaigns and educational programs.

Preface

This study is a result of minor thesis research project carried out at the Rural Sociology Chair group in Wageningen. With a background in tourism, foodscapes and planning, this study is crosscutting those disciplines to investigate the impact of WWOOFing on the everyday routines of volunteers. This study presents the findings of this research in the following way.

In the first chapter, **the introduction**, departing from the perspective of health and sustainability as two important reasons for why food became important concern in the society. I discuss the societal and academic interest for doing this research and how it is positioned within the ongoing debates. This chapter includes a review of previous scientific publications in the domains of alternative food, food policy, societal transition, habits acquisition and WWOOFing.

In second chapter of **theoretical framework,** I explain my rationale for choosing Social Practice Theory as a theoretical lens for thus study. I will highlight the relevant concepts of this theory for this study and elaborate on my understanding of these concepts.

In the third chapter, I present my **research questions**, and a list of sub-research questions that are framed by the theoretical lens of Social Practice Theory.

In the fourth chapter, **methodology**, I discuss my ontological and epistemological view, how it is influenced by Social Practice Theory, and the way it shapes the design of this study. Furthermore, I elaborate on research methods that were used to conduct this research.

The fifth chapter presents **findings** of this study in three sub-chapters, each devoted to one element of social practice: competences, materials and meanings, and in relation to the steps of food provisioning practices as they are performed at WWOOF farm and how they change. I this chapter I also provide a nuanced discussion on my findings in relation to scientific literature.

The sixth chapter, **conclusion**, summaries this study and lists several **recommendations** that policy-makers can use to design food-related campaigns and educational programs.

The final chapter, critically discusses the **limitations and credibility** of this study and evaluates how they impacted it.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Nowadays, a 'healthy food' is a buzzword. In the media, food in general is a very fashionable topic since many people are interested in food blogs, recipe tutorials and online food coaching (Getz, *et al.*, 2014, p.52). Furthermore, eating healthy is promoted by governments in various campaigns (Rekhy & McConchie, 2014). For example, the Dutch government launched a campaign called Choose for Health ('Ga voor gezond'[1]), that has as goal promoting healthy food for children. At the global level, the World Health Organization regularly provides dietary guidelines and defines nutrient requirements[2]. Even famous people increasingly get involved in campaigns to set a good example and to inspire others to eat healthy (Wardle *et al.*, 2001). For example, Jamie Oliver launched a campaign called 'Feed me Better[3]' that is focused on providing nutritious meals at schools and teaching children about food. However, even though the advice to eat healthily is omnipresent, obesity is the second reason for premature deaths in Europe (Global BMIMC, 2016) which in 2010 was estimated to be the cause of 3.4 million deaths (Ng *et al.*, 2013). The main source of this problem is that people consume too much calories, however in the same time they might miss on important nutrients because of not eating enough fruits and vegetables (Cohen *et al.*, 2010).

Secondly, sustainability is another increasing concern of society in relation to food. Evaluating if food that composes a diet is sustainable might be however unambiguous as this term covers a wide spectrum of impacts that a diet might have. Meybeck & Gitz (2017) suggest using the term sustainability in relation to the economic, social and environmental impact of food systems. For example, environmental degradation caused by intensified agriculture has already for decades been identified a major problem that impacts the quality of landscape (Harms *et al.*, 1987). Furthermore, topics such as food waste (FAO, 2011), social injustice (Drewnowski & Darmon, 2005) and livelihoods of farmers (Dixon *et al.*, 2001) are other issues regarding social and economic sustainability. In relation to health, food systems are often blamed for promoting unhealthy food by normalising processed and convenience foods (Meybeck & Gitz, 2017). Products with a high calorie content tend to be cheaper compared to fresh vegetables and fruit, which are more expensive sources of calories (Darmon *et al.*, 2005). As a result, many low-income families face a financial barrier for eating the recommended amounts of fruits and vegetables (Cassady *et al.*, 2007). Furthermore, food systems are blamed for disconnecting people from food production, which connotes that many people never experience the production of food that they eat in their daily lives (Kneafsey, 2010). This problem appeared in the modern era of food production which brought about innovations that enabled mass production of food by replacing manual work and moving food production to large and closed

[1] http://opiniepanel.eenvandaag.nl/uitslagen/31132/_ga_voor_gezond_

[2] http://www.who.int/nutrition/publications/nutrient/en/

[3] http://www.feedmebetter.com/school

for the outside world factories (Kneafsey *et al.,* 2008). Furthermore, industrial revolution in food production normalised long chains of production which reduced transparency and made it difficult for people to know where their food comes from (Opara & Mazaud, 2001). As a result of these advancements and in some instances, it became unnecessary for individuals to acquire skills such as growing or even preparing their own food (Jaffe & Gertler, 2006). Furthermore, consumers' lack of knowledge also extends to having inadequate or partial information about seasonality, which is an obstacle for eating healthily and sustainably (Brooks, 2011). According to Jaffe & Gertler (2006) this process of deskilling and de-educating people was in some instances facilitated through deliberate marketing strategies of large food producers.
Acknowledging the importance of healthy eating as a part of everyday life of people in long-term, scholars started to focus not only on investigating the problems of 'western diet' but moved also to investigating how people manage to stay healthy (Antonovsky, 1987) and why they choose for sustainable produce (Warner, 2007). For example, Warner (2007) found that consumers often associate products certified for assuring some aspect of sustainability with quality that translates into a differentiated taste. Nevertheless, much remains to be unravelled regarding what motivates or helps people to get introduced to produces that are deemed as healthy and sustainable and to develop dietary routines that include these products as according to Vermeir & Verbeke (2006), there is still a gap between consumers' attitude and behaviour.

Unfortunately, despite the negative impact that unhealthy and unsustainable diets have, it appears that changing habits for good is very difficult (Wood & Neal, 2016). Research has shown that when it comes to improving health, breaking bad habits is for some people too difficult, however, the good news is that it turns out that acquiring new healthy habits can help to stay healthy (Wood & Neal, 2016). Following this line of reasoning, it is interesting to relate to literature that explains how new habits are created. One basic explanation is that acquiring new habits "involves repeated performance of rewarding actions in stable contexts" (Wood & Neal, 2016 p. 73). On the other hand, the school of thought established by Mezirow (1997) argues that new habits can also be a result of a stimulus, something that will trigger an individual to reconsider the 'status quo'. He suggests that stimulus leads to a transformational experience-one that opens an individual to a critical reflection on him-/herself or the group he/she belongs to and can result in behavioural change (Mezirow, 1997).

How people manage to eat healthy and use their demand to shape food systems?

Nowadays consumers have the power to influence what kind of food is being produced and how it is produced, at both a local and a global level (Meybeck & Gitz, 2017). This is a goal of various food movements, but a well-known example is the 'Slow Food Movement', established around the rhetoric of good, clean and fair food to counteract the fast food industry (Schneider, 2008). Holt-Giménez & Shattuck (2011, p. 109) argue that alternative food movements are quite successful in opposing the mainstream food production as they "directly and indirectly

challenge the legitimacy and hegemony of the corporate food regime". This occurs not only through lobbying but also through the demand for organic, locally-grown and seasonal food (Jarosz, 2008) and consumers' interest in knowing where their food comes from (Almas, 1999). Besides that, civic engagement in assuring that everyone can eat healthy can be observed in local initiatives such as organising a farm-to-school food supply (Bagdonis *et al.,* 2009) or in Community Supported Agriculture, whereby a partnership between community and a farmer is created to facilitate direct food acquisition though membership (Sebastian & Reghin, 2013). In the literature, the movement in alternative food provisioning is discussed under the common category of Alternative Food Networks (AFN) which is defined as relationships between producers and consumers that are made possible through the medium of alternative food (Cox *et al.,* 2008). What distinguishes alternative food production from the industrialized one are terms such as proximity, Do-It-Yourself approach, trust among people in the network as well as morally-sound or reflexive forms of food production (Veen, 2015, p. 27).

These forms of food acquisition can help people to eat healthy and choose for sustainable produce. However, they do not cure from what Jaffe & Gertler (2006) calls 'deskilling' in relation to food. Another point of criticism in relation to organic food is that one third of consumers finds it expensive and exclusive (Padel & Foster, 2005) which comprises the its potential to become the mainstream way of producing food. A possible solution to it is growing food, for example in community gardens or allotment gardens (Veen, 2015, p. 24) or in gardens or boxes (Armar-Klemesu, 2000). Even though growing food is increasingly popular, especially in cities where urban farming became not only a way to ensure food security for families but also a fashionable hobby in affluent countries (Alber & Kohler, 2008). Growing food in cities is proved to be a beneficial activity for improving health (Leake *et al.,* 2009) and the quality of urban environment (Deelstra & Girardet, 2000). Nevertheless, in order to grow food, one needs numerous skills and knowledge such as how to set up a vegetable garden, how to harvest and broad knowledge, how to prepare and cook it (Dobernig *et al.,* 2016). Undoubtedly, there are many ways in which such skills could be acquired, including Internet tutorials, however, Felder & Brent (2003) argue that the only effective way of learning is by doing. To some extent, this can be achieved by visiting sites of food production, as in various forms of farm tourism. For example, farm-based restaurants and agritourism became popular among health-conscious tourists by offering fresh, organic or local produce in combination with a rustic landscape (Swarbrooke, 1998, Barbieri, 2013, Shen *et al.*, 2009). The actual impact of such experiences has been confirmed by a study on the Masuria region in Poland that found that agritourism has "a positive impact on health promotion, health education and healthy lifestyle" (Kwilecki *et al.*, 2012, p.2). Nevertheless, visiting isn't necessarily equal to having an opportunity to learn by doing, which is why tourists who are genuinely interested in learning about food increasingly search for experiences that offer participation in non-staged settings (Laing & Frost, 2015). Uğurlu (2014) argues that visitors show a growing interest in experiencing organic food production by visiting or working at organic farms. This begins a new era in food tourism called organic tourism (Uğurlu, 2014). One such example is Willing Workers on Organic Farms

(WWOOF): an initiative that gives people the opportunity to visit the countryside and participate in the working routines at the farm.

Research focus and knowledge gap

WWOOFing is a platform that connects organic farmers with potential volunteers around the world. In exchange for food and accommodation WWOOFers (volunteers) perform various jobs at a farm for 4 to 6 hours a day (http://wwoof.net). WWOOFing was established to not only support organic farmers, but also to offer a unique tourism experience on farms, countryside and local life (McIntosh & Bonnemann, 2006). According to McIntosh & Bonnemann, (2006, p. 82) "the hosted experience on an organic (WWOOF) farm may be notably different from that provided at a commercial farm stay, with four key dimensions: the rurality of the experience; the opportunity to learn about organics; the personal meaningfulness of the experience; and the element of sincerity in the experience". Next to that, another study indicated that WWOOFing is a learning experience (Stehlik, 2002) and it might result in acquiring new skills and self-development (Deville & Wearing, 2013). The experts argue that even though WWOOFing is an increasingly popular form of farm tourism it remains an understudied phenomenon (Deville & Wearing, 2013). For instance, little is known about the food-related routines that take place during WWOOFing. In the light of the earlier-mentioned problem of deskilling of modern society in respect to skills and knowledge that is needed to have a healthy and sustainable diet, it is particularly relevant to look deeper into the food-related routines that are part of WWOOFing experience to investigate what kind of skills and what type of outlook such experience gives to WWOOFers. According to tourism scholars (Pine & Gilmore, 1999) learning experiences gained during holidays are highly memorable, which gives a theoretical indication for this study that the learning by doing experience of WWOOFing might stay in the memory of volunteers, even after returning home.

More specifically, when studying food routines, I focus on food provisioning practices. For the purpose of this study, I understand them as a set of steps that people take to ensure that they can eat. As a starting point for this research, I use the definition of food provisioning practices as presented by (Bava *et al.,* 2008) based on Marshall (1995, p. 1). They understand food provisioning practices as a process that takes a form of a loop that does not have a predefined start and finish.

Step	*Activity*
Acquisition	*Going to supermarket, purchasing grocery items*
Preparation	*Peeling, chopping, blanching, etc. of meal components*
Cooking	*Boiling, baking, roasting, etc. of meal components*
Eating	*Meal consumption*
Disposal	*Cleaning up, freezing and storing leftovers, etc.*

Retrieved from (Bava et al., 2008) based on Marshall (1995, p. 1).

Social relevance of the study findings

Providing a nuanced understanding about the impact of personal involvement with alternative food during WWOOFing on food-related routines could help in designing effective health-promoting policies (Lang *et al.*, 2009) that focus on encouraging healthy behaviours rather than shaming the unhealthy habits. Considering that unhealthy eating became a public concern, especially due to its connection to economic costs (think of healthcare but also lost wages and productivity) (Colditz *et al.*, 2007), this study provides an inspiration regarding transitions in food-related routines. By analysing farms as a health-supporting community and environment, this study provides an inspiring example of an opportunity for introducing people to healthy and sustainable food, which can inspire design for salutogenic enclaves in cities that provide an alternative to obesogenic landscape (Lake & Townshend, 2006). Besides that, understanding the possible role that organic farms might choose to have in tourism (as hosts for volunteers) is crucial for promoting sustainable development of rural areas (Pugliese, 2001).

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Definition of social practice and a theoretical perspective on social transition

Given the knowledge gap on the influence that WWOOFing has on food-related routines of volunteers, I use the Social Practice Theory (SPT) as a framework that directs the conceptual focus of this study. In very simple terms, a social practice can be defined as "a routinized type of behaviour" (Reckwitz, 2002, p. 249) that people perform in their everyday lives. Using this theory allows me to study changes in everyday routines of people that happen when engaging in performances (Shove *et al.*, 2012). In the eyes of SPT, transformation of behaviour cannot be imposed on people, nor is it a result of rational decision-making process of individuals which means that social practices are tangible forms of enacting behavioural change (Shove *et al.*, 2012). However, even though people become practitioners of a social practice through performance, according (Shove *et al.*, 2012), practices recruit people, not the other way around. Accordingly, SPT approach to a large extent differs from the theoretical approaches that presuppose rationality of human choices. In contrary to those, "practice theory revises the hyperrational and intellectualized picture of human agency … Practice theory 'decentres' mind, texts and conversation. Simultaneously, it shifts bodily movements, things, practical knowledge and routine to the centre of its vocabulary" (Reckwitz, 2002, p. 259). This implies that, following routines means having the comfort of not having to start from zero and decide every time action needs to be taken. For example, when doing something for the first time, everything is new, but while doing, one develops a routine way of *doings* and *sayings* that come naturally (Schatzki, 2002). With this approach therefore, SPT scholars attempt to account for a complexity of everyday routines and their function in society, which allows scholars to account for that everyday practices exist on their own (Schatzki, 2016). This also means that practices can be studied not only as performances, but also as entities (Nicolini, 2009). Taking these two perspectives implies zooming-in on practices as they are performed by people, and zooming-out on practices as something that can be spoken about and traced back in history (Nicolini, 2009). In the chapter of methodology, I explain in detail how I use those perspectives in this study.

Studying practices

Based on this understanding of what social practices are, one of the ways to study practices is to apply a framework proposed by Shove *et al.* (2012) who break practices down into three main elements: *materials, competences and meanings*. In their definition, *competences* refer to the skills and knowledge that people acquire or need when performing a practice, for example in relation to using the material elements of the practice (Shove *et al.*, 2012). Then, *meaning* bears the

symbolic significance and ideas that relate to the practice. Lastly, the *materials* include all the things (such as objects) and technologies that are used by practitioners (Shove *et al.,* 2012). These three elements are not a quality of an individual, but they constitute the practice as a "recognizable conjunction of elements, consequently figuring as an entity which can be spoken about and more importantly drawn upon as a set of resources" (Shove *et al.,* 2012, p. 7).

Furthermore, when studying large social practices, it is insightful to interpret them as a set of different social practices that all together form a large social phenomenon: a compound practice (Warde, 2013). This definition applies to both food provisioning practices (as defined above) and WWOOFing. Taking WWOOFing as an example, one can clearly see that it is a global movement, thus a category on its own, but it consists of various, thematic practices, such as working on a farm (e.g. feeding animals, harvesting fruits) or tourism practices (taking pictures, visiting towns). Accordingly, when studying large social phenomena, it needs to be noticed that practices can belong to various large social phenomena in the same time (Hui, 2016). For example, eating is what people do when having vacation, working at an office but also when staying at home, so even though each compound of practices is different, they all include the practice of eating. Hui (2016, p.53) further explains that "dimensions of intersection are overlaps and commonalities between practices that may be either material (e.g. a laptop used for leisure and for work) or abstract (a shared category or understanding such as clock time). They are therefore enacted by and exist in multiple material and non-material forms and are points wherein the consideration or performance of one practice might pivot into consideration or performance of another."

Next to linking, practices can also vary, meaning that the same practice can be performed differently in various places, in various cultures (Wang & Shove, 2008). Understanding the variation between practices allows to account for the complexity of practices that are commonly referred to under a name of one practice but in reality, because they are performed by various people, they will never be identical (Hui, 2016). Acknowledging this possibility of variation helps scholars to avoid the trap of ignoring the dynamic nature of the social and while basing on a notion of similarity (Hui, 2016).

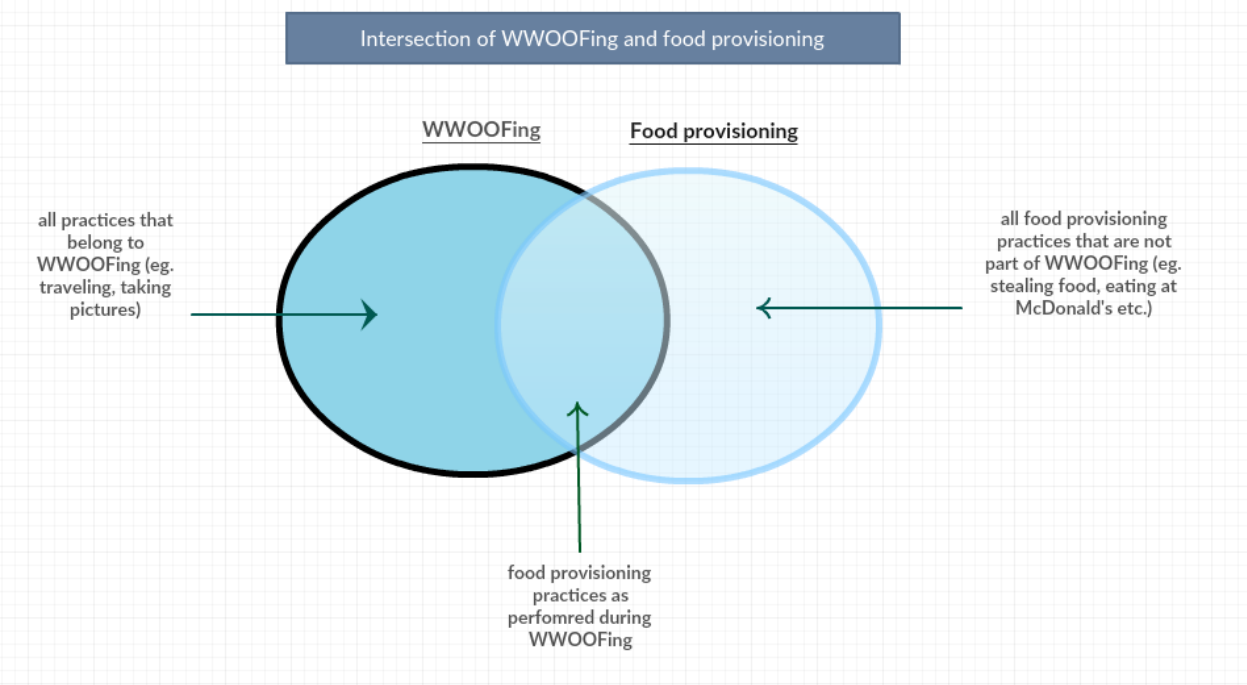
Studying social transition

Shove *et al.,* (2012) argue that Social Practice Theory is especially useful for studying societal transitions that occur through everyday practices, such as food provisioning. Accordingly, applying Social Practice Theory to issues emerging from food provisioning practices offers practical and efficient insights that "policy makers need to intervene in the aspects of social practice in order to promote healthier, more sustainable ways of life" (Shove *et al.,* p. 19). This premise is based on the assumption that studying everyday routines studied gives close to

reality representations of what people actually do, instead on basing on expectations from models of rational behaviour. This implies that SPT allows to step away from expectations of behaviour based on individual choices and to escape the trap of logical assumptions that do not translate into reality (Schatzki, 2002). Social practices can change become when a new way of doing things is reinforced by reproducing it through the act of performance (Shove *et al.*, 2012).

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Using Social Practice Theory as a theoretical lens, I look at WWOOFing and food provisioning as compound social practices (as defined by Warde, 2013), and defined above. However, as both practices are large categories, I choose to look only at the intersection of those two practices and it happens during WWOOFing. To illustrate how these two practices link, below I present a conceptual scheme:



Conceptual framework made by author

The illustration above shows that WWOOFing links with food provisioning, these two compound practices partly overlap. At the intersection then are the food provisioning practices that this study aims to investigate. It is important to notice that this scheme is a conceptual depiction of both practices and how they link, as when studying individual experiences and food provisioning practices, so zooming-in at the practices as performances, variations can

occur regarding food provisioning practices that individuals perform at home, during woofing and also each WWOOFing experience can include different actions. Nevertheless, I see the intersection as a dynamic sphere in which variations can occur and changes can happen. When translating this into individual experience, intersection is the new, moderated or even perhaps the same way of performing routines that belong to food provisioning. In order to investigate in-depth the changes, this study focuses especially on the dominant, new, health-promoting and sustainable practices that occur at this intersection. This means for example that buying food in supermarket is generally a common practice of people at home and it is less common during WWOOFing, and it is also the characteristic feature of WWOOFing experience to grow own food or alternatively use local channels of food acquisition. It is therefore possible that there are instances where growing own food is part of food provisioning practices of an individual at home, but it happens to not be during WWOOFing. It is important to notice that such instances do not disprove what food provisioning during WWOOFing is about, but rather show that social reality is complex and even though food provisioning is associated with certain practices which may mostly hold, they simply can come in endless variations.

Given this conceptual understanding of how the practices of WWOOFing and food provisioning link, my hypothesis is that:

WWOOFing influences volunteers' food provisioning practices by giving them an opportunity to learn by doing to improve or acquire new competencies, to use necessary material components and to recognise meanings relevant to the food provisioning practices that are part of WWOOFing.

Therefore, my main research question is:

To what extent does WWOOF –ing influence food provisioning practices of the volunteers?

I will answer this main question with a help of four sub-questions, each based on the elements of social practice (materials, competences and meanings), I designed the following sub-questions:

Sub-question 1: *To what extent does WWOOF-ing influence* competences *of food provisioning?*

Sub-question 2: *To what extent does WWOOF-ing influence* meanings *of food provisioning*?

Sub-question 3: *To what extent does WWOOF-ing influence* materials *of food provisioning?*

Importantly, these questions will be answered in the context of how food provisioning practices of volunteers changed during WWOOFing and how they intend to be performed at home or in

case of former or repeat WWOOFers, how they are performed at home.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

My understanding of what exists and can be called reality is to a large extent founded on 'flat ontology' which Schatzki (2016) defines as a social reality that only consists of various practices that people engage in. This ontology is named flat to illustrate that practices are perceived as coexisting on just one level of social reality. For social science it means that, practices are tangible representations of social reality which is why studying them allows researcher to come step closer to understanding how society functions (Shove, *et al.,* 2012). Everyday practices are therefore the most basic unit of analysis in scientific studies that adopt Social Practice Theory as a theoretical lens (Reckwitz, 2002). In general, followers of 'flat ontology' "suggest that matters such as social order, knowledge, institutions, identity, power, inequalities and social change result from and transpire through social practices" (Nicolini, 2016, p. 98). Furthermore, contemporary Social Practice Theorists such as Shove *et al.*, (2012) argue that practices recruit people based on their characteristics, not the other way around. My understudying of social reality however, also draws from the socio-constructivist paradigm - one that argues that everyone can interpret social reality differently and that the meanings that people attach to it might direct their choices (O'Leary, 2004). With this, I argue that reality is socially constructed, however I believe that scholars need to use theoretical perspectives to make sense of it (van den Broeck, 2014). This understanding also translates into that I accept that to some extent, social science is not objective because social phenomena are complex and society never can be studied in isolation that assures certainty of outcomes. This is why, in order to grasp the complexity of social world, I choose to apply qualitative research methods as they are meant for revealing the deeper meanings of respondents regarding the topic of investigation (Brewer, 2000). Finally, in line with Bourdieu (1998) I acknowledge that my role of researcher inevitably to some extent influences the interpretations of results as well, as I am only able to apply theories that I am familiar with and to build up a study on a previously acquired knowledge.

Study design

Influenced by the above-explained ontological and epistemological considerations, and motivated to gain an in-depth understanding of the extent to which WWOOFing influences food provisioning practices of volunteers, I used a case study design to study food provisioning practices on their own and within their context (Stake, 1995). In order to do that, I used a zooming-in and zooming-out perspective as suggested by Nicolini (2009). I zoomed-in on two WWOOF farms to study practices as performances, and complementary to that, I used a

zooming-out perspective to learn about WWOOFing as an entity- a worldwide movement that offers people the opportunity to visit organic farms. To zoom-in at a selection of two farms, I registered myself at WWOOF website, and contacted all hosting farms that were open in July (the month in which I scheduled my fieldwork). I got accepted only by one farm: 'Het Kleine Paradijs' in Friesland, the Netherlands. While being at this farm, I got invited by another farm- 'Us Hof', also in Friesland, that just joined WWOOF and needed help of volunteers. I accepted their request and I spent one week at each farm. 'He Kleine Paradijs' is an agri-tourism farm that grew food mostly for their own use or for the guests. They have a vegetable gardens, greenhouse, fruit trees and chickens. Next to performing jobs that pertain to growing food, WWOOFers at this farm also help in maintaining garden and do other works at a farm. The second farm, 'Us Hof' is a Community Supported Agriculture project. This farm has a few hectares of land with plots of fruits, vegetables, fruit trees and berries. They do not have any farming animals. I chose to visit these farms in summer to experience the peak season of growing food. For more information about case studies, check attachment 3 (field notes).

Research methods

My choice of qualitative methods includes interviews, video analysis and participatory observations in the field. The reason to choose various sources of data collection is to have a more nuanced overview and to complement and evaluate against each other to increase the validity of my research (Krefting, 1991). According to Bowen (2009), "by examining information collected through different methods, the researcher can corroborate findings across data sets and thus reduce the impact of potential biases that can exist in a single study" (p.28). Hence, triangulation helps to gather results that can be considered "a confluence of evidence that breeds credibility" (Eisner, 1991, p. 110). Below, specifications of research techniques are given for each data source.

Data gathering

Interviews

In this study, semi-structured interviews were used because this method of interviewing gives a space to respondents to add relevant information while being interviewed and the researcher to ask follow-up questions when relevant (Grix, 2010, p.129). Before the fieldwork started, I prepared a set of questions (Attachment 1) for all the respondents in a way that they reflect the elements that are necessary to answer the research questions but in the same time allow for a non-scientific level of conversation. Seven respondents participated in this research, five were interviewed individually and two (a couple) were interviewed at the same time, meaning that they reacted to each other's answers and helped each other in finding relevant memories. Before

each interview, an interview protocol was presented to the respondents and their permissions to record was asked. In one case when it was not given, I made as detailed as possible notes. The interviews were carried out at the sites of two case studies: 'Us Hof'- a permaculture farm and 'Het Kleine Paradijs'-an agritourism farm, both located in Friesland, the Netherlands. Four of the respondents were other volunteers during my WWOOFing stay at those farms, the fifth respondent arrived just at the end of my stay, and the two last respondents who were interviewed together are former WWOOFers who visited the farm that I stayed at. The respondents were interviewed at the end of their stay to ensure that they had enough experience to reflect upon. In some instances, the respondents had also several former WWOOFing experiences which were also discussed in the interviews (For interview transcriptions please see Attachment 2).

Interview Code	Case study	Description
Interview 1	'Het Kleine Paradijs'	First time WWOOFer, from NYC, one week stay, gardening work mostly
Interview 2	'Het Kleine Paradijs'	Did WWOOFing many times, Dutch, permaculture, interest in health
Interview 3	'Us Hof'	first time WWOOFing, agricultural school in Italy, interested in learning more about farming, sustainability and health
Interview 4	'Us Hof'	first time WWOOFing, Italian, interested in learning about growing food
Interview 5	'Us Hof'	Her fourth WWOOF farm in the Netherlands, from South Korea, does WWOOFing for 6 months, wants to learn about organic agriculture
Interview 6 (with two interviewees)	former WWOOFers	did WWOOFing several times: New Zealand, Costa Rica, Australia, inspired to eat organic, local and buy a garden

Participatory observations

Participatory observations were carried out through a period of two weeks in which I visited as a WWOOFer two farms in Friesland. Participant observations are observations of others, own experience and the setting while performing certain activity (Adler & Clark, 2011, p. 486). The first reason for doing participant observations is to gain a better understanding of the WWOOFing experience by observing how others behave during their stay at a farm. Secondly, participation helped me to gain "insights into human meaning and interaction as viewed from the perspective of people who are insiders or members of particular situations and settings" (Jorgensen, 1989, p.5). To avoid ethical issues related to that volunteers and hosts might have felt that the they became objects of my study unwillingly, at the beginning of the field work, I introduced myself as a researcher and explained the purpose and methods of my study, and I assured their anonymity. The respondents reacted enthusiastically in both case studies, declared their support and gave their consent for participation in the research. At the first WWOOF farm, 'Het Kleine Paradijs', where I stayed for one week, I worked together with two other volunteers. Our tasks varied per day, but mainly included gardening work, sifting compost into a fine soil, maintenance of vegetable garden and greenhouse. At the second WWOOFing farm, 'Us Hof', I also worked for a week with two other volunteers. At this permaculture farm, the main task for volunteers included preparing beds for planting, weeding, planting and harvesting. At this farm, each day had a similar routine as growing food is their main activity. At both farms, we worked a minimum of 6 hours a day which in practice translated into a schedule of 8:30- 15:30 at 'Het Kleine Paradijs', and 6:00- 15:30 at 'Us Hof'. The working experiences at those farms, with detailed descriptions of food-related practices, including after work food provisioning practices such as cooking and eating are described by me in the field notes. The field notes are mostly written in a form of a diary or a personal reflection in which I describe my own experiences during WWOOFing and my observations of other WWOOF-ers' behaviour. The field notes are in the Attachment 3.

Analysis of field notes and interviews

The data from interviews and field notes was analysed with a help of Atlas.ti software. This was done by thematic coding of interviews and field notes. As a first step of coding, four categories of codes were developed. These categories represent three elements of a social practice: materials, competences and meanings on the levels of how they are performed at a WWOOF farm and how they change for everyone. In this way, each category related to one sub-question. Then, in an inductive process of carefully reading data, codes were developed and subsequently grouped into themes (Ryan & Russel, 2003, Vaismoradi *et al.*, 2013). Based on the suggestions on the coding methodology described by Silverman (2015), the following steps were taken:

1. Open coding: creating codes while reading data
2. Evaluating codes: adjusting names of codes if they do not capture data properly
3. Focused coding: reducing codes based on their relevance (relation to study focus)
4. Axial coding: creating themes
5. Creating table that presents an overview of categories, themes and corresponding codes

Video analysis

In order to understand WWOOFing as a global phenomenon with many different local interpretations of WWOOFing which are then differently interpreted by each volunteer, I analysed YouTube videos made by former WWOOFing volunteers. In this way, I had access to various experiences of WWOOFing that YouTube'rs share with viewers which helps to gain a more nuanced understanding of if and how new food provisioning practices are acquired or old once changed. For this reason, YouTube videos are a source of subjective knowledge which has an intrinsic value for a qualitative research (Lincoln *et al.,* 2011, p. 92). This source of information is particularly valuable as these videos are most likely to be used by many of the volunteers and people who consider WWOOFing. In this way, YouTube videos are highly valuable when it comes to studying communities of a social practice. As Rotman & Preece (2010) found, online communities comply with the characteristics of any other type of real-life community as they can be characterized by four elements: "people, interaction, shared purpose and culture" (p.317). On top of that, online communities of practice are much less limited by the geographical location or accessibility compared to the era before the Internet. In this way, online videos offer a whole range of possibilities for learning and recruiting new members of practice which makes them an important material for understanding social practices.

At the moment, on YouTube one can find 26.500 results[4] for the key word WWOOF. Sampling the videos was done in the following way. The first selection criterion is language: only English-spoken videos were included in the selection. Next, videos made by WWOOFers were searched with a help of keywords that included a combination of two words: the main and fixed one was WWOOF and the second was further specifying the search ("WWOOFing learning", "WWOOFing learn", "WWOOFing experience, "WWOOFing my story, "WWOOFing day, "WWOOF food, "WWOOFing is", "WWOOFing farm"). These keywords were chosen in a way that they related to the research focus on food provisioning practices during a stay at a WWOOF farm. For each key word, approximately the first 10 first videos were selected. A total of 70 videos was analysed, up to the saturation point (overview on data in an online excel sheet).

[4] retrieved from YouTube on 27-03-2017

The videos were analysed by watching them carefully and coding the information in and about those videos. The first piece of information that was described for each video is information about its title, year of uploading, country where a given WWOOF farm is located, number of views and number of likes and dislikes. Then, the analytic part included coding the visual and verbal information presented in videos by using the list of codes from analysis of interviews and fieldwork data. The codes were merged into themes and then ascribed to three categories are the three elements of social practice: (RQ 1-3) competences, materials and meanings.

Literature review

Next to primary data, I reviewed the existing scientific literature relevant for the phenomenon of WWOOFing. Therefore, literature in the domain of tourism and Alternative Food Movement was be reviewed. Next to that, for the theoretical framework, literature about Social Practice Theory was reviewed. Publications were chosen by searching for available publications with the help of search engines such as Scopus, Google Scholar, WUR library, Web of Science etc. The most important keywords included: AFN, food policy, transformational tourism, agritourism, sustainable tourism, food provisioning practices, food and health, food and sustainability, WWOOFing and for the theoretical framework: Social Practice Theory.

CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS

Introduction to the chapter

In this chapter I present my findings to answer to what extent WWOOFing influences food provisioning practices. I will do this by sharing the results of my fieldwork while linking them to the literature discussed in the first chapter and critically discussing how my study adds to or contradicts these sources. This chapter starts with an introduction that describes food provisioning practices as performed during WWOOFing. Then, this chapter an is divided in three sub-chapters, each answering one sub-research question. Accordingly, these sub-chapters discuss one by one the extent to which WWOOFing influences the *competences, materials and meanings* as the elements of the food provisioning practices as performed during WWOOFing and then discuss the intentions that volunteers have at the end of they stay regarding food provisioning practices at home or in case of former volunteers, the changes that they made as a result of WWOOFing.

Food provisioning practices as performed during WWOOFing

Through an in-depth study of video materials about WWOOFing on YouTube, series of interviews with WWOOFers and former WWOOFers, and participatory observations at two

WWOOF farms, this study investigated food provisioning practices of volunteers at a WWOOF farm and inquired to what extent the experience of WWOOFing changes personal food provisioning practices. I therefore use this data to support my claims in the following way. I use the results to support my findings in the following way. I present statistical information about the percentage of videos that belong to a certain topic (categorised by codes) and I use quotes from interviews and participatory observations to provide a more nuanced understanding on the experiences of WWOOFing, especially when it comes to answering the 'why questions'.

As the main goal of WWOOFing is to participate in the works at a farm, WWOOFers declare to work voluntary for 4-6 hours a day, performing various tasks at a farm. Given the focus of this study on food routines, I found that WWOOFing includes various food provisioning practices, both during the official working hours and in the time that volunteers have for themselves. These working experiences gave the volunteers in this study an opportunity to gain or improve competences in relation to food provisioning, to use material objects that are part of those practices and to be introduced to the meanings that those practices carry. The most common food provisioning practice during working hours of volunteers that participated in this study was farming: growing own food (fruits, vegetables) and raising animals. Nevertheless, this study found that food provisioning practices during WWOOFing tend to include several other practices, depending on a type of farm stay but also on the preferences of individuals. Regardless of the possible variance, I deduce a set of logical steps in food provisioning practices based on the data from this study and the conceptualisation of food provisioning practices by Bava *et al., (*2008) and (Marshall, 1995, p. 1). Accordingly, this study re-defines the steps in food provisioning into the following steps and links them to following activities:

Step	Activity
Growing own food (as a dominant practice, discussed in-depth in this study, the alternative ways of food acquisition such as buying food, foraging etc. are not discussed in this study)	Practices of farming: sowing, planting, weeding, harvesting, raising animals, milking, collecting eggs etc.
Preparation/cooking	selecting produce for a meal, chopping, cooking, baking etc.
Eating	meal consumption
Disposal	cleaning up, putting leftovers to the fridge, etc.
Managing surplus of harvest	storing, preserving food, sharing

During WWOOFing, buying food from supermarket was seldom reported in the data, as most farms produce enough food to provide for themselves. In the instances when some products are not available, choice is often made to buy local and/or organic produce or to exchange with/purchase from other farmers. Thus, even though (Bava *et al.*, 2008) and (Marshall, 1995, p. 1) argue that this process of food provisioning is cyclical, I argue that when purchasing food in a supermarket is replaced with growing own food, it becomes a key driver in this loop, steering the remaining practices in a way that food acquisition in the supermarket does not. For example, growing own food means availability of certain products at certain times of the year which translates into that many farmers have seasonal diets.

In the section below, the findings of this study in relation to these steps of food provisioning will be presented. As most of information in this study was gathered about growing food and eating, those two practices will be discussed most extensively. This disproportion in the information is caused by that volunteers tend to spend most of the time of their day on growing food, with breaks for eating, and the remaining practices do not always belong to duties of volunteers (for example practices of disposal could be performed only by farmers) or where not seen as important in conversation, as they were not as novel, compared to corresponding practice at home. For example, the practice of doing dishes could look very similar. This also means that this study has less information and evidence to explain to what extent to which WWOOFing influences these practices.

SUB-CHAPTER 5A. COMPTETENCES OF FOOD PROVISIOINING

This study found out that by participating in WWOOFing volunteers gain various competences in relation to food provisioning. Importantly, I found that volunteers acquire these competences by doing, observing and evaluating their and others work to come down to own conclusions. Below I will explain how the experience of WWOOFing influences the competences of food provisioning of volunteers during their stay at a farm and at the end of this chapter I will conclude to what extent these competences are used by former volunteers or are expected to be used at home by volunteers at the end of their stay. Blow, I describe these competences in detail for each step of food provisioning and including corresponding to it activities.

Competences of growing food and raising animals

Based on the data from interviews and YouTube videos, it appears clearly that volunteers' primary activity tends to include growing fruits, vegetables, herbs and livestock farming. The video material shows a large variety of WWOOF farms in terms of their focus and scale resulting in that they involve volunteers in different practices of growing food or raising animals. Most of the interviewees in this study gained a variety of skills and knowledge in respect to growing various sorts of fruits, vegetables and raising different farming animals, but

on YouTube, there are also video reportages from farms that focus only on one of those activities, for example a goat farm. However, based on my data I conclude that at any farm, gaining new competences in relation to growing food comes down to two levels: gaining task-specific competences and competences that pertain to gaining a holistic overview on growing food. This is to distinguish that having a task specific competence, for example of sowing, does not mean that one knows how to grow food. This means that if a volunteer does not gain the insights into the whole process of growing food, for example does not learn that plants need to be regularly watered, he or she will not be able to replicate the entire process on its own**.** On the other hand, task-specific competences are very important for becoming skilled and efficient in performing single practices. This example illustrates that gaining or improving both task-specific and holistic competences is crucial to be able to grow your own food. Interestingly, this study shows that volunteers mostly appreciate having a diversity of jobs at a farm because it helps them to learn the basics about being a farmer or grower. One of the respondents said:

"I don't like to do the same job during whole day. I like to change and learn more about everything a bit. Because if I want to start my own garden, I need to know all these things and not only one skill."

(Interview 4)

This finding shows that WWOOF farms offer a much more insightful experience in respect to diversity of competences that can be learnt there, compared to industrial farms that favour specializations and tend to detach the mind from the process (Marx, 1884).

Task-specific competences

When growing food products such as fruits, vegetables and herbs, the main activities that appeared in the data from case studies include preparing beds for planting, sowing seeds, planting seedlings, transplanting seedlings, watering plants, harvesting fruits, pruning and clearing out weeds. During participant observations, I learnt that when it comes to growing food, becoming skilful with using gardening tools is also one of the first competences that all WWOOFers in the case studies acquired. Next to that, YouTube videos show that each farm can offer to WWOOFers with different types of activities. For example, during the participatory observations at 'Het Kleine Paradijs', together with other WWOOFers we learnt in steps how sift compost. To do that, we first needed to learn how to operate a composting machine- a sift device that resembles a drum of a laundry machine, which when turned, sifts compost into a fine, fertile matter (see the picture below). We learnt also that to perform this task efficiently, we need to work together, help each other and take turns.

Composting machine operated by WWOOFers (Photo credits belong to the author)

Sifting compost is clearly a particular task, as it did not appear in the video reportages on YouTube. On the other hand, YouTube videos showed that there are many more particular competences that can be learnt at each farm when it comes to growing food. In fact, 83 % of analysed videos include information about the competences of growing food, including raising animals. For example, some WWOOFers on YouTube reported that they learnt to build a greenhouse or even how to build a building at a farm. At farms that produce food for market ('Us Hof', and various farms on YouTube), some volunteers need to learn how to operate a (small) tractor or other, usually medium-weight machinery.

Picture of a WWOOFer driving a small hauling car at 'Us Hof' farm (Photo credits belong to the author)

Clearing weeds (Photo credits belong to the author)

Interestingly, I experienced that even the task-specific competences of growing food are not performed in the same way at the farms that I visited. Taking weeding as an example, depending on a farm, the way to handle weeds may vary. For example, at 'Het Kleine Paradijs' the farmers would teach volunteers to remove weeds with roots and at permaculture farm 'Us Hof', the farmers explained that it is enough to chop the plant above the ground and then let it compost on a bed. This finding shows that practices of growing food can vary, which according to Hui (2016) can be related to the meanings that those practices carry.

Furthermore, the data shows that growing fruits and vegetables includes learning about the plants themselves and how they look like. For example, during participatory observations at a permaculture farm 'US Hof', I experienced that learning about plants can be time-consuming as it includes many details, however the basic skills that WWOOFers at this farm gained is the ability to recognize edible plants that this farm had. Interestingly, most of the YouTube'rs mentioned or showed that during WWOOFing they learnt new varieties of edible plants, which often are not included in the 'western diet'. Besides knowledge about plants and new food products, most of the interviewees and YouTuber's become competent in harvesting produce in a proper way and to recognise when a fruit or vegetable is ready to be harvested. With this finding, this study shows that being personally involved in growing food increases awareness about where food comes from, which is why I argue that growing own food can be a promising way to regain the lost skills of modern society in relation to performing practices of food provisioning (Jaffe & Gertler, 2006). This is a particularly important finding in the context of increasing the effectiveness of food education and campaigns aimed at increasing awareness

about variety of fruits and vegetables such as the one of Jamie Oliver or the once launched by governments.

When it comes to competences that are acquired during livestock farming, there is a whole array of possibilities depending on the type of animals that a given farm has. Many WWOOF farms presented on YouTube and discussed by the respondents, have chickens, at least for own use and so WWOOFers at these farms are often responsible for feeding chickens and collecting eggs. Furthermore, YouTube videos show a variety of competences that WWOOFers at animal farms gain including approaching animals, feeding them, collecting eggs, milking, and even learning to recognise when an animal is sick. Interestingly, even though animals were shown in many YouTube videos, only one interviewed WWOOFer (and none of the YouTubers) related that she experienced on her own how to kill animals for food. More specifically, this WWOOFer learned how to fish and saw how a chicken was killed for dinner. This one WWOOFer explained that in New Zealand, for many people living in countryside killing animals is a normal practice, which is why it became a routine for her too. However, in the same time this WWOOFing experience increased her awareness about the fact that animals need to die so that people can eat them (Interview 6). Based on a lack of data regarding statements of WWOOFers that would express their motivations to learn skills in respect to killing animals, it can be concluded that it is not a priority for WWOOFers. I therefore conclude that having the experience of farming animals, does result in new skills and knowledge, but not necessary in relation to competences of killing animals, it is not a common practice at WWOOF farms.

Holistic competences of growing own food

This study found that besides task-specific competences that focus on performing solely one task such as clearing out weeds or sowing, volunteers also gain holistic competences of growing food. Data of this study shows that these competences allow volunteers to have a better overview on how a farm works and how to grow food organically. Stehlik (2002) found that WWOOFing is different from other forms of farm tourism because, among other aspects, it offers an opportunity to learn about organics. This study complements this argument by adding that the knowledge about organic agriculture is a big body of knowledge, which only some volunteers master, especially when staying for a longer time at an organic farm or by having multiple WWOOFing experiences**.** Next to learning about methods of organic agriculture, 7 % of volunteers on YouTube shared that they learnt about permaculture principles. While WWOOFing at a permaculture farm called 'Us Hof', other WWOOFers and I learnt how to plant plants in symbiosis and learn why soil should not be turned. Based on the data of this study, I found that permaculture farms tend to focus on holistic competences of growing food, as they mostly grow a variety of fruits and vegetables and apply methods that require understanding of how nature and agriculture works. Nevertheless, even though such knowledge tends to embrace the whole process of growing food, it can relate to sites-specific conditions. For example, at the 'Us Hof' farm we learnt that beds need to be made on slopes to

assure that excess water drains well. This way of growing food however might not be suitable for farms or gardens that have different natural conditions, which is why WWOOFers at this farm were always reminded that to grow food according to permaculture principles they need to learn to observe and critically evaluate the needs of plants in each setting. In this way, thanks to understanding from a holistic perspective how to grow food, volunteers can move from being a manual worker at a farm to being a farmer.

Growing plants in a permaculture design at the 'Us Hof' WWOOF farm in the Netherlands. (Photo credits belong to the author)

Competences of Food Preparation and Cooking

This study found that cooking at WWOOF farms often starts with using freshly harvested produce. This implies that WWOOFers who participate in cooking have much chance to become competent in using seasonal produce. However, cooking did not belong to the everyday practices of all WWOOFers in this study, as sometimes this task is only performed by the hosts or is distributed in shifts, which is why only some WWOOFers learn how to harvest produce for a meal, how to prepare or how to cook it. To illustrate that, 13 % of YouTube videos analysed for this study included information about learning how to cook.

During participatory observations, I experienced that the practice of seasonal cooking often requires creativity to deal with the abundance of one produce for a longer period. At Us Hof farm at which I participated in WWOOFing, almost all fruits and vegetables that were used for making meals came directly from their field, harvested fight before the meal time. In fact, one of the interviewees explained that he learnt that it is best to harvest a produce right before making a meal, because this assures that it does not lose its nutrients. Moreover, some of the WWOOFers who stay at animal farm and prepare foods with milk or eggs, need to milk cow themselves or collect the eggs to complete cooking. During participatory observations, I learn the following thing about cooking from harvest:

"The farmer explained me that (...) his secret was simplicity. He often would just harvest fresh produce and serve it raw at the table. We would always eat seasonal and what was ready in the garden. For example, when we noticed that there was a lot of fennel, he made a big dish with a lot of fennel and apples."

(Participatory observations)

Pictures of meals made of harvested produce at 'Us Hof' farm (Photo credits belong to the author)

This particular WWOOFing experience indicates that the difficulty with following a seasonal diet lies not only within the lack of knowledge that consumers have about food seasons (Brooks *et al.* (2011) but also lack of skills in respect to cooking seasonally. I argue then that growing own food then mobilises the creativity in relation to cooking competences in a way that buying food at supermarket does not naturally induce.

Furthermore, YouTube videos made by WWOOFers in the kitchens in various countries show that cooking often offers an opportunity to use new food products and to try out recipes. One of the respondents told a story about how she learned a new recipe during WWOOFing:

"I had a great experience with another WWOOFer, she was French and she loved cooking. One day she taught me how to cook a pasta with lemon juice sauce and asparagus, cause that day we were harvesting asparagus and then we could get some of them, and she had the idea to make this recipe. I would never think to eat that, but she cooked so well, so it was super delicious. So now it is my favourite. So I even tried to make it at another farm, and the other hosts loved it! So as a result, I learned how to cook this dish at first place and I used this skill already at the second WWOOFing place!"

(Interview 5)

Cooking a meal from base ingredients available in the garden or in the kitchen means that volunteers learn to make dishes from a scratch, as no pre-cooked or processed ingredients are provided as a base for making meals. On YouTube, there are various stories about WWOOFers who learnt how to make their own sausages, pasta, cheese or other products out of ingredients that are produced at a farm. With these findings, I would like to come back to the study of Jaffe & Gertler (2006) who point out the problem of deskilling of the society in relation to practices such as cooking as a result of omnipresence of convenience foods and in some instances, deliberate marketing strategies. Whereas the authors suggest that in relation to cooking, for example community kitchens could help in regaining the cooking skills, I argue that WWOOFing is another possibility, especially considering the theory of Pine & Gilmore (1999) that learning experiences from holidays are highly memorable.

Competences of eating

This study shows that WWOOFing gives volunteers the chance to eat organic food, often in meals that a rich in high quality ingredients, fruits and vegetables. The data shows that volunteers often take part in eating practices that are performed at a given farm. In 13 % of YouTube videos, WWOOFers talked about the competences that they gained in relation to the practice of eating, which mostly related to learning to eat an abundance of fresh produce, eating new sorts of food and eating mindfully.

In relation to learning to eat a lot of fruits and vegetables, YouTube videos often showed that many WWOOFers do eat in this way. On the other hand, interviews provide a bit more nuanced information about how much the amounts of fruits and vegetables varied at home and during WWOOFing. It turned out that is varies per person, as some WWOOFers already ate a variety of fresh produce at home, so for them the amounts are not different from the one that they eat at home, whereas others claimed that they eat more fruits and vegetables while WWOOFing.

In respect learning to eat new foods, this study showed that many WWOOFers do try new products and dishes, often out of curiosity for different culinary cultures and traditions. On the other hand, some WWOOFers in this study tried products that they normally do eat, not because they are not available, but because they were just not used to it. Interestingly, one WWOOFer related she was always afraid of fishes and never ate them, but when WWOOFing she started to do that (Interview 6). These findings show that even though breaking bad eating habits tends to be difficult (Wood & Neal, 2016), participating in WWOOFing can help to challenge them, which can lead to a transformation of eating routines (Mezirow, 1997). Furthermore, the data shows that various competences of eating can be gained depending on whether farms serve or don't serve meat. On YouTube, there are various stories about learning how to eat less meat and even about becoming vegetarian by a stay at a farm that catered or favoured vegetarian or vegan diet.

Competences of disposal

Competences of disposal appeared seldom in data from case studies, and no YouTube videos focus on the practices of disposal. Nevertheless, during participatory observations, I noticed that after finishing meals, each farm has a different way of dividing tasks in cleaning tables, doing dishes and managing leftovers which some volunteers need to learn. WWOOFers in this study gained new or modified their own competences mostly in relation to disposal of leftovers. For example, one WWOOFer (Interview 2) explained that at a self-sufficient permaculture farm in Portugal, he learnt that food should not be wasted which is why he never throws leftovers away but stores them in the fridge. Similarly, at the permaculture farm that was part of fieldwork in this study WWOOFers learnt put the remains of food in a compost bin, so that it would serve for the garden again.

Competences of preserving harvested food, storage and sharing food with others

Competences of preserving harvested food and its storing for the winter are often new abilities that some of the WWOOFers in this study gained. More specifically, 4 % of analysed videos included stories about gaining new competences of preserving food. For example, one WWOOFer made a video about the competence that she gained in storing apples for the winter period by packaging them in newspaper to preserve the freshness. Next to that, one interviewee who visited a permaculture farm shared that he learnt the following competences of preserving food:

"Well, we learnt how to store goat milk, that bottles had to be very well disinfected, otherwise it would ferment. And we also made apple juice, and we made wine, and even stronger drinks from fruits, and they also made a sweet port wine…. and they had many barriers so they preserved them too."

(Interview 2)

Furthermore, during my stay at 'Het Kleine Paradijs' WWOOFers learnt a recipe for an apple compote and apple cider. In the interviews, I discovered that this kind of knowledge and skills are new to most of the WWOOFers, especially those who did not grow their own food. This argument again relates to the study of Jaffe & Gertler (2006) about deskilling of modern society in relation to food. Skills of preserving and storing food were not mentioned in this study, but I argue that these skills are also likely to be lost as people who do not grow own food, automatically do not need to search for ways to preserve the surplus of harvest. This finding provides another evidence for that growing own food is a driver in food provisioning practices.

Finally, a couple of videos made by WWOOFers included information about sharing the surplus produce with poor people when a farm had too much harvest. One of the interviewees also learnt that at a WWOOF farm which regularly shared surplus with the neighbours (Interview 2). Interestingly, practices of preserving, storing and sharing food are absent in the

studies that were used at the beginning of this paper to categorise food provisioning practices (Bava *et al.*, 2008) and (Marshall, 1995).

Influence of WWOOFing on the competences of food provisioning after WWOOFing

Food-provisioning practices that WWOOFers perform result in changing or acquiring new competences. In fact, all the interviewees and many of WWOOFers on YouTube felt inspired to continue using the gained competences at home, especially in relation to growing own food at home, with 10 % of videos mentioning an actual change being made (e.g. two YouTube'rs started their own farm) or had a plan to do so. The interviewees also explained that WWOOFing inspired them to continue learning and improving their competences of growing food in case they find out at home that they still miss some skills or knowledge. Some of the interviewees even though of becoming a farmer or getting involved in urban farming projects.

In relation eating, the interviewees who did not used to eat much fruits and vegetables at home, explained that they learnt to do that during WWOOFing and plan to increase the amounts of these products and search for possibilities to eat local and organic produce.

Conclusion of the chapter

Based on the presented findings this chapter concludes that WWOOFing influences to large extent the competences of food provisioning, and it starts with learning by doing. Felder & Brent (2003) argue that learning by doing is the most effective way of learning, which in the context of the study is verified, as learning by doing is the approach of WWOOF farms to introduce WWOOFers to work on a farm. Nevertheless, I conclude that acquiring new competences in relation to food provisioning practices can take different learning curves and result in gaining different competences for each WWOOFer. I argue however that gaining new competences depends not only on the WWOOFing experience, to some extent also on the individual abilities to learn and the will to do so. Even though the data shows that most WWOOFers do gain new competences in food provisioning or improve the one that they already have, there are individual cases of failures. During participatory observations, I observed that for some WWOOFers learning by doing and supervision is not enough to be able to become handy enough to help farmers in their work, which in case of one volunteer ended with him leaving the farm earlier than planned. Furthermore, on YouTube, one video related that two WWOOFers resigned from staying at a farm because of hard work that was required, which goes to show that the willingness to adapt and motivation to learn might play a role in the learning process as well. These two examples are however anomalies, as in most cases in this study, learning by doing proved to be a very successful way of gaining new competences of food provisioning. With these arguments, this study supports the claims that practices recruit people based on their own characteristics and that people become practitioners though the sole

act of doing (Shove *et al.,* 2012), however, I also argue that people may decide not to perform the routines for personal reasons too.

SUB-CHAPTER 5B. MATERIAL ELEMENTS OF FOOD PROVISIOINING PRACTICES

This study found that the influence of WWOOFing on the material elements of food provisioning practices begins during the stay at a farm where WWOOFers use various material objects to work with food but also use the farm as a setting to perform food provisioning practices. As growing food takes a large share of the day, gardening and farming tools as well as the setting of the farm were frequently discussed material objects by the interviewees and YouTubers. Continuing using those elements at home, or having the intentions to do differed per respondent, depending on the extent to which the volunteers wanted to replicate certain practices at home. Below, I explain how volunteers used material elements of food provisioning practices during WWOOFing and about intentions that they have in respect to using these materials at home, or in case of former or repeat WWOOFers about actual influence that WWOOFing had on the material elements of food provisioning when they came back home. Below, I discuss only the material elements of the practice of growing food, cooking, eating as the other steps of food provisioning appeared only sporadically in data in relation to its material elements.

Material elements of the practice of growing food

First of all, farm and all the material objects that it includes can be seen as an important base for the practices of growing food. In fact, it can be concluded that the setting of fields, gardens, ranch or orchards have a crucial role in acquiring new practices in respect to growing food. For many volunteers in this study, WWOOFing is the first possibility in their lives to see a farm from inside out. Seeing how a farm is like, gives WWOOFers a very realistic picture of what it takes to grow own food, or even to produce to professionally. This study found that, seeing the fields, crops, and plants in all the stages tends to be a very new experience for many WWOOFers which makes them exited and interested in these elements. Next to that, during work, WWOOFers can see and use farming and gardening tools, sometimes for the first time. When working at small-scale farms, volunteers often use hand tools, but in some instances also larger machines such as tractor. Interestingly, at small-scale farms, WWOOFers often use tools that are old-fashioned or tailor-made for a specific farming need. One of the interviewees commented on that in the following way:

"*before planting they made a line, they used a wheel attached to two sticks, it looks like a very old – fashioned tool. And I was surprised, because it is already 21st century, and we use a lot of automatic and electronic devices for farming but here people use those only rarely, so it is so impressive.*"

(Interview 5)

Nevertheless, in most cases, the material objects used to grow food included standard equipment that can also be found or purchased by WWOOFers at home. Therefore, this study found that the difference between the materials used for growing food at WWOOF farm and at home in not big, at least not in a way that would cause an obstacle to use them at home.

Using Old-fashioned and manual tools to grow food (Photo credits belong to the author)

Material elements of cooking and eating

This study found that different farms around the world may introduce WWOOFers to different material objects that are used or needed for preparing food and eating it. For example, in videos about WWOOFing in Asia, WWOOFers needed chopsticks to eat their meals and some farms on YouTube which did not have electricity, had only manual equipment. Getting acquainted with such material objects is however not particularly relevant for continuation of eating practices at home, unless a volunteer wants to for example replicate a practice of eating Asian food at home. More important are the material elements that can have a continuity at home, from which food has a central role. This study found out that WWOOFing to a large extent influences food that volunteers eat during WWOOFing and which they eat or plant to eat at home. More precisely, the main influence of WWOOFing on food is that in principle it should always be organic- this is what WWOOFing stands for. As a result, the data shows that throughout their stay WWOOFers are surrounded by organic produce in all its forms and stages, which convinces them that they want to also have it at home.

The influence of WWOOFing on the material elements of food provisioning practices at home

Continuing using the material elements of food provisioning practices might be a big step when coming back to home where most material elements are different. The motivation to do that were mentioned by the interviewees only in relation to some of the material objects in food provisioning practices, especially the one needed for growing food. In order to grow own food

at home, some of the interviewees first tried to use what they have at home. For example, using professional farming tools is not necessary or even impossible at home. Nevertheless, hand tools that are suitable for small scale farming, but most of interviewed WWOOFers explain that they already knew these tools, so they will not have a problem with using them at home. Nevertheless, the interviewees noticed that material setting at home is very different form the one of a farm, which makes it more challenging to grow food. For example, most of the interviewees in this study live in an urban area, with a limited space to grow food. This is why, two former WWOOFers related in an interview that they only managed to set up a small vegetable garden in which they grow various sorts of vegetables on one bed and the rest of the produce they purchase form an organic and local box scheme. This is to ensure that even though the materials of the practice of growing food are to some extent different, food as a material element of eating practices remains the same at home in terms of being fresh, local and organic produce. They said:

"I can say that after WWOOFing we opened ourselves more to new sorts of fruits and vegetables, especially one that grew in your own country. Cause now we get why things that are grown locally taste and are so much better than the imported ones."

And the other one added:

"Exactly! This is why we consciously choose to buy a local, organic box scheme"

(Interview 6)

Similarly, most of the interviewed WWOOFers at the end of their study declared that they want to incorporated organic and local food in their diet at home, so if they won't be able to immediately grow it they will try to buy it, for example at farmers' markets.

On the other hand, on YouTube there are examples of WWOOFers who find a way to grow all the food they need at home, for example by started up an urban farm project after WWOOFing which goes to show that the material elements can be arranged to suit the new needs. Therefore, the influence of WWOOFing on the material elements of food provisioning lies within the search that it mobilises for suitable materials at home, that not necessarily need to be the same as during WWOOFing but they serve a common purpose. One respondent said:

"...especially living in a city, I don't know for example how it would work with a vegetable garden, but I heard about it here a lot, and that's really inspiring, so I am going to look into it I think, I would love to do that."

(Interview 1)

Conclusion of the chapter

The findings of this chapter showed that some material elements are typical for a given practice, but it is also possible that some material objects overlap between various practice. For example, the setting of a farm in which the volunteers work and stay is also a material part of the food provisioning practices. Being in a farmhouse, having arable land, orchards, a ranch, separate buildings for animals all make up the setting for food provisioning practices. Furthermore, variation is also possible in terms of the material elements that are present and used at each farm, including the plants and animals that can be found there. For example, urban farm showed on YouTube produced only micro greens, while one of the case studies- the permaculture farm- had a variety of seasonal fruits and vegetables. This variation of materials as elements of food provisioning practices at WWOOF farms, can result in variation in respect to which materials are and can be used again at home. This finding confirms the theory of Hui *et al.,* (2016) that practices may vary in spatio-temporal and material dimension.

SUB-CHAPTER 5C: MEANINGS OF FOOD PROVISIOING PRACTICES

This study found that WWOOFing influences to a large extent the meanings of food provisioning practices in all the steps of food provisioning. Nevertheless, the most frequently discussed one in relation to the meanings is the practice of growing food. The meaning of food provisioning practices was studied during the performance but also in relation to how do these meanings change as a result of WWOOFing. In this study, meaning of practices of food provisioning was often discussed in context of a rationale for performing a practice and why it is important for practitioners. Even though I find that meanings of many WWOOFers in this study changed as a result of WWOOFing, some meanings remain stable because they were anchored in values that individuals have, or they were the same. Below, meanings of food provisioning practices are discussed in detail.

Meanings of the practice of growing food

This study found that WWOOFing influences to large extent the meanings of the practice of growing food. As a result of WWOOFing, volunteers are introduced to the meanings that the practices of growing bear and to a large extent, they explain that these meanings become very important to them, which motivates them to follow practices that include those meanings. First of all, growing food is generally seen by WWOOFers in this study as a practice that brings them closer to nature (21 % of videos on YouTube and most interviewees). Very often YouTubers, called the organic methods of farming 'natural' and explained that they see them as the only good way of farming. Some of those YouTube'rs further explained that in a way, the process of growing food means to them finding a way to come back to the past, when people had a better instinct for growing food and they did it with respect for nature. This finding adds to the study

of Kneafsey (2010) who argued that people lost their connection to agriculture and need to reconnect with it. In this context, the results of this study point to that WWOOFing is likely to change the feeling of being detached from food origins and nature. This study explains that the idea of a harmony between people and nature strongly relates to ideals of sustainable food production which is interpreted by some WWOOFers in this study as a demonstration of the individuals' will to work for a future of the planet (mentioned in 17% of videos). These findings provide new perspective for analysing the meaning of practice of growing food during WWOOFing in context of investigating the rhetoric of alternative food movement (Schneider, 2008).

These ideas about superiority of organic farming is shared by many WWOOFers in this study who as a result of WWOOFing began to believe that growing food has an ethical dimension. Therefore, this study found that WWOOFers start to think that growing food is taking a responsibility for own consumption, and assuring that no cruelty, no exploitation occurs as a result of their demand. Replacing the practice of buying food with growing food during WWOOFing, meant for many WWOOFers in this study having a control over the impacts of their diet on the planet and their health.

Furthermore, in relation to the meaning of sustainability, WWOOFing influences that growing food starts to be associated by many YouTubers in this study with going back to tradition or past where growing food was part of everyday life in society. This is why, several respondents argued that during WWOOFing they felt for the first time how it is to be able to provide for themselves. In this context, self-sufficiency became an ideal for several volunteers, also in relation to life back at home. In this respect, thanks to growing food, some of the WWOOFers in this study explained that by growing own food they feel as if they no longer depend on the commercial system of food provisioning to survive. This meaning in turn translates into a feeling of freedom and joy that for some WWOOFers in this study was related to food security and for others growing own food stands for independency and an achievement. The interviews clarified however that both aspects are important sources of motivation for WWOOFers who want to start growing food at home. Furthermore, the data showed that growing food is often described as a purposeful and rewarding job.

Secondly, thanks to WWOOFing, volunteers in this study discovered that growing food during can relate to ideas about community (in 6% of videos), meaning that working on a farm is associated with joining a community of like-minded people. Interestingly, one of the interviewees explained that when growing food at home, he would also like to replicate this sense of belonging to community as it gives him a sense of support and inspiration. He said:

"(…)to be self-sufficient (…) you always need neighbours, always need to share and help each other, you can't ever be fully self-sufficient on your own."

(Interview 2)

Thirdly, because of WWOOFing, growing own food starts to be about focusing on positive elements of life, up to a point in which for some WWOOFers it becomes a spiritual practice. On YouTube 4 % of WWOOFers explain that as a result of being at a farm they began to practice growing food as a mindful activity. They would attempt to reconnect with nature in a spiritual way, by making growing food a moment for meditation and feeling 'zen'. This meaning is however not shared by majority of WWOOFers in this study, even though it was found that that being busy with growing food starts to be a seen as a time to relax the head and distance yourself from negative emotions or problems. In this way, this study found that for some WWOOFer growing food started to be associated with a therapy, a relaxing activity or a health-promoting practice. This is also discussed in the literature in context of social farming or care farming, however WWOOFing was not considered for this yet (Lovell, 2010). Finally, growing food for many WWOOFers in this study also begins to bear the meaning of having fun, doing something cool and full of surprises. Thanks to these positive associations that WWOOFing gives to WWOOFers in relation to growing own food, all the interviewees in this study want to come back to growing food at home. Some of the WWOOFers even explained that WWOOFing changed their attitude towards growing food from something that was not considered by them as not appealing, boring or a practice that only people in countryside do (Interview 4, 5 and 6).

Meanings of practices of cooking and preparation

For many WWOOFers in this study, WWOOFing gave a new meaning to practices of cooking and preparation of food as an exciting and joyful moment of using fresh and basic ingredients to make a healthy and nutritious meals. On the other hand, one of the interviewees shared her experience of witnessing slaughtering an animal for a dinner, which made that practice of cooking and preparing food felt at first difficult to endure. Accordingly, this study found that depending on positive or negative associations with a given practice, WWOOFers might consider including those practices at home. For example, even though this one WWOOFer learnt how to kill a chicken, she would not want to start farming own chickens for meat because it does not make her feel good about it.

Meaning of the practice of eating

The practice of eating gained a new significance to many WWOOFers in this study. For 17 % of YouTube'rs who talked about taste and nutritional value of food at a farm, eating own produce means following a diet that is healthier and tastier than the one that is based on conventional food products from supermarkets. This evaluation is a subjective interpretation thus it does not mean that food that is grown in own garden is always and per se better in terms of taste, quality etc. It is to say that through the experience of WWOOFing, WWOOFers in this study often associated growing own food with a produce that is tasty and healthy. Some WWOOFers in this study even started to believe that eating properly can be a cure from diseases like cancer and that it assures long and healthy life. To some extent this belief might be a romanticised version

of reality, but I found that the belief in superiority of the practice of eating organic and local food is normalised many among WWOOFers in this study.

Furthermore, to many WWOOFers in this study, through WWOOFing, eating just-harvested, organic food started to require appreciation and satisfaction. One of the respondents said:

"I think that there is such a satisfaction in eating your own food (...) and then making it in a meal for yourself, and even more so if you eat seasonal food because you cannot have it all year around. "

(Interview 1)

Through WWOOFing, eating becomes a conscious practice for many WWOOFers in this study too- a time to contemplate the food and celebrate own work by enjoying the taste of food. For example, for one WWOOFer who was always worried about what is put in her food, WWOOFing showed that eating own produce is accompanied with a feeling of control over where your food comes from. On the other hand, this study found that discovering or realising what it takes to put food on the table can shift the meanings that eating food has for people. For example, in relation to the meaning of eating meat, one WWOOFer shared how WWOOFing changed the way she looks at it:

"The woman always killed her own chicken! And we were sitting there next to! I remember very well, how she killed it, and then in the evening it was served for dinner. And normally, you never think about where your meat comes from. But that time, I thought, wow, maybe I don't need to eat meat every day because an animal must die for it. But it is also because we had to you know take care of these animals and then they ended up on our table."

(Interview 6)

On the other hand, for some WWOOFers in this study, having the experience of working with animals on organic farms influenced that eating meat or dairy products starts to be seen as an ethical practice as it they see that animals are treated in a friendly way. Surprisingly, in some instances, WWOOFers in this study who had such experiences, relate that they absorbed the meaning that belong to the practices of a farm at which they stayed and sometimes performed those practices as well. For example, one WWOOFer explained that at home she is vegan, but while being at an organic goat farm, she could see that animals were having a good life, so she joined into the practice of eating cheese at that farm. This study however, does not provide information regarding the extent to which meat consumption continues or not after WWOOFing, but one interviewee indicated that as a result of what he learnt during WWOOFing, he would like to explore more about vegetarian diet.

Meanings of practice of disposal

This study found that thanks to WWOOFing, volunteers started to have new associations in respect to leftover food. For example, the most often mentioned meaning in this study is that

food is precious, also when it is a leftover, which means that food should not be wasted but reused or stored. Interestingly, during participatory observations at Us Hof, I noticed that WWOOFing at permaculture farm influenced that WWOOFers start to see composing as an act of giving back to nature: a ritual of showing respect to nature and respect to own work and the work of others that goes into all the steps of food provisioning. One of the respondents explained that the value that food has when it comes to routines of throwing food away or not is changed from a potential waste product to a precious resource. This change in meaning was reported in this study to be a result appreciation for own and others work that is needed to grow organic food. One responded explained it in the following way:

"I learned that organic farming needs a lot of work. A lot of work from human, organic farmers need a lot of helping hands. Now when I see organic products, I think: maybe it included a lot of effort from farmer or volunteer, so then I eat it whole and I won't waste anything, as much as possible."

(Interview 5)

Meanings of the practice of storing and preserving food

This study revealed that, especially in data from YouTube videos, WWOOFing introduced volunteers to preserving food as an activity that comes out of respect for the produce and willingness to be self-sufficient, so that it is not wasted but it becomes a supply. Next to that, for some of the WWOOFers in this study, making own preserves also started to stand for having a control over what is put into the processed food they eat, instead of being considered a practice that 'no one anymore does'.

Next to preserving, WWOOFing experience showed to several WWOOFers in this study that having too much of something can sign that it is the time to share it with neighbours or others who might be in the need of food. Food waste in this context is no longer seen as an acceptable solution. This study found that giving away food is a practice that the interviewed respondents would considered doing before WWOOFing, especially that most of them did not grow own food, but WWOOFing showed some of them that it is a good practice. Similarly, one YouTuber argued that his WWOOFing experience made him realise that sharing food with poor people should be legal and even promoted to not only minimise the waste of food from own garden but also to help others.

Meanings of food provisioning practices after WWOOFing

The data showed that in some instances, WWOOFing influences the meanings of food provisioning practices also at home. For the two former WWOOFers who were interviewed in this study, the meanings of food provisioning practices remain constant after returning home. They believe that even though they cannot exactly replicate the material elements of those practices they managed to include them to some extent in their own food provisioning practices. Interestingly, one of the interviewees explained that once participating in the food

provisioning practices that are part of WWOOFing, one becomes a member of those practices for life, and not being able to perform them, or making another choice, results in a battle in a head that she describes as follows:

"And even after WWOOFing sometimes you end up in a snack bar, and you think ok, let it be for once, but even if you don't eat healthy this one time, you still have the appreciation for food and knowledge that you gained about healthy eating back in your head, and I still have this. And this makes you to make good choice every day, and for sure you are aware of everything that goes with it, and maybe you don't stop every day and think back of and think WWOOFing, but it is there in your subconsciousness."

(Interview 6)

Conclusion of the chapter

This chapter showed that WWOOFing influences to large extent the meanings of food provisioning practices, especially the practice of growing own food and eating, starting during the stay at a farm but this study also indicates that these meanings remain stable after returning home. It can be concluded that many practices of food provisioning are new to most WWOOFers in this study which is why the meanings that evolve around those practices change dynamically and often in presence of uplifted emotions. Therefore, this study shows that WWOOFing can be an eye-opening experience that can lead to a transformation of meanings attached to practices of food provisioning, but it also can simply give a new outlook on these practices and mobilise reflection which might not lead to action, at least not immediately after coming back home. Nevertheless, this chapter concludes that the impact of WWOOFing on the meanings of food provisioning focus mainly around the ideals of sustainability and superior quality of alternative food for health and taste, which indicates why volunteers start to choose for organic or local produce. These findings add then to the debates about the role of demand in alternative food movement (Jarosz, 2008). Lastly, this chapter concludes that, understanding the values and significance of alternative food provisioning practices can improve our understanding of what motivates people to eat healthy and to put effort in incorporating new food provisioning practices (e.g. growing food) into their everyday routines (Antonovsky, 1987)

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study presented findings regarding three elements (competences, materials and meanings) of food provisioning practices separately, (as suggested by Shove *et al.,* 2012) to explain in detail how these practices are performed during WWOOFing, and how they are performed or intended to be performed after coming back home. Apart from that, it is also important to look at practices as whole: as ways of 'doings' and 'sayings' that bring all these three elements together so that they can be empirically observed (Schatzki, 2002). In this respect, this study points out that noticing how unique the amalgam of competence, material and meaning is for each practice helps to understand that these elements are strongly interrelated. I analysed the practices of food provisioning as a compound practice that consist of several steps, out of which I focused on practices of growing food, preparing food and cooking, eating, practices of disposal and practices of preserving, storing and sharing food in the context of WWOOF farm and at home. After presenting these findings, I conclude that WWOOFing influences the to a large extent these food provisioning practices, especially the practice of growing own food and eating. Accordingly, practices of farming and eating were most often discussed by WWOOFers in this study, which I relate to two reasons. First, growing food and eating are two, most common food provisioning practices that almost all WWOOFers in this study performed. Second, for most interviewees in this study, it was the first time in their life when growing own food and eating many and different organic products became a part of their own food provisioning practices. As a result, this study reported that most intensions or actual changes related to food provisioning practices at home are related to these two practices. In fact, all the interviews declared that at some point they plan to grow their own fruits and vegetables, and one even considers becoming a farmer. Furthermore, thanks to WWOOFing, all the interviewees in this study felt inspired to follow a diet that is rich in fruits and vegetables, preferably organic and local. I argue that these two practices are strongly interrelated as growing own food assures a supply of fresh fruits and vegetables that the volunteers in this study want to consume. Furthermore, the practise of growing own food and eating are based on common meanings related especially to aspects of improving health, striving for best taste and living sustainably.

For example, one of the interviewees said:

"We also have our own vegetable garden, we started it this year after we came back from WWOOFing in Costa Rica. I think that it was no accident!"

(Interview 6)

The remaining practices of food provisioning can also become a part of food provisioning practices at home, but I conclude that they are more likely to change in combination with the practice of growing food. Growing own food is then a crucial step that induces changes in all other steps of food provisioning. Therefore, I argue that growing own food, even in amounts that do not allow for self-sufficiency, influences all other steps of food provisioning in a way that for example buying food in supermarket does not. My claim is thus that food growers have an incentive to cook from harvest, eat seasonal, preserve food or sharing food with others. Growing own food then gives a unique sense of control over the whole range of impacts that food routines have on health and aspects of sustainability.

I conclude that WWOOFing does influence food provisioning practices to large extent, however the impact of WWOOFing lies not only within continuation of the food provisioning practices in the same way as during WWOOFing, but also in stimulating reflexivity in respect to own food routines, mainstream food system and possible alternatives. For example, some WWOOFers in this study did transform their food provisioning practices by for example setting up an urban farm after returning home, or growing own food on a small plot and trying to eat more fruits and vegetables. For some other WWOOFers in this study, WWOOFing changed the way they perceived food. For example, thanks to having the opportunity to try organic produce, and seeing how it grows, many WWOOFers in this study ended up claiming that such food is not only healthier than the one from supermarket but it also tastes better.

Nevertheless, making statements about transformational effect of WWOOFing in relation to food provisioning is not easy, as for example starting to grow own food immediately after coming back from WWOOFing might not be possible for everyone. For this reason, the former WWOOFers who were interviewed in this study decided to subscribe to an organic and local box scheme to ensure that at least that can eat the same quality and amounts of produce as during WWOOFing. Their example shows that continuation of food provisioning practices after WWOOFing is not necessarily an immediate result as it can take time before one is able to perform those practices again. Therefore, WWOOFing can tangibly transform volunteers' food provisioning practices, but it can also simply give them the motivation to do it in the future, and the confidence to learn and experience more to complete the pathway of transition that WWOOFing induced.

This study concludes that practices are never the same when repeated, especially when it comes to the process of transition which requires time, and developing the right setting and context in which practice can be repeated, at least to some extent. With this understanding, this study is in line with Hui (2016) who argues that variation is inevitable feature of practices. Even though, Wood & Neal (2016) defined that gaining new habits requires repetition in a stable context, I argue that while this might hold in some instances, this theory doesn't provide a practical explanation of how practices change. This study showed that, transition does not necessarily

require precise reconstruction of what is perceived an ideal. Supporting theoretical explanations of Meziorow (1997) I argue that transition occurs also, and perhaps especially when one is able to reflect upon what he or she learnt and critically adapt it to own life.

Finally, with the findings of this study that point to the transformational nature of WWOOFing experiences, I would like to elaborate on the function of holidays in opening people to new experiences. This study showed that during WWOOFing people dare to get involved in new food-related practices, that often incorporate an element of adventure, learning and entertainment. According to Pine & Gilmore (1999), learning experience that tourists have during holidays are highly memorable, which in the context of this study I relate to the fact that they step out from their everyday practices at home, and are given the opportunity to face new ways of dealing with food.

Recommendations

The above-listed, concluding statements of this study can be used as inspiration for policy-makers who intend to improve the public health by intervening in health provisioning practices. Based on my conclusions, I recommend considering the potential of learning how to grow food in education of both children and adults. In this respect, the role of farms as settings that promote health and increase awareness in relation to food and health should not be underestimated. Taking WWOOFing as an example, I suggest using authentic settings for food education, as they seem to be a key for success in helping people to reconnect with nature and food in a meaningful for them way.

Furthermore, in relation to food policy and health promotion, in line with Shove *et al.*, (2012) I suggest looking at practices as units where transformation to better health and sustainable food routines starts. With this approach, one can truly understand how everyday practices of food provisioning change. In my view however, looking at practices as performances is not about finding universal truth and certainty in human behaviour. It is about gaining a better understanding of how practices change in a momentum of performance and acknowledging the dynamic of social life that make it inherently unstable.

Finally, supported by the findings of this study and following the approach of salutogenisis, I argue that including new, healthy practices in own food provisioning routines is possible and it can help people to stay motivated to live healthily, even when they are not able to entirely resign from other unhealthy practices. With this statement, I suggest that policy-makers should abandon blaming of individuals for their inability to change bed dietary habits and instead focus on finding out how some individuals do manage to stay healthy.

CHAPTER 7: LIMITATIONS AND CREDIBILITY

While choosing how to set up this research, I was aware of the limitations inherent to case study design. As I highlighted in the methodology section, case studies provide context specific findings. Consequently, I do not claim to provide generalizable results based on case studies only. Nevertheless, these cases of two WWOOFing farms help to understand in-depth the influences of WWOOFing of the food provisioning practices on the individuals, with all its complexity and positionality within the local context (Flyvbjerg, 2006). Furthermore, I tried to minimize the bias case studies by triangulation. In this way, with a help of YouTube videos, my goal was to gain a more holistic overview and learn about a variety of experiences and possible extremes. Whereas it might also appear that there is also a bias within the video relations on YouTube, I still consider it a valid material as it is a social representation of the WWOOFing movement. Thus, YouTube videos might be a marginal interpretation of the WWOOFing reality, but this also is an important indication. The remaining limitation of YouTube analysis is that it remains non-interactive way of research, which means that it is impossible to ask additional why questions to the information that was provided in the videos. For this reason, I provide only limited insights into the extent to which WWOOFers on YouTube continued their food provisioning practices at home. Furthermore, in some instances, YouTube'rs used only keywords or did not support their claims with nuanced statements explaining why they think in a certain way. On top of that, sometimes videos presented more visual images than verbal information which left a lot of space for the author to interpret their meaning. On the other hand, some videos were entirely devoted to being a personal reflection and confession regarding feelings, experiences and lessons from WWOOFing experiences, so this study did have a balanced amount of information, which was assured by that videos were analysed up to the saturation point.

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