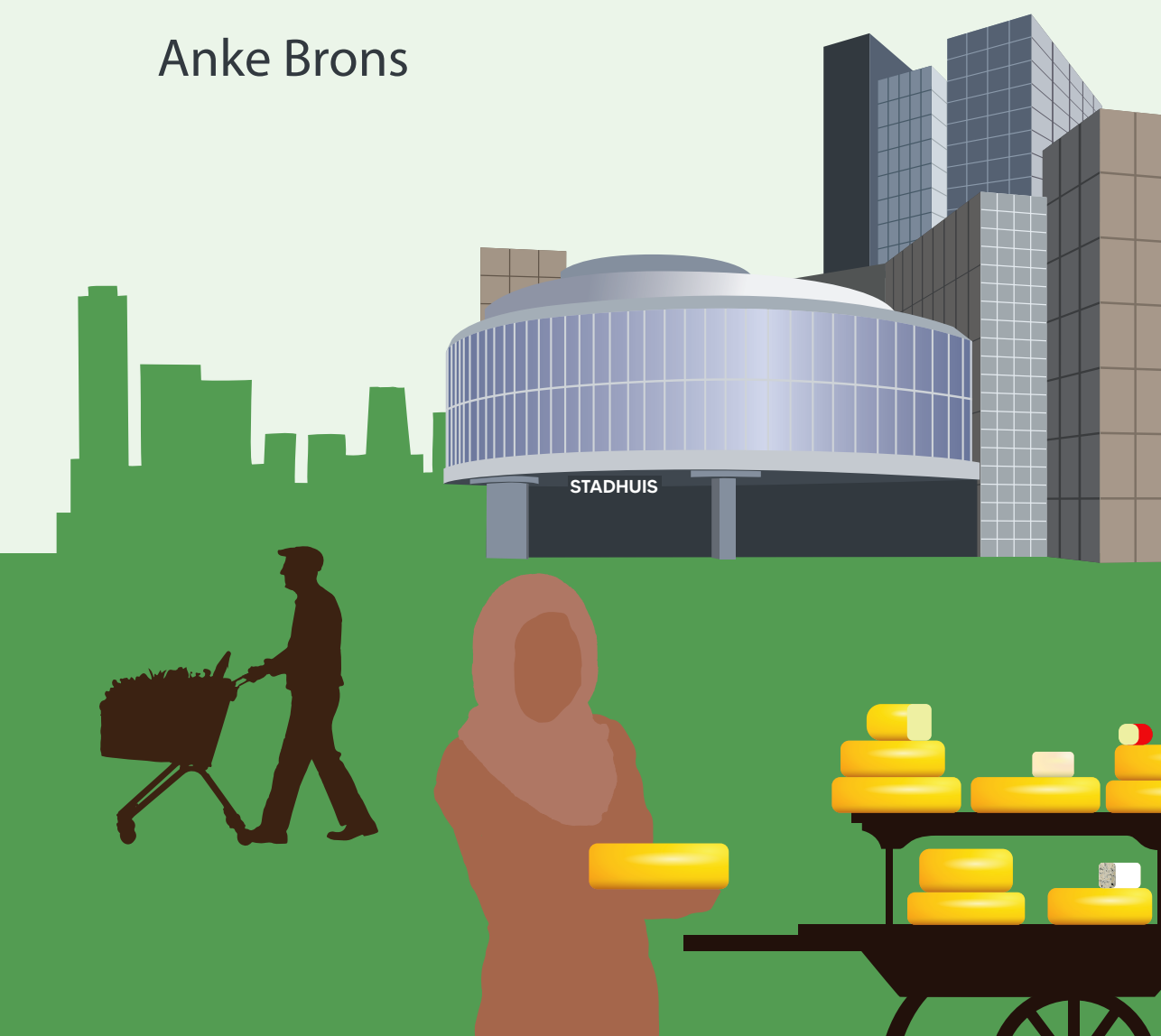# The elusiveness of inclusiveness

A practice-based perspective
on health and sustainability
in urban food practices

Anke Brons

STADHUIS

Propositions

1. Effective urban food governance requires multiple pathways of transition to a healthy and sustainable food system.
   (this thesis)
2. Promoting sustainable food consumption practices requires a theory of power.
   (this thesis)
3. A theoretical lens follows from a hypothesis.
4. The practical experience gained during a PhD conducted at a University of Applied Sciences adds significant value to the PhD trajectory.
5. Working from home fulltime hampers successful PhD writing.
6. Second-hand stores promote decluttering.

Propositions belonging to the thesis, entitled:

'The elusiveness of inclusiveness: a practice-based perspective on health and sustainability in urban food practices'

Anke Brons

Wageningen, 17 June 2022

The elusiveness of inclusiveness:

A practice-based perspective on health and sustainability
in urban food practices

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The elusiveness of inclusiveness:
A practice-based perspective on health and sustainability in urban food practices

Anke Brons

Thesis

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by the authority of the Rector Magnificus,
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in the presence of the
Thesis Committee appointed by the Academic Board
to be defended in public
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LT   Long-term
MUFPP   Milan Urban Food Policy Pact
NCD   Non-communicable disease
SES   Socio-economic status
ST   Short-term
UAS   University of Applied Sciences
UFS   Urban food strategy
ULL   Urban living lab

I

Chapter I

Introduction

Chapter I
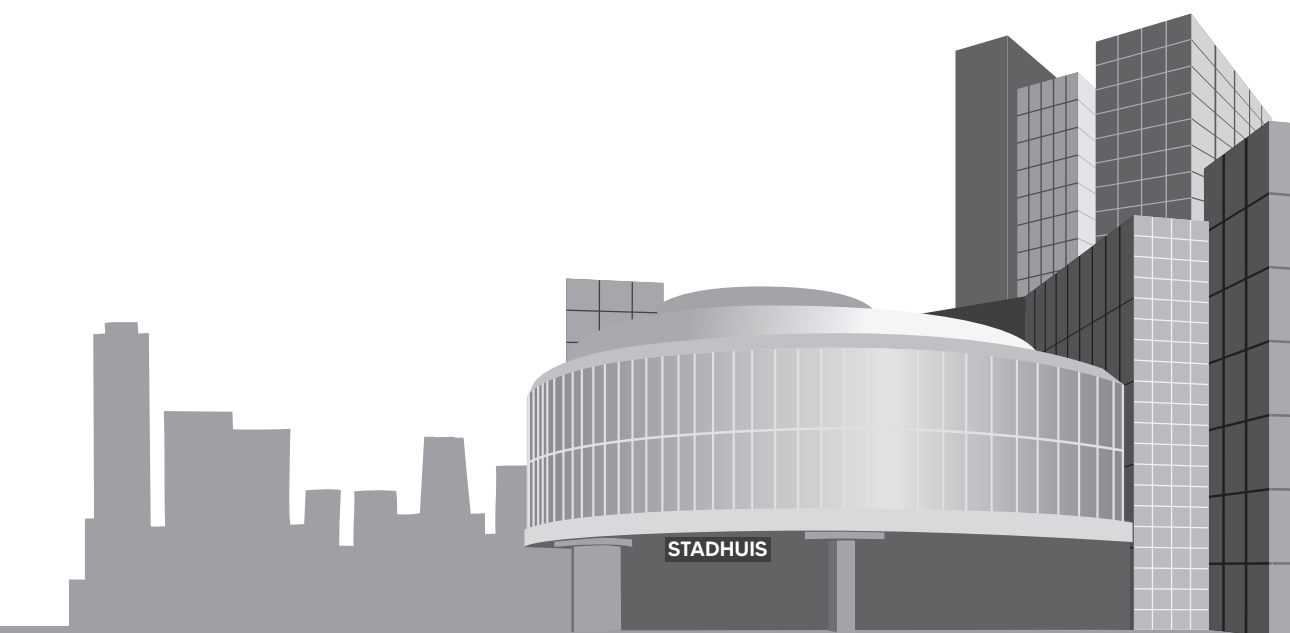
I.I Introduction

As cities are growing in size and changing in demographic composition, new responsibilities in the field of food emerge in terms of inclusiveness. While their populations get more diverse, urban governments are struggling with their newly emerging governance task around food system transformation towards health and sustainability (Morgan, 2009; Sonnino, 2009). This task is rendered more complex in light of the increasing urban diversity, as this diversity comes with growing differences between various socio-economic and cultural urban population groups. Urban residents from lower socio-economic positions and from ethnic minority groups appear to lag in healthy as well as sustainable diets (Friel et al., 2011). Moreover, citizens from diverse cultural backgrounds and with lower socio-economic status are also underrepresented in food policy development (Halliday, Torres, & Van Veenhuizen, 2019). These apparent inequalities pose challenges to the food system transformation needed at the urban level and beyond, and have led to the call for more inclusiveness in urban food systems (Blay-Palmer et al., 2018; FAO, IFAD, UNICEF, WFP, & WHO, 2021; Fresco, Ruben, & Herens, 2017; Halliday et al., 2019).

However, while the attention for more inclusive food systems is growing, precisely what it means to be more inclusive appears not to be very well defined. For instance, does inclusiveness mean everyone needs to be involved equally, to the same degree? Or rather, should it revolve around equity in terms of equal outcomes? Does inclusiveness apply to process or content: being actively engaged or being represented in terms of interests? In addition, who actually decides whether a policy or a set of dietary guidelines is inclusive, and for whom?

Existing approaches to understanding and addressing these inclusiveness challenges are problematic in several ways. Inclusiveness is sometimes approached through a kind of statistical measuring instrument with a binary understanding of being either in- or excluded because of certain indicators. This is often related to the almost dogmatic frames of in- and exclusion occurring on the basis of on socio-economic status and cultural background (Raja, Ma, & Yadav, 2008; Zenk et al., 2006). Belonging to a certain culture or income level and subsequently living in a certain neighbourhood risks being virtually equated to being excluded from consuming healthy and sustainable food. Many studies in this strand of literature use quantitative and supply-side driven methodologies to assess accessibility and accordingly determine whether in- or exclusion is taking place. These approaches however risk overlooking the agency, flexibility, and creativity that the concerned (groups of) actors(s) display in their everyday food consumption practices (Neve et al., 2021). Other more critical theory informed approaches focus primarily on the structural, institutional problems in society that appear to create in- and exclusion

(Bedore, 2014). While valuable for highlighting larger societal power imbalances, with their fixed and externally decided understanding of in- and exclusion such approaches may also forget people's lived experiences, expertise and coping mechanisms present in daily food practices.

These contentious approaches to in- and exclusion concern consumption practices as well as urban food governance practices. Formal food governance mechanisms may also rely on aforementioned statistical and static approaches to identify factors for in- and exclusion, rather than looking at lived experiences to critically assess what in- and exclusion actually mean in practice. Additionally, attempts at improving inclusiveness in urban food governance often clash with established policymaking practices and routines. This means that the way in which formal participation in food governance practices is currently organized is often primarily based on practices of policymakers rather than on the lifestyles, needs and preferences of citizens and their food practices, which may be different (Van de Griend, Duncan, & Wiskerke, 2019). When actually looking at these daily lived experiences of citizens around food, a much more dynamic process around in- and exclusion can be observed. It appears that what one might consider as inclusive is highly differentiated within distinct contexts, and is dependent on who is asking the question as well as who is answering.

This thesis aims to contribute to this quest for inclusiveness in urban food practices by problematizing binary understandings of in- and exclusion in the field of food. The thesis seeks to explore dynamics of in- and exclusion that occur within and through social practices around food. These dynamics are studied within two related domains, i.e. food consumption and governance practices. This double focus is inspired by the case of the Dutch city of Almere, where a central principle of the overall policy vision is to rely on 'citizen power'. This thesis therefore combines citizens' daily food consumption practices and formal urban food governance processes to study how in- and exclusion is lived in practice. The primary empirical context for studying these questions is the Dutch city of Almere, which will be introduced next.

1.1.1 Almere: a sociological wonderland
When you tell a Dutch person you are doing research in the city of Almere, they will either start laughing or express their sympathy for you. This is because Almere has the reputation among Dutch people of being a rather dull city, where nothing ever happens and where everything looks the same. However, from a research perspective this could not be further from the truth. Almere is in fact a sociological wonderland: a highly diverse, new and experimental city. Although small in size (around 200,000 inhabitants), Almere faces many of the same challenges that larger cities across the world face in domains such as housing, education and health. These challenges increasingly

also include questions around food, which ends up more and more frequently on the plate of urban governments (Morgan, 2009). Because of its historical relationship to food and its highly diverse urban population, Almere is an interesting field site for exploring these emerging questions around urban food system transformations.

Introducing the city of Almere starts with its birth in 1971 (Jansma & Wertheim-Heck, 2021). Almere is located at the edge of the province of Flevoland. This province was regained from the sea as part of the post-World War II national plan to eradicate hunger, creating large stretches of agricultural land to feed the Netherlands and beyond (Jansma & Wertheim-Heck, 2021). Because of its location surrounded by agricultural fields feeding the world, Almere has a natural connection to food, which it is increasingly realizing in policy development. This is evidenced most of all by its first urban food strategy that was launched in 2021, making an important step of formalizing its urban food policy. Almere is also a member of several city networks around food such as the Milan Urban Food Policy Pact (MUFPP, 2021), the Ellen MacArthur Foundation and the Dutch City Deal 'Food on the urban agenda'. Part of Almere's vision as captured in the urban food strategy is to further develop urban food system relocalization, by aiming for an increase in regional food consumption, i.e. bringing to the city what the agricultural hinterland currently primarily provides for the world market (Groen en Gezond Almere, 2021).

However, such food system relocalization may create tensions regarding the divergent needs and preferences of a diverse urban population. As it explores its relationship to food, Almere is still growing in size, towards the planned total of 350,000 inhabitants (Jansma & Wertheim-Heck, 2021). Almere's citizens are quite diverse in terms of their cultural backgrounds. Currently the city is home to over 148 nationalities, which makes its urban diversity among the highest in the world (Gemeente Almere, 2021). 44% of the population has a migration background and this share is projected to increase further in the coming two decades (Gemeente Almere, 2021), moving toward a majority-minority city where the majority of the urban population consists of people with an ethnic minority background (Crul, 2016). This observation also indicates a wide variety of food cultures, needs and preferences within the confines of one city. In addition, Almere is a city with a higher number of people from lower socio-economic compared to the rest of the Netherlands (AlleCijfers, 2021). This coincides with above-average rates of health issues like overweight and obesity in Almere (AlleCijfers, 2021; RIVM, 2012), which are correlated with lower socio-economic status (Mackenbach et al., 2019). These numbers indicate there is a need for inclusive urban food system transformation towards a more healthy and sustainable urban food system, that reaches citizens across the cultural and socio-economic spectrum. This makes Almere a highly relevant case to study the questions driving this thesis.

In what follows, the scientific context of this thesis is sketched by highlighting the key concepts informing the research questions. This starts by elaborating briefly on food systems and specifically on what sustainable and healthy diets look like (1.2). Next, 1.3 zooms in on the relationship between citizen-consumers and their food environments, after which the urban context is introduced as a relevant empirical context to study these interactions (1.4). In section 1.5, the main topic of this thesis, in- and exclusion in urban food practices, is outlined. This part describes the dominant 'inclusiveness frames' of cultural background and socio-economic status that figure in food consumption practices. These frames respectively inform the selection of two case studies: Syrian migrants in the Netherlands (cultural; Chapter Two) and people with type 2 diabetes (socio-economic; Chapter Three), both of which are primarily focused geographically in the city of Almere. Finally, in- and exclusion in urban governance practices is introduced, which is further explored in the development of the urban food strategy of Almere (Chapter Four). A brief theoretical framework introducing the two main theoretical approaches informing this thesis, i.e. social practice theories and Castells' network theory of power, is presented next (1.6). This leads to the research questions in section 1.7, followed by section 1.8 in which the methodological approach of this thesis is provided. Finally, a brief outline of the remainder of the thesis is presented (1.9).

1.2 Sustainable and healthy diets

When discussing food and trying to achieve a solution to some food-related issue, many conversations end with a somewhat exasperated sigh, concluding how everything seems to be related to everything in the domain of food. For instance, what is the most pressing problem facing the current food system: is it water shortage, biodiversity loss, the health crises of under- and over-nutrition? On whom befalls the responsibility to address these issues and change the food system towards more sustainable and healthy food: is it the consumer, the farmer, the supermarket, the big industry, or rather the government? Addressing the urgent sustainability and health challenges facing the global population requires an approach that recognizes complexity and emphasizes the interrelations between food system actors and dependencies within the food system. This is where a food systems approach comes in, which takes such a holistic perspective and highlights the complex and interconnected nature of food (Ericksen, 2008). It includes feedback loops, trade-offs, synergies and drivers, including both environmental and social outcomes (Ericksen, 2008).

Figure 1.1 from FAO et al. (2021) further illustrates the relationship between these different kinds of drivers (from environmental to sociocultural) and the food system, involving provisioning and consumption and specifically diets and health aspects. Policy

and governance are also separately identified as influential to the food system as well as its drivers. Altogether, the food system, its drivers and policy and governance are shown to impact food security, which includes aspects like availability, agency and sustainability. Two elements of figure 1 will be highlighted here as they currently contribute particularly to increasing pressure on the global food system and are particularly relevant to this thesis. These are the biophysical and environmental drivers interacting with the food system, as well as the changes in nutrition and health as outcomes of the food system.
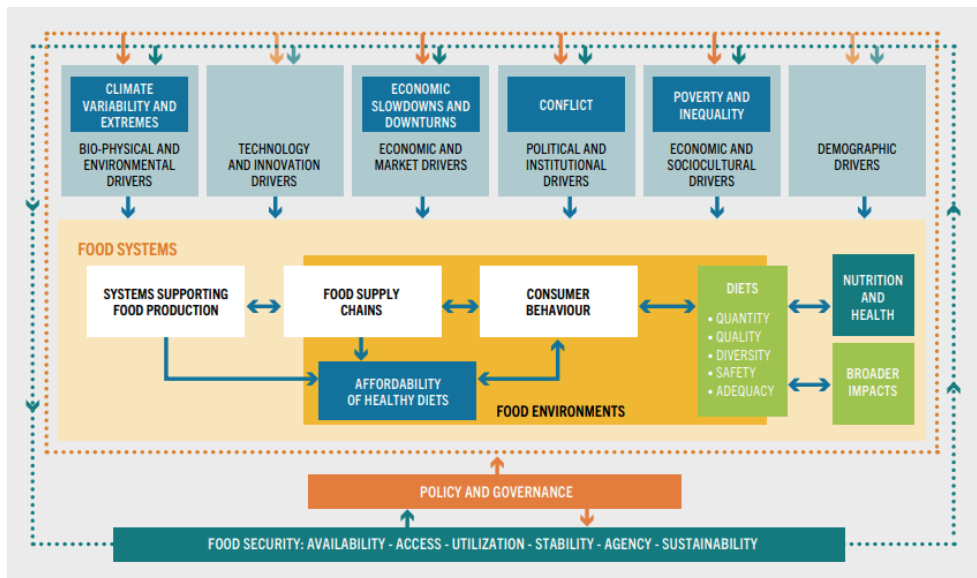
Figure 1.1 Sustainable food system framework: impacts of various drivers are transmitted throughout food systems, undermining food security and nutrition. Source: FAO et al. (2021, p.53).

First, in terms of biophysical and environmental drivers, global climate change contributes to biodiversity loss, pollution of ecosystems and land-use change (Springmann et al., 2018). This spurs the crossing of 'planetary boundaries', which define the limits of the environmental space in which humanity can safely operate (Steffen et al., 2015). Crossing these boundaries in this way ultimately threatens the delivering of food security as the central function of the food system (Springmann et al., 2018).

Secondly, in terms of health, a global health epidemic is taking place as both under- and over-nutrition simultaneously put pressure on the food system (FAO et al., 2021). A large part of the world has gone through what is called the 'nutrition transition': moving from predominantly local seasonal fresh foods to increasing uptake of year round available ultra-processed foods high in fats, sugar and salt (Drewnowski & Popkin, 1997). This

nutrition transition has led to the global rise of non-communicable diseases (NCDs) such as obesity, with currently 39% (over 1.9 billion) of adults being overweight and 13% (650 million) being obese (FAO, IFAD, UNICEF, WFP, & WHO, 2017; WHO, 2020).

As both environmental and health factors are threatening food security, experts call for the adoption of 'sustainable diets' which combine these environmental and health aspects of food (EAT-Lancet Commission, 2019). Mason and Lang (2017) define a sustainable diet as a diet "that optimises good sound food quality, health, environment, socio-cultural values, economy and governance" (p.9). However, while health and sustainability are increasingly integrated into dietary guidelines, research shows that they do not always converge (Fischer & Garnett, 2016; Kramer, Tyszler, van't Veer, & Blonk, 2017; Nelson, 2016; van Dooren, Marinussen, Blonk, Aiking, & Vellinga, 2014). Healthy and sustainable diets do share the following components: more plant-based and less animal-based products, less sugary and alcoholic drinks, and not eating too much in general (RIVM, 2017). However, tensions also occur between sustainability and health. For instance, fish belongs in a healthy but less in a sustainable diet. To put it in Garnett et al. (2014)'s words: "the relationship between health and environmental sustainability can best be viewed as an arranged marriage, rather than a love match" (p.29).

1.3 Who is responsible?

Having identified the need for sustainable and healthy diets and the associated tensions, the next question is who is actually responsible for transitioning to these diets. This links to an ongoing discussion in the literature on the nature of the relationship between food environments and consumers in influencing diets (see figure 1). This discussion tends to be rather antagonistic, with binary approaches identifying either the supply or the demand side as responsible for consumer behaviour.

On the one hand, some scholars focus primarily on the food environment or supply side as central to leading healthy and sustainable food system transformations (Diez Roux & Mair, 2010; Larson, Story, & Nelson, 2009). The food environment can be defined as "the interface that mediates people's food acquisition and consumption within the wider food system. It encompasses external dimensions such as the availability, prices, vendor and product properties, and promotional information; and personal dimensions such as the accessibility, affordability, convenience and desirability of food sources and products" (Turner et al., 2018, p.95). Within a supply side-focused approach, consumption is mostly conceptualized as being the subject of food provisioning infrastructure. Studies within this strand of literature for instance look at the occurrence of so-called 'food

deserts', where particularly healthy food is not available and accessible to all and which particularly transpires in the U.S. (Walker, Keane, & Burke, 2010). Other examples are 'food mirages', where grocery stores appear abundant but where healthy foods are inaccessible for lower-income consumers due to high food prices (Breyer & Voss-Andreae, 2013; Short, Guthman, & Raskin, 2007; Sullivan, 2014); and 'food swamps', which are areas with disproportionately higher access to energy-dense, nutrient-poor foods (Luan, Law, & Quick, 2015; Rose, Bodor, Hutchinson, & Swalm, 2010). In these kinds of approaches, the problem of poor diets is largely attributed to unhealthy and unsustainable food environments and the solution is therefore sought in structural fixes around improving food environments, for instance through government interventions (Mackenbach, 2021; van Trier et al., 2021).

On the other hand, other scholars criticize these supply-side driven explanations, arguing that the specific relationship between food environments and consumer behavior with the health outcomes of eating patterns remain unclear (Allcott et al., 2019b; Mackenbach et al., 2014; White et al., 2004). For instance, Sadler, Gilliland, and Arku (2016)'s critique on food deserts thinking – which can easily be extended to the concepts of food mirage and food swamp as well – holds that it relies too heavily on geographic-structural solutions, which overlooks individual agency and decision-making power. This emphasis on agency links to the other set of approaches in the debate that emphasize the role of consumers themselves in deciding what ends up on their plate. This can be referred to as the 'consumerist turn', which centers consumers in the food question. This approach views citizen-consumers as active participants in co-creating social change. Underlying this approach is a relatively rational understanding of the consumer, who acts upon their convictions and makes deliberate consumption choices (see for instance theory of planned behavior, behavior, Ajzen, 1991). Such an approach focuses on attitudes towards for instance health or sustainability, and subsequently derives perceived consumer behavior from these attitudes. Accordingly, attempts at changing consumer behavior focus primarily on providing more information, which are expected to subsequently translate into 'better' choices (i.e. more sustainable and healthy food consumption). These approaches coincide with the strategy of nudging to steer consumer choice: changing the physical or social environment or choice architecture so consumers are more likely to choose one product over another (Marteau, Ogilvie, Roland, Suhrcke, & Kelly, 2011).

However, these models of consumer behaviour can also be criticized as being too one-sided. Kollmuss and Agyeman (2002) for instance bring up the value-action gap that exists between consumer attitudes and their actual behaviour or actions. Moreover, conceptualizing consumers as rational actors also ultimately renders them almost primarily responsible for food system transformation: if they know how important health

and sustainability are, they can be blamed for not acting upon this knowledge. Despite their 'victim blaming', these rational models of consumer behaviour still continue to be popular because they can relatively easily translate into concrete policy actions (Hargreaves, 2011). Supply-side explanations by contrast do stay away from blaming the consumer, but end up rendering the consumer almost powerless as it is structural forces that ultimately determine consumption patterns. Supply-side and consumer-oriented approaches thus respectively have a rather watered-down or inflated idea of the consumer's influence. In addition, it can be questioned whether an approach like nudging is actually capable of bringing about lasting behaviour change, as it is a choice configuration within existing behavioural patterns and does not fundamentally change the basis for these patterns or provide more long-lasting change (Marteau et al., 2011).

In summary, to arrive at a more balanced understanding of the relationship between consumers and their food environment, this thesis takes the middle road by applying a practice-theoretical approach (Schatzki, 2002; Shove, Pantzar, & Watson, 2012; Warde, 2016) which will be elaborated in more detail in section 1.6 as well as in Chapters Two and Three. In brief, such a practice-based approach highlights the relevance of lived experiences of consumers and contextualizes them in social and physical settings (Neve et al., 2021). Instead of focusing on either demand or supply, the individual or the system, a practice-theoretical perspective looks at practices like grocery shopping, cooking and eating to see how social and material elements co-shape these activities, with an emphasis on the routine nature of everyday life. A practice theoretical approach thus moves away from the question of who is responsible, through a binary understanding of either consumers or the food environment, and instead introduces a dynamic perspective highlighting the interactions between these elements.

1.4 Feeding the city

The majority of food consumption these days takes place within urban contexts. Over 70% of the world's population currently lives in cities and this number is still growing (UN, 2018). As figure 1.2 shows, currently, the number of people living in cities is larger than that of living in rural areas and this discrepancy continues to grow. As cities keep expanding, the questions of how to provide food for this growing urban population and to do so in a more healthy and sustainable way become increasingly urgent.

Historically, cities and food have been closely connected (Steel, 2013). Without farms in the agricultural hinterland, cities would not have been able to exist. Over time, the connection between urban dwellers and their food has weakened. Due to developments such as new food preservation techniques and long-distance transportation, the distance

between cities and the rural hinterland grew larger (Steel, 2013). The food system became more globalized, meaning food was increasingly imported from across the world. This enabled cities to grow much more rapidly, as they were no longer dependent on surrounding farms for their food. Whereas in 1800 only 3% of the global population lived in towns with over 5,000 inhabitants, the UN predicts that in 2050 80% of the world's population will live in cities (Steel, 2013; UN, 2018).

Number of people living in urban and rural areas, World, 1960 to 2017

Source: UN World Urbanization Prospects (2018)
OurWorldInData.org/urbanization • CC BY
Note: Urban populations are defined based on the definition of urban areas by national statistical offices.
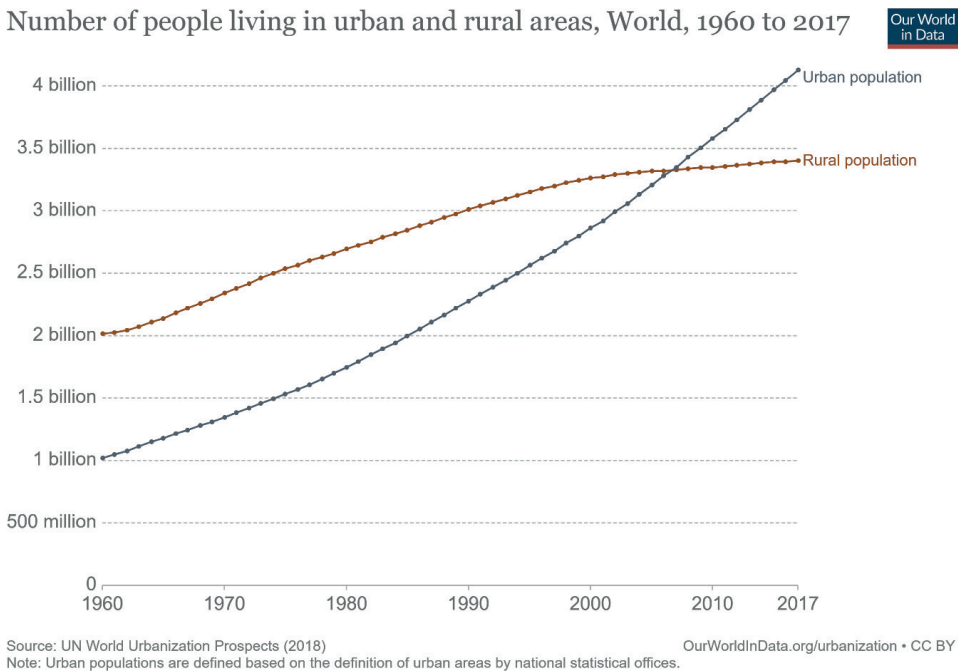
Figure 1.2 Number of people living in urban and rural areas across the world between 1960-2017. Source: https://ourworldindata.org/urbanization.

In addition to existing food policy development at the global, international and national levels, responsibility for governing food is slowly moving to include the urban level (Barber, 2013; Morgan, 2009). Cities are new players in the field of food and are in the process of discovering their roles in how to govern urban food. For many decades food was mainly governed by the national state and the private sector, primarily by large food suppliers (Fuchs & Kalfagianni, 2010). Food remained a 'puzzling omission' (Morgan, 2009, p.341) in urban planning. The growing pressure on the global food system and the increasing urbanization contributed to urban governments starting to taking on more responsibility in the domain of food (Morgan, 2009; Morgan & Sonnino, 2010).

A clear manifestation of this shift can be seen in the Milan Urban Food Policy Pact (MUFPP) that was established in 2015 and currently has 211 signatory cities as its members, comprising a total of 350 million inhabitants (MUFPP, 2021). The MUFPP unites these cities across the globe to "develop sustainable food systems that are inclusive, resilient, safe and diverse, that provide healthy and affordable food to all people in a human rights-based framework, that minimize waste and conserve biodiversity while adapting to and mitigating impacts of climate change" (MUFPP, 2021). It has six main categories that cities can choose from as priority areas for action: governance, sustainable diets and nutrition, social and economic equity, food production, food supply and distribution, and food waste. Within the theme of food production, proposed actions to be taken by cities include 'promot[ing] and strengthen[ing] urban and peri-urban food production' and 'seek[ing] coherence between the city and nearby rural food production'.

These aims indicate a growing ambition of some cities towards (re)localization of the food system, as also observed in the literature (Clancy & Ruhf, 2010; Lengnick, Miller, & Marten, 2015; Martinez, 2010; Mount, 2012). Such relocalization initiatives go back to the historical notion that cities are fed by their surrounding agricultural land (Steel, 2013). A specific concept that tends to be used here is the notion of 'city-region food systems' (Blay-Palmer et al., 2018; Forster, Santini, Edwards, Flanagan, & Taguchi, 2015). A city-region food system approach highlights the connection between the rural and the urban. It consists of "the complex network of actors, processes and relationships to do with food production, processing, marketing, and consumption that exist in a given geographical region that includes a more or less concentrated urban centre and its surrounding peri-urban and rural hinterland" (Blay-Palmer et al., 2018, p.3).

Still, there are also critics of such localized food system ambitions. Besides the common critique of the 'local trap' which assumes that local food always equals sustainable food (Born & Purcell, 2006), a more recent issue around local food aspirations is the impact of the growing diversity of food practices and preferences that come with the changing demographic composition of growing cities. Over the past decades, migration flows have increased because of globalization. Ethnic minority groups make up a significant and growing part of many urban populations (BCFN & MacroGeo, 2018). This leads to the emergence of so-called 'majority-minority cities', in which the majority of the population consists of a variety of ethnic minorities (Crul, 2016; Geldof, 2016). Whereas this concept originated in the U.S., what is distinct about majority-minority cities in the Western European context is their additional 'superdiversity' (Crul, 2016; Vertovec, 2007). This means that whereas in the past, migrants came from largely the same cultural minorities, currently their composition is much more diverse (Vertovec, 2007).

To illustrate, figure 1.3 demonstrates the changing ethnic composition of two major Dutch cities, Amsterdam (the national capital) and Almere (the primary case study site of this thesis). This shows that between 2010 and 2020, Amsterdam has become a majority-minority city, with 44.4% of the population being native Dutch and the remainder having a migration background. A migration background here means that an individual is born either in- or outside of the Netherlands and has at least one parent that was born abroad. Amsterdam can also be considered a super-diverse city, with a current total of 172 different nationalities (Amsterdam, 2021). In Almere, the native Dutch population decreased from 73.6% in 2000 to 56.2% in 2020, getting close to a majority-minority city as well. In terms of diversity of these minority groups, with 148 different nationalities Almere can be considered a super-diverse city. In particular, its increase in update of non-western migrants is remarkably high, which sets it apart from other cities (Gemeente Almere, 2021).

All of these diverse cultural groups populating the modern metropolis have different food habits and preferences. This means aspirations towards food system relocalization that may entail a more place-based diet could clash with the tastes of people from other cultural backgrounds who follow different dietary guidelines. A super diverse city may therefore make different demands on a localized food system than mainstream national dietary preferences.
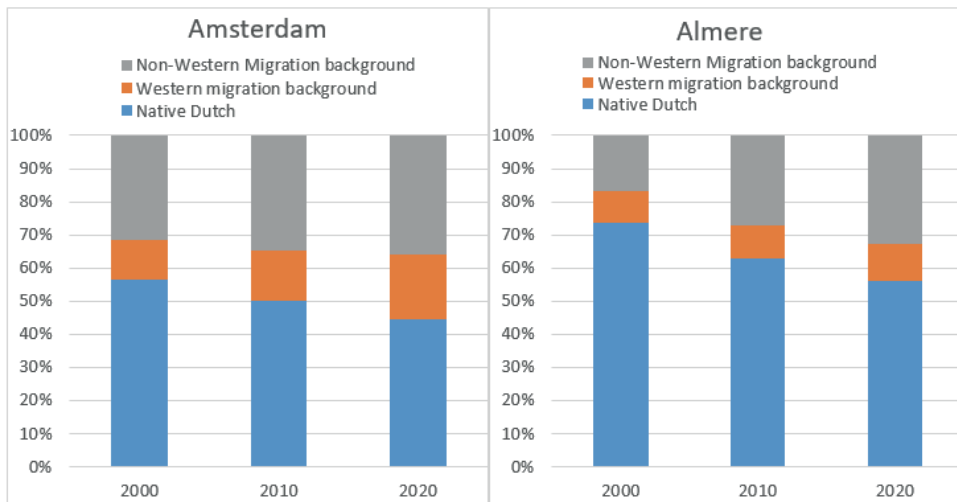
Figure 1.3 Population of Amsterdam (www.allecijfers.nl/gemeente/amsterdam/) and Almere (www.allecijfers.nl/gemeente/almere/) by origin, 2000-2020

1.5 In- and exclusion in urban food practices

These observations highlight the relevance of taking urban diversity in consumption practices into account in urban food governance practices. Currently, this point is often addressed by calling for more inclusive food systems (Blay-Palmer et al., 2018; FAO et al., 2021; Fresco et al., 2017; Halliday et al., 2019). However, despite this increasing attention, there is still a lot of fragmentation and ambiguity in understanding what in- and exclusion in urban food practices actually means, and for whom. These tensions or gaps can be observed on at least three accounts. Firstly, cultural background and socio-economic status have become virtual proxies for understanding in- and exclusion. Secondly, whereas there is quite a lot of literature on health disparities between socio-economic and cultural groups, the topic of sustainable food consumption within these population groups is far less frequently discussed – not to mention combinations of both health and sustainability in food practices. Thirdly, studies often focus on either consumption or governance, rather than taking a more holistic food systems approach and studying the relationship between these two types of practices. The current thesis is situated within these debates and aims to provide a contribution by bridging these gaps empirically and theoretically.

1.5.1 In- and exclusion in urban food consumption practices
Looking at literature on in- and exclusion in relation to food access, the concepts of cultural background and socio-economic status quickly emerge as central factors (Caraher & Dowler, 2014; Jonason, 2017; Larchet, 2015; Mata, 2013). This can be illustrated by Hinrichs and Kremer (2002)'s definition of social inclusion as "an ongoing and reflexive process of full and engaged participation by all interested or affected social actors, regardless of their *socio-economic* or *cultural* resources" (p. 68, emphasis added). These two frames have become somewhat fixed frames through which to understand in- and exclusion.

1.5.1.1 Cultural in- and exclusion
The role of culture in relation to healthy and sustainable food and particularly in relation to in- and exclusion is well represented in literature. For instance, the aforementioned food deserts literature focuses on the supply side issues around unhealthy food consumption and is particularly concerned with ethnic neighbourhoods that are underserved (Raja et al., 2008; Sullivan, 2014). Another body of literature on this topic is the 'food justice' literature, which "views the food system itself as a racial project and problematizes the influence of race and class on the production, distribution and consumption of food" (Alkon & Agyeman, 2011, p. 5). This literature largely focuses on what scholars perceive as the exclusion of poor ethnic minorities in accessing particularly alternative food networks such as local farmers markets (Dowler, 2008; Duell, 2013; Lucan, Maroko,

Sanon, Frias, & Schechter, 2015; Mata, 2013). In this context, inclusion seems to refer to the ability for everyone to participate in the alternative agrifood movement (Hughes, 2010). Other scholars highlight different elements of inclusion, such as having access to an allotment garden to grow culturally appropriate foods (Diekmann, Gray, & Baker, 2018). While these approaches are valuable for highlighting the importance of culture in relation to food and in- and exclusion, these studies present a particular perspective on in- and exclusion by focusing on what is *not* present or possible in terms of health and sustainability in food practices of particular ethnic groups.

However, migrants and their cultural food practices may harbour different understandings of what constitutes a 'good diet', with distinct notions of and practices around health and sustainability (Johnston, Szabo, & Rodney, 2011; Mason & Lang, 2017). These understandings may remain hidden when a host culture with culturally dominant eaters defines what does and does not qualify as 'good' food by presenting specific ideas of health and nutrition, leading to some food practices becoming dominant and others marginalized within a local context (Guthman, 2008; Johnston et al., 2011). This dynamic means some practices are publicly recognized as healthy or sustainable and others are not, which can be seen as a mechanism of cultural in- and exclusion.

By contrast, what is needed and what is argued in this thesis is a recognition that such cultural food practices may harbor specific knowledge, skills and understandings, including around health and sustainability. They may be shaped by religion and other ethical and social values and are closely connected to identity, that may shift as people's life trajectories shift (Mason & Lang, 2017). Recognizing these values and particularly the importance of cultural appropriateness is crucial for advancing healthy and sustainable diets for all. This also involves thinking about cultural appropriateness of food in broader terms, i.e. as not solely based on the type of foods consumed but also on how, where and with whom it is consumed and how it is produced (Hammelman & Hayes-Conroy, 2015). Moreover, what is or is not considered culturally appropriate is also subject to change over time, and as such is dynamic rather than static.

In sum, this thesis therefore addresses the cultural frame in relation to in- and exclusion from a lived experiences perspective. It emphasizes dynamics and change rather than static notions of in- or exclusion, and identifies diverse understandings of and activities around health and sustainability, aided by a practice theoretical perspective focused on de- and re-routinization.

1.5.1.2 Socioeconomic in- and exclusion
Socioeconomic status (SES) is also often brought in as an important frame for understanding in/exclusion, mostly in relation to health. Many studies illustrate how

health disparities between lower and higher SES populations are rising, with NCDs such as type 2 diabetes occurring more frequently among people from a lower socio-economic position (Agardh, Allebeck, Hallqvist, Moradi, & Sidorchuk, 2011; Mackenbach et al., 2019). This growing gap is particularly prominent in urban populations (Friel et al., 2011). This is also recognized by the shifting definition of food security to 'nutrition security' (Ingram, 2020), which involves "having consistent access, availability, and affordability of foods and beverages that promote well-being and prevent (and if needed, treat) disease" (Mozaffarian, Fleischhacker, & Andrés, 2021, p.1605). The concept of nutrition security explicitly recognizes health disparities and advocates for tailored approaches to reach lower-income groups (Mozaffarian et al., 2021).

In line with this approach, much of the attention in scientific literature on food practices of people with a lower SES has been oriented towards health aspects of these practices (Braveman, Cubbin, Egerter, Williams, & Pamuk, 2010; Caraher & Dowler, 2014; Pavela, Allison, & Cardel, 2019; Williams, Priest, & Anderson, 2016). This is understandable given the apparent urgent health crisis among people with lower SES. However, this strong focus on health means that sustainability in this context is often overlooked despite its strong relevance from an in- and exclusion perspective.

The scarce studies that do exist in this area mostly address in- and exclusion from a vulnerability perspective, painting people with lower SES as lacking agency in performing sustainability in their daily food practices. For instance, in Huddart Kennedy and Givens (2019)'s study, people with a lower SES did care about the environment but experienced what they referred to as 'eco-powerlessness'. This is "a deep sense of powerlessness to adopt personal actions to protect the environment" (p.9). This contrasted with people with high SES, who had a much stronger sense of self-efficacy and displayed an 'eco-habitus': an orientation towards sustainably produced products (Huddart Kennedy & Givens, 2019). Similarly, Dowler (2008) shows how low-income consumers can actually sustain views and practices which contribute to more sustainable food consumption patterns, but lack the opportunity to express them (see also Baumann, Szabo, & Johnston, 2017).

While valuable for bringing inequalities to light, by focusing on attitudes instead of daily lives these studies may overlook existing but somewhat hidden sustainability aspects present in the food practices of people with lower SES, which does get uncovered in the emerging body of 'critical sustainability' literature. This strand of literature highlights how in current sustainable consumption thinking, well-off consumers are being elevated to the status of 'good sustainable consumers' while the daily sustainability of the lower social classes is being misrecognized (see for instance Anantharaman, 2018; Cachelin & Rose, 2018; Isenhour, Martiskainen, & Middlemiss, 2019; Malier, 2019; Seyfang & Paavola, 2008). For instance, Malier (2019) points towards this risk of 'moralizing the

poor' in environmental programs targeted at socioeconomically disadvantaged groups to lower their environmental footprints. These campaigns were developed because these groups were perceived to lack environmental engagement and sensibility, even though their environmental footprint was often already light compared to middle and upper classes. Building on Foucault's notion of governmentality, Bertho, Sahakian, and Naef (2021) and Malier (2019) thus highlight the unequal power dynamics present in these environmental programs. These kinds of 'inclusive environmental campaigns' may therefore backfire and perpetuate inequalities.

To conclude, it is clear that defining socio-economic in- and exclusion in relation to healthy and sustainable food practices is challenging and that static frames of socioeconomic status dictating in- or exclusion do not work. Therefore, in this thesis the socioeconomic frame is applied in a critical manner, focusing on activities rather than on attitudes by zooming in on identifying sustainable elements in food practices that might remain hidden when only focusing on explicit sustainability engagement, which tends to favor the higher classes. A practice theoretical perspective is applied here, in particular to highlight 'doings' and 'sayings', i.e. activities and the way they are talked about in terms of meanings attributed to them.

I.5.2 In- and exclusion in urban food governance practices

The broad range of food consumption practices with diverse understandings of health and sustainability as identified above poses new challenges for emerging urban food governance. As the playing field changes from government to governance, a more multi-actor process emerges (Manganelli, 2020; Sonnino, Tegoni, & De Cunto, 2018). This move also comes with a growing interest in direct citizen participation in governance (Callahan, 2007; Cooper, Bryer, & Meek, 2006; Yang & Callahan, 2007). Roberts (2004) defines citizen participation as "the process by which members of a society (those not holding office or administrative positions in government) share power with public officials in making substantive decisions and in taking actions related to the community" (p.320). Urban governments as emerging players in the field of food are therefore tasked with taking into account the diversity of urban voices while also realizing urban food system transformations towards health and sustainability (Blay-Palmer et al., 2018; Sonnino et al., 2018).

Such citizen engagement in urban food governance processes can be organized in different ways, both in formalized and in more informal spaces. An example of the former is the establishment of a food policy council, where a diverse set of stakeholders from across the food system are represented, including citizens, civil society actors and entrepreneurs (Blay-Palmer, 2009; Fitzgerald & Morgan, 2014; Schiff, 2008). Another tool is the creation of an urban food strategy, which Moragues et al. (2013) define as "a

process consisting of how a city envisions change in its food system, and how it strives towards this change, (…), aim[ing] to place food on the urban agenda, capitalizing on efforts made by existing actors and creating synergistic effects by linking different stakeholder groups" (p.6).

While the importance of more diverse and informal governance spaces to encourage co-production of urban food policies is advocated in literature (Moragues-Faus, 2020; Vara-Sánchez, Gallar-Hernández, García-García, Morán Alonso, & Moragues-Faus, 2021), many cities struggle to realize such spaces and to actually and meaningfully include particularly citizens from socio-economically disadvantaged and minority groups (Cretella, 2016; Halliday et al., 2019; Hebinck & Page, 2017; Koski, Siddiki, Sadiq, & Carboni, 2018; Sonnino et al., 2018). Hebinck and Page (2017) for instance highlight discrepancies in the appreciation of 'expert knowledge' in conventional policy processes and the local, grassroots knowledge of non-conventional participants including citizens. This links with Lu et al. (2018)'s understanding of inclusion happening when diverse socio-cultural approaches and lived experiences of impacted communities are not just included, but are also given the same level of respect as scholars and scientists. In the two cases studied by Hebinck and Page (2017) it remained particularly difficult to include cultural minority and socially vulnerable groups even when urban food strategies set out to address inequalities, which also goes for food policy councils (Halliday et al., 2019). It thus appears that current urban food governance processes may not be inclusive to all.

To address these challenges, some scholars argue that to ensure better and more equal health and sustainability outcomes, these groups do need to be included in governance processes somehow (Caraher, Dixon, Lang, & Carr-Hill, 1998; Friel et al., 2011). By making these groups themselves part of planning and implementation of food policy, their needs and interests are likely to be more strongly and effectively represented than through indirect representation (Friel et al., 2011). However, exactly how this engagement should look like within the newly emerging field of urban food governance is still up for debate and should be explored further. This requires further understanding about what causes this lack of engagement, what could be done to improve the representation of different urban population groups in governance, whether this should be direct or indirect; in short, how governance practices could and should change.

1.6 Theoretical framework

This thesis combines two sociological theories: social practice theories and Castells' network theory of power. The former is used in Chapters Two and Three as they provide the best fit with daily ordinary food consumption routines. Practice theories are plural

but share their focus on 'practices' as basic units of analysis, instead of favouring either individual agency or structure to explain social reality (T. R. Schatzki, 2002; Shove et al., 2012; Spaargaren & Van Vliet, 2000). Central elements across practice theories are the importance of socio-material context – shared understandings and materiality shaping practices – and of embodied routines. Reckwitz (2002) most prominently defined a practice as "a routinized type of behaviour which consists of several elements, interconnected to one another: forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, 'things' and their use, a background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge" (p.249). Studying practices means studying daily lives, by means of identifying habits, shared norms, knowledge, and material demands (Mylan, Holmes, & Paddock, 2016). This focus naturally fits with Chapters Two and Three which both study the daily food routines of a specific population group.

Chapter Four takes a different focus by looking at urban food governance practices, which is done using Castells' network theory of power. This theoretical perspective is selected because of its explicit focus on in- and exclusion and conceptualization of society as based on networks, which fits well with the empirical focus of this chapter on the emerging governance network around Almere's first urban food strategy. Castells' network theory of power flows from his conceptualization of the network society as the basic social structure of contemporary society, which is constructed around digital networks of communication. Considering the rise of this network society, Castells (2013) sets out to provide a particular understanding of power relationships that fits this new society. Central to power in the network society is the binary logic of inclusion and exclusion: actors are either part of the network or not. Exclusion is thus a structural aspect of the global network society. The ability to access networks, to structure them, to determine their course and to link with other networks are central to power dynamics in the network society. Social actors who are excluded from the network are unable to modify and act on the programs of the network to include their own interests. These mechanisms of in- and exclusion are further specified by Castells into four kinds of power that characterize the network society: (1) networked power, (2) networking power, (3) network power and (4) network-making power. These types of power are further explained in Chapter Four, when they are applied to mapping and assessing mechanisms of in- and exclusion in the emerging urban food governance network around Almere's first urban food strategy.

As Castells' network theory of power is not commonly used in a localized urban context, this thesis set out to translate it into this particular application, and to add it to a practice theoretical approach in understanding in- and exclusion as used in Chapters Two and Three. In the theoretical reflection provided in Chapter Five, a more detailed

evaluation is provided to assess the value of combining these two theoretical approaches to understand in- and exclusion in urban food practices.

1.7 Research questions

As introduced above, this thesis zooms in on health and sustainability in food consumption and governance practices, within an urban context. This translates into the following main research question with three sub questions, which is also schematically displayed in figure 1.4.

Research question: How is in- and exclusion lived in urban food practices in relation to health and sustainability?

Sub questions:
1. How is in- and exclusion lived out in urban food consumption practices in relation to health and sustainability? (*Chapters Two and Three*)
2. How does in- and exclusion play out in urban food governance in relation to health and sustainability? (*Chapter Four*)
3. What does in- and exclusion in relation to health and sustainability mean from a theoretical perspective? (*Chapter Five*)
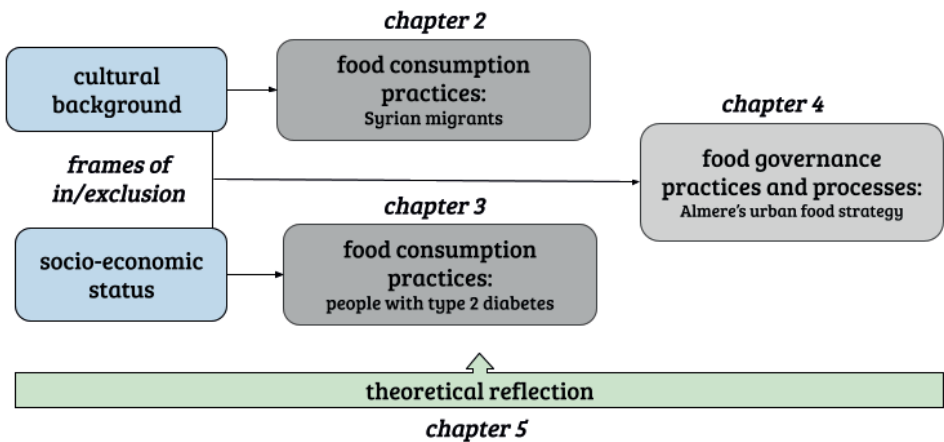
Figure 1.4 Conceptual outline of the thesis chapters

1.8 Methodological framework

The respective theoretical frameworks used have informed the methodological approach in this thesis: practice theories (Chapters Two and Three) and Castells' network theory of power (Chapter Four). Both theories do not prescribe specific methods per se but a methodological approach can be derived from some of their central theoretical tenets. Table 1.1 shows an overview of the theory, methods, empirical focus and case studies used in each empirical thesis chapter.

Table 1.1 Overview of theory, methods, empirical focus and case studies of each thesis chapter

		Chapter 2	**Chapter 3**	**Chapter 4**
Theoretical approach		Practice theories	Practice theories	Network theory of power (Castells)
Methodological approach	*Qualitative*	Interviews and observations	Interviews and observations	Expert interviews and observations
	Quantitative	-	-	Network survey
Empirical focus		Consumption practices	Consumption practices	Governance practices and processes
Case study		Syrian migrants	People with type 2 diabetes	Urban food strategy development Almere

1.8.1 Practice theories

To start with practice theories, Schmidt (2016) argues that practices should not be considered as empirical reality per se, but instead should be treated as concepts that can be used to map and provide analytical understanding of empirical reality. Additionally, Nicolini (2013) positions practice theory as a theory-method package and proposes a 'toolkit approach'. This approach builds upon the broad spectrum of practice theories and their associated methods. In his toolkit approach, Nicolini (2013) suggests two basic moves that should characterize all practice theoretical methodologies: zooming in and zooming out. Zooming in means looking in detail at specific situated performances of practices, as they take place. Another way to put this is that zooming in means studying "practice-as-performance": looking at observable behaviour (Wertheim-Heck & Spaargaren, 2015). Zooming out refers to the "practice-as-entity": looking at the less visible aspects of a practice. When zooming out, linkages between practices are studied over time and space, to understand how practices bundle or break.

Applying this approach to studying in- and exclusion around healthy and sustainable food means first zooming in on people's daily lived experiences around health and sustainability in situated practices. This perspective is then combined with a zoomed-out perspective on how these practices bundle or do not bundle with other practices and may result in in- and exclusion. This approach is also applied in multiple ways in this thesis, both within and across chapters. Chapters 2 and 3 both zoom in and out of food consumption practices of specific urban groups. They do this by zooming in on current situated performances of practices, and zooming out to also view the past performances as well as the interactions of these practices with the food environment.

The study of practice is rhizomatic, meaning that it allows for multiplicity and has neither beginning nor end, nor hierarchical levels (Nicolini, 2013). Studying practices therefore calls for sequential selective repositioning by applying multiple methods. Taking Nicolini (2013)'s toolkit approach seriously, this thesis combines different methods within each paper to ensure methodological variance and different vantage points to study practices. As table 1.1 shows, in all chapters a combination of different methods is applied, to ensure triangulation and improve validity.

Most practice theoretical methodologies have a qualitative orientation. As practice theories focus on both 'doings and sayings' (Schatzki, 2002), its attention to the everyday, the performances of practices in daily life as they take place, or lived experiences, is best served by qualitative methods which are sensitive to nuance and potential inconsistencies (Evans, 2014). In particular, the combination of interviews and observations served to grasp both sayings (interviews) and doings (observations), staying close to the practices as performed in situ.

I.8.2 Network theory of power

Castells' network theory of power also does not come with a definitive methodological approach. Other studies building on Castells tend to hone in on his broader network theory with its focus on networks and flows, applying mobile methods to follow flows of goods and services (Covarrubias, Spaargaren, & Boas, 2019). However, as the current thesis specifically uses Castells' network theory of power, this methodological approach is not evident. A natural methodological fit with Castells' core tenet of the network society appears to be a network analysis. Castells himself never conducted a network analysis nor referred to this method, which Anttiroiko (2015) attributes to Castells' theory being a grand and macro-level theory that contrasts with meso- or micro-level network analyses. Still, despite this apparent discrepancy, Anttiroiko (2015) does highlight several potential links between Castells' work and the method of network analysis, particularly in the field of power and politics where a network analysis can serve to understand power structures and relations.

In this thesis, a social network analysis is therefore conducted, in a mixed methods approach combining interviews with a network survey. This approach is used to gather not only the structure of the network but also the narratives and stories shaping this network, as well as including some stories of those not in the network. This combination of methods and in particular the inclusion of qualitative elements is deemed relevant in light of Castells' focus on language or 'codes' shaping the network, instead of simply concluding on whether links existed or not between different nodes in the governance network. A network survey is a valuable way of gaining insight into the network (in a more static way) which is subsequently discussed and evaluated in interviews to make sense of the power centres identified within the network.

I.9 Outline of the thesis

This introduction has served to introduce the broader scientific and societal context of the current thesis. After this introduction, three empirical chapters are presented (two, three, and four). Chapter Two is the first of two consumption-focused studies, presenting the results of a case study on dynamics of in- and exclusion in food practices of Syrian migrants. Chapter Three also takes a consumption angle, focusing on reflexivity about sustainability and health in the food practices of people with type 2 diabetes. Chapter Four then zooms out and looks at governance practices, studying in- and exclusion in the emerging urban food governance network around Almere's first urban food strategy. Next, Chapter Five presents a theoretical reflection on in- and exclusion from a practice theoretical perspective, supplemented by Castells' network theory of power. Finally, Chapter Six presents the conclusions of this thesis.

2

Chapter 2

Feeding the melting pot: inclusive strategies for the multi-ethnic city

STADHUIS
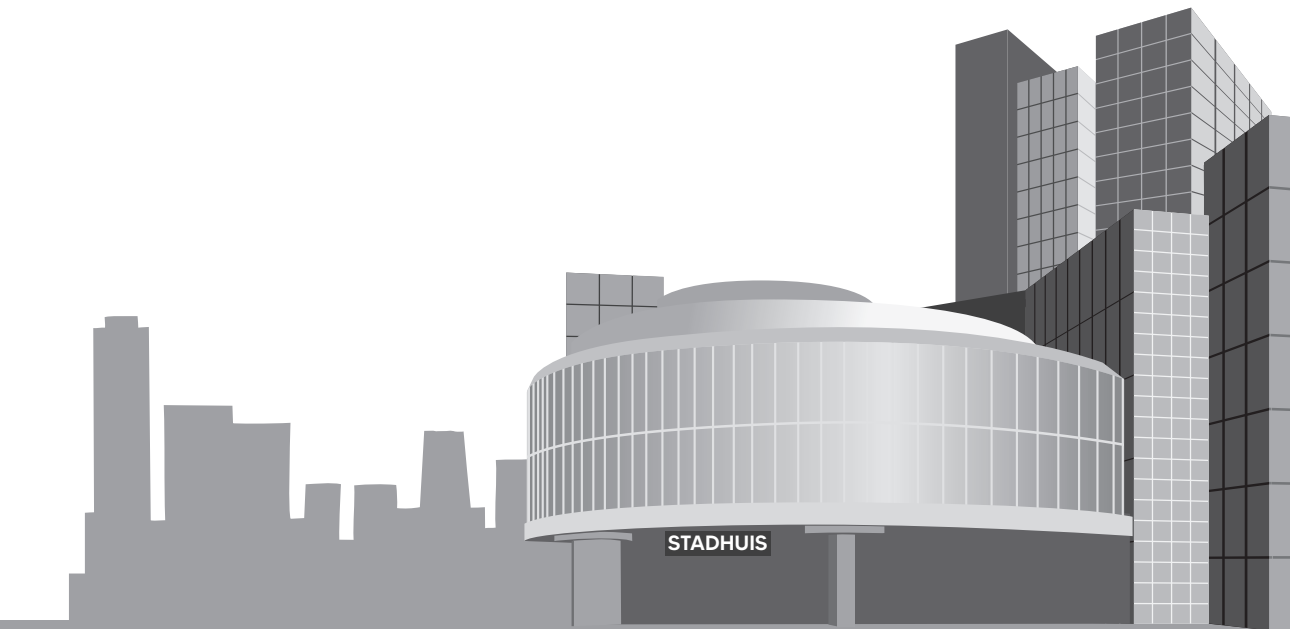
Abstract

The need for a shift toward healthier and more sustainable diets is evident and is supported by universalized standards for a "planetary health diet" as recommended in the recent EAT-Lancet report. At the same time, differences exist in tastes, preferences and food practices among diverse ethnic groups, which becomes progressively relevant in light of Europe's increasingly multi-ethnic cities. There is a growing tension between current sustainable diets standards and how diverse ethnic resident groups relate to it within their 'culturally appropriate' foodways, raising questions around inclusion. What are dynamics of inclusiveness in migrant food practices? And what does this mean towards the transition to healthy and sustainable food? We study this question among Syrian migrants with different lengths of stay in the Netherlands. Our theoretical framework is based on practice theories, which emphasize the importance of socio-material context and of bodily routines and competences. We use qualitative methods, combining in-depth semi-structured life-history interviews with participant observation. Our findings indicate that inclusiveness takes different forms as migrants' food practices and the food environment change. Regarding health and sustainability in food practices, understandings and competences around particularly fresh food change over time among both short- and long-term migrants, replacing making things from scratch with seasonal products with buying more processed products and out-of-season vegetables and fruits. We conclude that the performances of food practices and their configurations in food environments and lifestyles are dynamic and cannot unequivocally be interpreted as in- or exclusive, but that a more nuanced understanding is required.

2.1 Introduction

In light of the serious threats from global climate change and the increasing world population, the need for a shift toward healthier and more sustainable diets is evident (Burlingame & Dernini, 2012; EAT-Lancet Commission, 2019; Garnett, 2014; Lang, 2017). Precisely what constitutes a healthy and sustainable diet is, however, a highly debated issue, with new scientific evidence constantly being developed (Béné et al., 2019; Mason & Lang, 2017; Nelson, 2016; Springmann et al., 2018; Tilman & Clark, 2014). A growing body of literature integrates the two aspects of health and sustainability into an overall 'sustainable diet' (Hallström, Davis, Woodhouse, & Sonesson, 2018), which Lang (2017) defines as a diet that is health-enhancing, has low environmental impact, is culturally appropriate and economically viable (see also Burlingame & Dernini, 2012).

Within this ongoing debate, there is a trend toward universalizing, uniform standards of healthy and sustainable diets that are valid across a nation or even the entire globe. The recent EAT-Lancet report on Food, Planet and Health recommends that everyone adopts a 'planetary health diet': a universal diet rich in plant-based, fresh or minimally processed food (EAT-Lancet Commission, 2019). On a national level, many countries have a similar approach to integrating health and sustainability into one set of dietary guidelines. In the Netherlands, the Dutch Nutrition Centre promotes the 'Wheel of Five', consisting of five main food groups that make up the recommended plate of an average Dutch consumer, which is based on traditional Dutch foods (Brink, Postma-Smeets, Stafleu, & Wolvers., 2017). The latest version of the Wheel of Five (2016) for the first time takes into account sustainability, by putting a limit on the amounts of meat and fish recommended per week and advising to consume legumes and nuts.

How can such standardized norms for a sustainable and healthy diet be combined with the central element of 'cultural acceptability' of diets, which requires taking into account dietary tastes and preferences of different cultural groups (Burlingame & Dernini, 2012; Lang, 2017)? This question is critical in light of the increasingly multi-ethnic cities in Europe (BCFN & MacroGeo, 2018; Crul, 2016). With a growing diversity in cultural groups moving to cities in larger numbers, there is a rise of so-called 'majority-minority cities' like Amsterdam or Brussels, in which the majority of the urban population consists of cultural minorities, each with their own food practices (Crul, 2016).

The required scale of the transformation towards more sustainable and healthy food practices means all citizens need to be on board for it to be effective. Yet, in light of our multi-ethnic societies, generic standards might have limited reach, as they tend to lack cultural sensitivity while food consumption patterns are highly culturally defined (Nicolaou et al., 2009). Additionally, migrants and their home-country food practices

may culturally clash with the host culture's definition of what constitutes healthy and sustainable food (Guthman, 2008; J. Johnston et al., 2011; Rice, 2015). Moreover, it is crucial to understand cultural acceptability itself as a process rather than as a static goal (Hammelman & Hayes-Conroy, 2015). As Hammelman and Hayes-Conroy (2015) argue, the focus of current urban policy is often just on availability of culturally appropriate food, whereas food is much more than just a 'nutrient vessel': it comes with important cultural values and identity. This is particularly relevant in light of increasing calls for more inclusive food system transformations (Bui et al., 2019; Dubbeling et al., 2017; Raja, Morgan, & Hall, 2017): what exactly does this inclusiveness mean?

This question is also important because much of the current literature on in- and exclusion regarding access to 'good food' focuses primarily on the supply side to explain exclusion, looking at the influence of retail availability and product range on consumption patterns of poor ethnic minorities (R. E. Walker et al., 2010). However, as authors such as Alkon et al. (2013), Shannon (2014), Bedore (2014) and more recently also Allcott et al. (2019a) argue, the relationship between consumption and provision is not as unidirectional as often thought. Allcott et al. (2019a)'s study shows that exposing poorer households to the same products and prices available to higher income households only reduced nutritional inequality by roughly ten percent. Moreover, most literature on in- and exclusion regarding food access is geographically oriented towards the US, where the focus is on black and poor minorities who live in strongly segregated urban environments (Mata, 2013; Raja et al., 2008; R. E. Walker et al., 2010). These spatial settings generally differ from the European context in their food environments, with a lower prevalence of 'food deserts' and less segregated ethnic neighbourhoods (see for instance Helbich, Schadenberg, Hagenauer, & Poelman, 2017 on Amsterdam).

In short, there is an urgency to understand how inclusiveness regarding healthy and sustainable food works within a multi-ethnic urban context. What are dynamics of inclusiveness in migrant food practices? And what does this mean for the transition toward healthy and sustainable food? In this paper we start by referring to inclusiveness primarily in relation to culture, as being respectful of cultural tastes and preferences (Sustainable Development Goals, 2015), further exploring the meaning of this concept through our empirical work.

In answering our research questions, we conducted a comparative analysis between short- and long-term Syrian migrant residents in the Netherlands, investigating how food practices and understandings of health and sustainability develop over time within a changing food environment. We focus on Syrian migrants because this allows for the short-/long-term migrant comparison as the Netherlands had two Syrian migration flows. One flow dates back several decades and relates to religious persecution of Syrian-

orthodox populations in Syria. The other regards the recent influx of Syrians due to the civil war. Within and across these two groups, we study how and to what extent food practices change over the course of migration. We look at how inclusiveness works differently for short- and long-term migrants, also taking into account differences and changes in the food environment and in lifestyles over time. We use a practice theories approach because this is instrumental for uncovering dynamics and arriving at a nuanced understanding of the complexity of inclusiveness.

Below we elaborate on our practices theoretical perspective on inclusiveness and present the conceptual framework of our study. This is followed by an exposition of our methodological approach and a description of the population under study. We then proceed with presenting our empirical results in two main parts, following the main elements of our conceptual model, and end with a discussion and conclusion on our results in light of our research questions.

2.2 Theoretical and conceptual framework

In obtaining more nuanced and contextualised understandings of inclusiveness within the dynamics of healthy and sustainable food consumption among short- and long-term (ST-LT) migrant groups, social practice theories that focus on the habitual nature of consumption appear especially suitable. When migrants arrive into a new food environment with existing country-of-origin routines and competences related to food, de- and re-routinization takes place. This dis- and re-embedding means some practices persist, others disappear and new practices may appear. A practice theories perspective highlights these dynamics by examining how food practices are dynamically co-constituted by their material (food) environment and changing lifestyles.

Theories of social practice focus on daily lives by means of identifying routinized behaviour, shared norms, knowledge and competences within a material context (Nicolini, 2013). Practice theories aim to bypass both individualist and holistic social ontologies by conceptualizing social reality as made up of 'practices'. Practice theories are an aggregate of theories which emphasize different elements of practice, but key aspects across theorists are embodied routines, skills and knowledge, shared (social) meanings, norms or understandings, and a material infrastructure (Halkier, Katz-Gerro, & Martens, 2011; Reckwitz, 2002; T. R. Schatzki, 2002; Shove et al., 2012; Spaargaren & Van Vliet, 2000; Warde, 2005).

Studying practices requires the double move of zooming in and out (Nicolini, 2013). This two-step approach allows for both a concrete (zoomed-in) and abstract (zoomed-

out) understanding of daily practices. Zooming in entails closely examining how practices are actually performed in everyday life, focusing on competences, tastes and preferences and how they may change over time within these food practices. Specifically, we pay attention to people's understandings of health and sustainability.

Subsequently, zooming out means taking a step back, to see how these situated practices relate to other practices in space and over time. In zooming out, practices are studied relationally, comparing and contrasting different instances of the performance of one particular practice over time and space, within the material context of the food environment, as well as in relation to bundles of practice (see figure 1). The food environment is defined by Turner et al. (2018) as "the interface that mediates people's food acquisition and consumption within the wider food system" (p.95) and includes both market-based sources and home growing. This food environment contains many cues and clues for action that inform the performance of food practices, while changing practice elements or changing bundles of practice can in turn also transform the food environment (Warde, 2016). Lastly, bundles of practices are sets of practices that are loosely linked based on co-existence in time or space (T. R. Schatzki, 2011; Shove et al., 2012). Studying bundled practices means understanding how practices connect, either through restricting, enabling or conditioning each other (Shove et al., 2012).
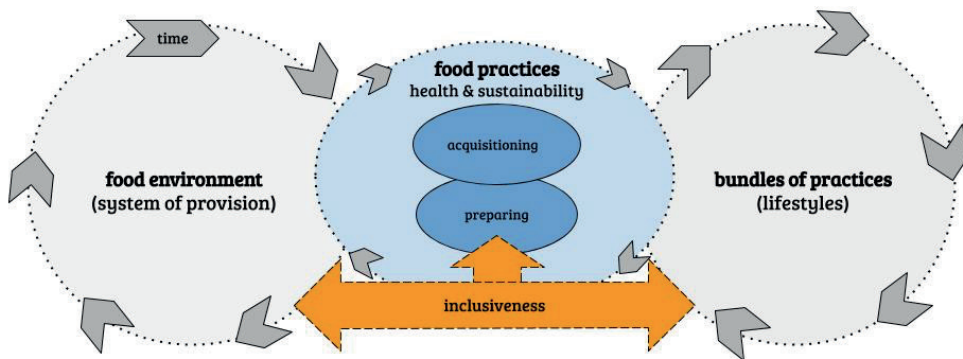
Figure 2.1 Conceptual model, inspired by Spaargaren and Van Vliet (2000)

Our conceptual model (see figure 2.1) illustrates how food practices are located in the interaction of the food environment or system of provision with the wider bundles of practices that together constitute daily life. We look at the practices of food acquisitioning and preparing food at home, paying particular attention to meanings or understandings associated with health and sustainability. These food practices are subject to change over time and space, and connect with the food environment and bundles of practices in different ways, corresponding to different degrees of de- and reroutinization among short- and long-term migrants. Sometimes novel practices emerge which link to existing

food system practices, while other (elements of) migrant food practices may disappear or transform by integrating with locally dominant practices, as will be illustrated in more detail below.

These processes of forging connections between migrant food practices and locally dominant food habits can take different forms, which have implications regarding their inclusiveness. In considering inclusiveness, we start from the definition of social inclusion by Hinrichs and Kremer (2002) as "an ongoing and reflexive process of full and engaged participation by all interested or affected social actors, regardless of their socio-economic or cultural resources" (p.68). Although we are aware that inclusiveness is a broad concept which is determined by multiple social, economic and cultural factors, in this paper, we understand inclusiveness primarily in relation to the latter aspect of culture, i.e. as being culturally appropriate or acceptable (Hammelman & Hayes-Conroy, 2015) or respectful of cultural tastes and preferences (Sustainable Development Goals, 2015). We treat inclusiveness as an emerging and dynamic concept and study it inductively, identifying different dynamics of inclusiveness over time and space.

2.3 Methodology

2.3.1 Methods

Exploring the notions and dynamics of inclusiveness, our study focused on the lived experiences of migrants in their daily food routines and understandings of health and sustainability. Given its exploratory nature, we used qualitative methods to study practices. Given the short-term/long-term comparative nature of this study we combined in-depth semi-structured life history interviews (accounts of performative action) with food practice observations (direct access to performative action). We applied these methods to study the practices of acquisitioning food and preparing food at home. Within these food practices, we looked at the dynamics in tastes and preferences, and skills and knowledge, in relation to the experiences with the changing food environment. We specifically focused on uncovering (shifting) understandings of health and sustainability.

To inform the interview guide, the study started with the consultation of a dietician from the Arabic region currently residing in the Netherlands. She volunteered with a Dutch NGO called Pharos - a center of expertise that strives to reduce population health disparities and has dedicated programs for migrants[1]. This expert consultation aided an initial understanding of Syrian food culture. Next, the interview guide was tested, after

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1   www.pharos.nl/english

which interviews were conducted to understand current and past performances of the practices of acquisitioning and preparing food. Within the interviews, a life histories approach (Perez, 2017) was applied in which people were asked to highlight food-related life events (i.e. favourite childhood food, first time cooking, first meal in the Netherlands) in relation to the two practices under study, to take a historical perspective and understand changing food practices over the course of migration.

The interviews were semi-structured and were conducted between summer 2018 and spring 2019. A total of 26 people were interviewed over a total of 23 sessions (some people were interviewed together, either as couples or friends). Most interviews were conducted in Dutch and on occasion an Arabic translator was used, a Libyan woman who was a native Arab speaker. She was trained by the first author to conduct interviews and did so on a voluntary basis, together with the first author. The interviews were transcribed in Dutch and coded through the open source coding programme QDA Miner Lite. General code categories were drawn up a priori, based on the interview guide, and more specific sub codes were added inductively. Quotes used in this article were translated by the first author who is a native Dutch speaker and have occasionally been edited for grammatical mistakes to ease comprehension. Finally, to get a better understanding of the interaction between food practices and the food environment, the practice of acquisitioning food was observed with five participants in Almere, by accompanying participants in their grocery shopping trips in various stores.

2.3.2 Sampling and recruitment

Participants were recruited based on their length of stay in the Netherlands, to arrive at a balanced sample of short-term (ST<5 years) and long-term (LT>5 years) Syrian migrants (see table 2.1). Short-term migrants were recruited from the city of Almere, where Syrians have arrived only over the past five years and the food environment is still actively changing. Long-term migrants were recruited from other Dutch cities where there has been a longer presence of Syrians, among which most prominently the city of Enschede. Convenience and snowball sampling was used to recruit participants for both groups, who were approached in various ways. In Almere, the local language education center was approached to recruit participants. A retired volunteer at the Almere asylum seeker center who had a network among the Syrian population was also contacted to recruit participants. The translator was also asked to recruit among her own network among Syrians in Almere. For long-term residents, a primary school in Enschede was approached through a personal contact who put the researchers in touch with mothers from a Dutch language practice class and social hub. Other long-term residents were recruited through the researchers' personal networks.

In general, most Syrians face large differences in socio-economic status between Syria and the Netherlands, as a recent report on Syrians in the Netherlands outlines (Dagevos, Huijnk, Maliepaard, & Miltenburg, 2018). Whereas almost everyone was employed in Syria, currently only 22% of the Syrians in the Netherlands hold a job, of whom almost half work below their educational level. Roughly a quarter of women used to be employed in Syria, while 42% indicated managing the household as their primary activity in Syria. Financially, most Syrians struggle to make ends meet in the Netherlands. The large majority of Syrians is religious: 76% identify as Muslim and 8% as Christian. In terms of health, the rate of overweight and obesity is significantly higher among Syrians than among the average Dutch population, with 26% of youngsters (ages 15-24) and up to 75% of people over 45 being diagnosed as overweight (Dagevos et al., 2018).

Regarding our study population, there were some general differences between short- and long-term migrants (see table 2.1). In terms of the total study population, 19 were female and 7 were male. All except one was married and had children, varying between babies and adult children who had already moved out or still lived in Syria. Almost everyone had come to the Netherlands with at least some relatives (often parents or in-laws).

Table 2.1 General characteristics of short vs. long term research participants

	Short-term (N=14)	**Long-term (N=12)**
Average length of stay	3 years (10 months - 4,5 years)	20 years (5 - 32 years)
Average age	41 (22-63)	39 (31-52)
Average age of arrival in NL	38 years old (20-61)	18 years old (0-47)
Origin in Syria	Urban (Damascus, Aleppo, Homs, Qamishli)	10 Rural 2 urban (all from North-West Syria)
Religion	Muslim; 2 Syrian-Orthodox	Syrian-Orthodox
Reasons for migrating	Civil war	Religious persecution
Place of residence	Almere	Enschede, Zwolle, Rotterdam, Amsterdam
Educational level	5 university 3 vocational school 6 high school	3 university 4 vocational school 5 high school
Occupation outside the home	2 employed 2 volunteering job 5 taking language classes	4 employed 1 volunteering job
Housing condition	4 house (with garden) 10 apartment (with balconies)	House (with garden)

2.4 Results and analysis

In this section we present our empirical results by making Nicolini (2013)'s two moves of zooming in and out. We zoom in on the practices of acquisitioning and preparing food, with specific attention to meanings of health and sustainability. Zooming out, we observe how these practices relate to the changing food environment and to changing bundles of practices or lifestyles, and elaborate how these interactions illustrate different dynamics of inclusiveness.

2.4.1 Zooming in: practice as performances
2.4.1.1 *Acquisitioning food*
Based on our empirical results we identify two types of acquisitioning practices: purchasing (through market-based sources, Turner et al., 2018) and home-growing. Among long-term migrants, food purchasing primarily takes place at regular supermarkets. Ethnic stores, either specifically Syrian or Turkish/Moroccan are also an important source. Some specific products (milk, cheese and meat) are purchased directly at farms or slaughterhouses. Fresh market shopping is not very prevalent. Participants mentioned the restricted opening times, limited offer and the quality of produce as reasons for not frequenting the Dutch market:

> "I do not go to the markets very much because the products on the market are not of good quality, especially in terms of freshness. In the Netherlands the market is not really fresh" (M, age 45, LT (19yr))

Many long-term migrants are engaged in the practice of home-growing, which is often a continuation of habits from back in Syria, where most people lived in rural areas with gardens:

> "Almost every house has a vegetable garden, we had one back home and now here. All my sisters-in-law have a garden. We eat fresh, we just pick and eat: Grapes, all kinds of fruit, cucumber, salad, a lot, everything" (F, age 31, LT (8yr))

All long-term migrants in our study live in a house with a garden, which enables them to easily engage in home-growing. Some grow distinct varieties (particularly smaller sized zucchinis and eggplants), as a coping strategy for addressing their needs and preferences for culturally specific food that they could not buy anywhere. Besides more extensive home growing practices, almost all long-term migrants have at least a grapevine in their backyard to be able to make dolma or yaprak. This was almost everyone's favourite dish from childhood and consists of grape leaves filled with rice and vegetables or meat.

By contrast, almost none of the short-term migrants are engaged in home-growing. Only two used to have a garden back in Syria. Material housing conditions of short-term migrants also prevent them from growing their own food, as most people live in apartments rather than houses with gardens. Still, only one participant expressed his desire to grow his own vegetables if he would have a garden. As home-growing was not part of the daily routines of most short-term migrants in the past, this practice is not common now either. The regular Dutch supermarket and ethnic store figure prominently in their food purchasing practices. Moreover, the practice of fresh market shopping is integrated into the rhythms of daily life of short-term migrants, where they shop for fruits, vegetables and fish. Back in Syria, it was common to go food shopping almost daily, either at the fresh market or at small shops. These habits are continued in the Netherlands among the recently arrived migrants, many of whom shop almost daily for fresh products. This rhythm of daily shopping also fits well with shopping at ethnic stores, as in ethnic stores the price as well as the quality of fruits and vegetables is lower, meaning these products wither more quickly. This is however less of an issue for these migrants, as they buy fresh fruits and vegetables almost daily.

Among short-term migrants, online resources are also used in acquisitioning practices. This involves finding specific Syrian products through digital networks (Facebook, WhatsApp) in Arabic[2]. On these online platforms, information is exchanged about where to find a specific kind of Syrian vegetable; what to do with unknown, typically Dutch vegetables; which retail outlet offers the best food quality; or about a new Syrian business in the area. By being available in their native language, these digital tools provide easy access to culturally appropriate food. Both young and old short-term migrants engage in these online platforms, as this married couple notes:

> "M: 'On Facebook, they always talk, what does that person make, where can you buy that? (…) Someone will say, 'I found a store. It's located in Amsterdam, it sells the small zucchinis. So who wants to go to Amsterdam the next day?' F: 'Yes, usually it is with older people. They cannot get used to life here easily. They still have left their heart and everything in Syria.'" (M+F, age 32, ST (4.5yr))

This digital coping strategy is not present among long-term migrants, neither young nor old. Some long-term migrants did recall other coping strategies to get specific food items, i.e. asking a relative to bring products from Syria on their travels.

These different coping strategies illustrate the flexibility and creativity of migrants over time in performing their cultural food needs and preferences in their acquisitioning

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2   The first author got access to the online platforms by looking at them together with the translator.

practices. Both short-term and long-migrants generally aim to continue their habits, in which there are some differences among short- and long-term migrants. Adjustment strategies to sustain cultural food practices are accordingly also different among short- and long-term migrants, which is related to changes in the food environment. The recent rise in online shopping means continuing cultural food practices allows for different coping strategies now than when entering the food environment over a decade ago, illustrating the dynamic interaction between food practices and the food environment which will be elaborated below when zooming out. In any case, these differences over time and between groups of migrants illustrate how understanding what is inclusive here and what is not is hard to distinguish from an outsider's view, with migrants sometimes happily taking up their own role in getting what they want and need, and at other times suffering from not being able to eat their preferred cultural food.

2.4.1.2 Preparing food

Moving to the practice of preparing food, there are differences in the types of food prepared by short- and long-term migrants. Long-term migrants have gained knowledge about Dutch cuisine and are skilled at cooking typical Dutch dishes, which enables them to regularly prepare these meals. By contrast, short-term migrants are constrained by their lack of competences and know-how about what actually constitutes Dutch cuisine and how to prepare it, although they are curious about it – on several occasions during interviews the first author was asked about Dutch food. Short-term migrants almost exclusively prepare the Syrian dishes that they are more familiar with, which take significantly more time and skills to prepare.

A recurring theme among all participants is the understanding that fresh is best. Fresh is associated with healthfulness and tastiness, a good and natural rather than a bad and chemical taste, and with being rich in vitamins. Fresh food is also of cultural value: being able to prepare food from scratch is seen as a sign of being a good Syrian woman. For long-term migrants, fresh is associated with home-growing:

> "You have to eat fresh. I'd never eat a ready-made meal. I think it's because we grew up with fresh, my father's vegetable garden, we are used to it" (F, age 32, LT (28 yr))

Although the importance of fresh perpetuates over the course of migration, the actual performances around fresh food change upon coming to the Netherlands, among both short- and long-term migrants. In Syria, doing 'fresh' food involved making food from scratch with products from the season that would be stored to last throughout the winter. Fruits and vegetables were bought in bulk (50-100kg) at low prices in the season when it was actually fresh. The practice of preserving was performed by women, who

would together engage in canning or drying fruits and vegetables, making tomato paste, all kinds of jam or 'makdous' (stuffed eggplant). The older female research participants were all engaged in this practice back in Syria, and the younger women who migrated before coming of age also recall their mothers and grandmothers doing it in Syria:

"If you see the somewhat older Syrian women, they can make so many things. Those jars, the readymade things, they just make it themselves, they make everything themselves." (F, age 30, LT (9 yr))

After moving to the Netherlands, fresh remains a central element in participants' food practices but is performed differently. Long-term migrants who engaged in home-growing still consume fresh vegetables from their gardens in summer, but in winter purchase out-of-season vegetables, while those not engaging in home-growing started buying fresh fruits and vegetables year-round regardless of the season. In the Dutch food environment, most fruits and vegetables are always available with much smaller price differences between in and out of season than in Syria. Rather than making from scratch and preserving food, participants now purchase ready-made tomato paste and jam in an ethnic store or a regular supermarket:

"R: I always have to have cucumber, fruit and (…) I have to have it. *I: And did you eat that in Syria? Could you buy it all year?* R: Yes, you can get it. But it's very expensive." (F, age 45, LT (28 yr))

"So here, all the Syrian women take their habits with them. So they are also busy making 'makdous'. But they stopped doing it here. It's difficult here, because everything is available. Everything is cheap. So why do I do it and then I am tired. I can just buy it at the same price." (F, age 32, ST (4.5 yr)

This shift towards buying out of season is mostly driven by convenience and financial incentives, and also occurs among the older women interviewed who used to engage in food preserving until recently in Syria, but who do not see the need to continue in the Netherlands as everything is now always available. Consequently, tensions or contradictions between 'doings and sayings' (T. R. Schatzki, 1996) around fresh food occur. In terms of 'sayings', participants repeatedly emphasize the importance of fresh, seasonal food. Complaints about the taste of out of season vegetables and fruits are also abundant:

"Everything comes from the fridge. Nothing is fresh. (…) For example there are the cucumbers, I saw them in Emmen [a city in the Netherlands], all in greenhouses. And if you get these big cucumbers or these tomatoes and peppers

and they all grow so quickly, well, then you know that it's not really fresh, that it doesn't grow by itself. It's all pumped up with needles, with water" (M, age 35, LT (30 yr))

However, in terms of actual 'doings', this participant and others still buy these cucumbers and tomatoes all year long, regardless of the season. Convenience seems to trump convictions and taste in the new food environment where everything is always available.

There are two exceptions to changing performances of practices around fresh, which involve the products of grape leaves and labneh (a kind of strained yoghurt or fresh cheese). As mentioned before, grape leaves are essential for preparing the popular dish of dolma or yaprak. However, some long-term migrants note that fresh grape leaves were hard if not impossible to buy in the Netherlands, so many resorted to drying the grape leaves from their backyard grapevines in order to be able to also make yaprak in winter. By contrast, neither growing nor drying grape leaves is common practice among short-term residents, who instead buy dried grape leaves at ethnic stores.

The second example concerns the practice of making labneh. This practice perpetuates across migration among some, both long- and short-term, older and younger practitioners, although they are engaged in it for different reasons. Two relatively young interviewees (ages 34/35, ST (3.5/4 yr) were recruited to the practice only upon coming to the Netherlands. They enrolled because they could not find the labneh they wanted in the existing food environment (similar to the grape leaves). They acquired the skills and competences to make labneh online, through Facebook and YouTube. However, this performance of the practice disappeared as soon as it had to compete with another, new means of acquiring labneh (i.e. online shopping), which was more convenient. This practice enrolment and engagement differs from other both long- and short-term migrants who already learned the required skills from their mothers when growing up, either in the Netherlands or in Syria, and are in the habit of doing it from a younger age. This example illustrates how the performances of a practice may look similar but that meanings, recruitment and engagement within it can take different forms, contributing to different dynamics of inclusiveness.

2.4.1.3 Health and sustainability
Within the practices of acquisitioning and preparing food, we zoom in further on understandings of health and sustainability, and their possible change over the course of migration. In being de-routinized upon coming to a new country with a different food environment and food habits, interviewees had often started to reflect more on their own food practices, with changing ideas about health and about the healthfulness of Syrian cuisine. In explaining what meanings they associate with health, many participants

describe health in terms of what a healthy diet should *not* contain: a healthy diet consists of less fat, less sugar and less salt. This is often referred to as the opposite of the Syrian cuisine, which contains a lot of sugar and animal fat (in particular ghee):

> "I don't think Syrian food is healthy. No, we use a lot of fat. Sometimes they make salad with olive oil, then it's OK, but most use butter very often, or ghee. And that has a lot of fat in it, and that's really not healthy I think. Because my mother also has issues with her cholesterol, and the doctor says, there's so much fat in Syrian food, take it easy and don't eat that too much" (F, age 34, LT (born in NL))

This focus on what is not healthy and specifically participants' reflexivity towards Syrian cuisine came about in different ways by cues in the socio-material environment, either back in Syria or in the Netherlands. Some interviewees recall Syrian information campaigns on television in recent years on reducing fat and oil consumption. Yet, most had started reflecting on health in relation to their food practices after coming to the Netherlands. As one interviewee (F, age 32, ST (4.5 yr)) notes, "whereas in Syria it was my own choice to eat healthily or just meat and rice, in the Netherlands you read and hear about healthy food all the time". In response, the family's food practices shifted to consuming more vegetables and fruits, less sugar and to having more diversity in their meals. The dietician also notes changing performances around health, illustrating this with a traditional Arabic dish called 'musakhan' that is typically served with Arabic flatbread which contains a lot of fat. Now, instead of the Turkish bread with all the oils and fats, she notes that people start using thin bread, tortilla etc. – "musakhan 2018". Others became aware of food-related health issues through personal experience, and recall changing their food practices (towards less fat, less sugar and less salt) after going to the doctor in the Netherlands for obesity, type 2 diabetes or another food-related health issue.

Sometimes there are explicit tensions between Dutch dietary guidelines and cultural food practices, leading to challenges for migrants. For instance, one interviewee (F, age 33, LT (20 yr)) recalls that when she was pregnant and suffered from iron deficiency, the doctor prescribed her to eat more rye bread and apple spread, which is typically Dutch food. This required some cultural know-how and competences that this interviewee did not possess at the time, which was constraining for her. She felt a mismatch between the doctor's advice and her own food habits:

> "And at the beginning I was, how I do that because I am used to eating something different at home. (…) And she told me, eat that and eat that. And yeah, it's very difficult to eat differently"

Recognizing these constraints experienced by migrants in receiving food-related health recommendations, the dietician indicates that the NGO she volunteered with was actually in the process of releasing an Arabic version of the Wheel of Five, which indicates a kind of mutual reflexivity. In this version, the NGO will translate not only the texts but also the kinds of foods included in the guidelines into culturally appropriate foods, in light of the current discrepancies with the food practices of the many different ethnicities of refugees and migrants they work with. This serves as one empirical example of how healthy and sustainable dietary guidelines could become more inclusive by taking into account more culturally acceptable foods.

Another dominant understanding of health among participants is related to consuming fruits and vegetables. Some refer to the Syrian cuisine as rather healthy because it commonly includes fresh vegetables at all meals as well as many fruits. The need to incorporate sufficient amounts of vegetables into the diet is particularly brought about by having children. This life event sparks an increased motivation for eating more vegetables among many participants. The issue of sugar is also raised in relation to children as well as in a broader sense, where the Dutch food environment is sometimes blamed for its wide availability of processed sugary foods:

> "These days you really have to pay attention to those things. (…) There's sugar in everything. And in Syria, three quarters of the food came from the land. Candy doesn't come from a tree, I always say. It's all natural wat you consume there. And here it isn't" (F, age 33, LT (20 yr))

Many others do however note that traditional Syrian cuisine includes many sugary snacks such as baklava, which also poses health risks.

Moving to understandings of sustainability, the concept of sustainability is hard to translate in Arabic: the equivalent is not commonly known among participants. Only one of the short-term migrants knows the meaning of the word itself, because she took Dutch language classes – but only in relation to mobility, not food. Among long-term migrants, the term is recognized more frequently but does not figure in their daily food practices. Two participants associate sustainability with eating seasonal food. However, although there is much awareness, know-how and appreciation of consuming seasonal food, it does not figure strongly in their current food practices after migration.

Like seasonality, there are more aspects within interviewees' food practices that could be earmarked as sustainable, when relying on the abovementioned current guidelines for sustainable consumption practices (Brink et al., 2017; EAT-Lancet Commission, 2019). Such practices or practice elements are 'inconspicuously sustainable': not intentionally

sustainable but nonetheless having positive environmental effects (following Dubuisson-Quellier & Gojard, 2016). For instance, religious fasting was common among many long-term migrants who were Syrian-Orthodox, which entailed consuming no land animal products on Wednesdays and Fridays nor during the 40 days of Lent before Easter –essentially eating a plant-based diet for two days a week. Consuming local food is another example: back in Syria, in particular long-term migrants who left more than a decade ago were in the habit of acquisitioning only locally produced food (i.e. produced in Syria) in stores and markets, or engaged in home growing. All of these routines and relationships with food (being connected to local and seasonal food consumption and/or production and having a plant-based diet) are an integral part of the cultural identity of these migrants but are also significant in terms of sustainability. These habits continue only among some long-term migrants after migration, by home-growing and shopping at local farms and slaughterhouses. In short, the process of migration changes practical understandings of health and sustainability as well as cultural relationships with food, with increased reflexivity in terms of health sometimes leading to healthier food practices, but potentially sustainable practices often change towards less sustainable practices over the course of migration.

2.4.2 Zooming out
2.4.2.1 Changing food practices, lifestyles and bundles of practices
In zooming out, we first look at how changes in food practices can happen through changing lifestyles or bundles of practices. Upon migration, many daily practices become deroutinized, as one interviewee who volunteers to help out newly arrived Syrians notes:

> "The rhythm, (…) they really miss the system. They cannot live systematically, with everything being a routine. So for instance, having to wake up early in the morning, school, children, making appointments, being on time, they are not used to that" (M, age 44, LT (18 yr))

This de- and re-routinization also (in)directly affects food practices, as "common patterns of adjustment reported [are] often a result of changes in practices other than those directly associated with eating" (Warde, 2016 p.133/4). We illustrate this by highlighting how within changing occupational household dynamics three practices bundle with and change food practices: working outside the home, caring for children or parents and going to school.

First, through enrolment in the practice of working, changes occur within eating practices. When participants start working, this almost immediately affects meal timing among both short- and long-term migrants. In Syria, the main meal took place between two and three in the afternoon, and a light dinner (similar to breakfast) was consumed

around 7 or 8. In the Netherlands, as soon as one adult in the household starts working, these times shift to having the main hot meal around 5 or 6pm, as is common practice in the Netherlands: "I have to eat like Dutch people because I go to school, I work. The break time is like Dutch people so you have to change" (F, age 33, LT (20 yr)). By bundling with working in this way, the temporality of eating practices thus changes and adapts more to local practice rhythms. This contrasts with households in which no one works, where meal timing continues according to Syrian rhythms, also among long-term migrants.

The practice of working also bundles with the practice of food preparing, marked by competition for the same resource: time. These practices are connected through changing gender roles which influence the temporality of both practices. Upon coming to the Netherlands, some women start to work or work at different times than in Syria. This constrains them by limiting their available time for cooking, leaving less time for the typically elaborate Syrian dishes and for cooking from scratch:

> "Because my mother had more time at home, I work and before that I was studying and it's not like I always have a lot of time to make a big meal like Syrians (…). They cook a big meal almost every day. I can't do that every day. It's more like in the evening some soup, spaghetti, macaroni, some easier meals." (F, age 33, LT (20 yr))

Some women now only prepare more elaborate Syrian dishes in the weekend, when they frequently have family and friends over for breakfast or lunch, as was common in Syria. Participants also express that caring for family (children or elderly parents) takes up more time in the Netherlands and similarly limits their time for food preparing.

Finally, enrolment in the practice of going to school leads to adjustments in the practice of eating, in terms of meal timing and meal content. Dutch eating routines at schools consist of bringing sandwiches to school which are consumed around noon. Adapting to these new practice rhythms is challenging at first for many Syrians. One interviewee (M, age 44, LT (18 yr)) noted that he often hears about Syrian children not bringing sandwiches to school for lunch, as they are still in the habit of eating after school, around 3pm. However, after a while, Syrian children also start bringing sandwiches to school. This habit in turn influences eating practices at home by introducing Dutch bread to the breakfast, which is common even among short-term migrants who had an otherwise predominantly Syrian diet. In short, through changing lifestyles and enrolment into locally common practices with their rhythms, competences, materials and meanings, the performance of cultural food practices is sometimes constrained and sometimes enabled, with cultural identity changing concurrently. This illustrates how inclusiveness

itself is dynamic, whereby what is culturally acceptable or not is changing over time and varies between different people and practices.

2.4.2.2 Changing food practices in a changing food environment

Migrant food practices are not only affected by changing lifestyles but are also embedded within a changing food environment. Building on the food-based life histories, changes in the food environment became apparent when comparing experiences of long- and short-term migrants. This goes both for the Syrian food environment migrants left and for the Dutch food environment they entered. When long-term migrants left, there was little 'multicultural' or 'globalised' food such as kiwis on offer in Syria, which was more common when short-term migrants left Syria. Moreover, the country was not at war yet when long-term migrants left, and the availability of food was not an issue, while for some short-term migrants, buying sufficient food in the Syrian food environment was a challenge during the war. This translated into different expectations of the food environment upon migration: some short-term migrants just aim for having enough food, which is more important than for instance consuming healthy food.

When the first long-term migrants we interviewed arrived in the Netherlands around thirty years ago, the offer of ethnic food was also limited. Ethnic stores in the Netherlands did exist but were Turkish or Moroccan rather than Syrian, and were not as omnipresent as today, which rendered the process of acquiring culturally appropriate food more challenging (see also Huizinga & van Hoven, 2018). Over the past decade or so, ethnic food entered the mainstream food system, with Dutch supermarkets increasingly offering ethnic, including Syrian, food products:

> "Now everything can be found. After the arrival of the Syrian migrants, the goods are everywhere. They can even deliver Syrian food to your home for free. Before there wasn't pomegranate syrup or tahini. Now if you need them you can call and it arrives within 24 hours. When I arrived here in 1992, it was not there because there was no demand. Eggplants were not there, basil, nobody knew it" (M, age 45, LT (26yr))

With the increase in ethnic food products on supermarket shelves, short-term migrants face a different food environment than long-term migrants did in their days upon migration. This corresponds with different practice dynamics, rhythms and adaptation strategies among long- and short-term migrants in interaction with the changing food environment. For instance, one interviewee recalls having to drive 15km to the next Turkish store: "We went once every two months or so, but now I can find it everywhere. I told the new people, you have a lot more luck, you can find it anytime you want. You can even see it on Facebook" (F, age 33, LT (20 yr)).

This example illustrates how the food environment is actively changing, in a relationship of co-creation with migrant food practices. In Enschede, where there has been a continuous and growing community of Syrian migrants since at least two decades, there are multiple Syrian shops which have been present for over a decade. By contrast, in Almere with its relatively new Syrian community, the first Syrian store appeared only around two or three years ago, although many Turkish and Moroccan ethnic stores had been present in the food environment. The Almere food environment is also still actively changing, with for instance a new Syrian bakery opening during the interviewing period.

This interaction between food environment and migrant food practices demonstrates a variety in practice configurations of emergence, integration and transformation over different times and places. Illustrating once more how cultural inclusiveness is dynamic rather than static as both the food environment and food practices change. We will illustrate this again through the case of labneh. In Enschede, Syrian migrants who wanted to make labneh started going to Dutch farmers to buy milk, who gradually ended up selling labneh themselves. Here, ethnic food was integrated into an existing local food provisioning practice, ran by Dutch entrepreneurs, implying a transformation of an existing practice. By contrast, in Almere a novel, separate practice emerged to provide for labneh: businesses initiated and run by Syrian migrants themselves, with labneh being ordered online and home-delivered. Similarly, for meat, participants from Almere shopped at ethnic stores which offer halal meat. In Enschede, participants instead went to the Dutch butcher who possessed the required skills to prepare meat for typically Syrian dishes such as kibbeh:

> "I order meat from the butcher. I will say, 2 kilos for kibbeh, 3 kilos for kebab. He knows. Yes, sometimes he asks, for kibbeh or for kebab? (…) He definitely doesn't know the taste, but he knows the name" (F, age 31, LT (8 yr))

These changing food environments indicate that there is interaction between food environment and food practices, and that this interaction does not evolve in the same way over time and space, indicating diversity between different practices and people also in terms of what might be inclusive or not.

2.4.3 Dynamics of inclusiveness in relation to health and sustainability

As our results indicate, food practices, their performances and configurations in food environments and lifestyles are dynamic and cannot unequivocally be interpreted as in- or exclusive. Returning to our understanding of inclusiveness as 'full and reflexive participation' from Hinrichs and Kremer (2002) while being respectful of cultural dietary needs and preferences, our findings illustrate how this concept of inclusiveness can take different forms within specific contexts. As performances of practices within

a food environment change over time and space, with an older versus a newer migrant community, so do the dynamics around inclusiveness change. We identify three main ways in which these dynamics work, which coincide with the three central elements of the conceptual model presented in figure 1 above: 1) the interaction between food practices and lifestyles or bundles of practices is dynamic; 2) performativity of food practices is dynamic; and 3) the interaction between food practices and the food environment is dynamic.

First, lifestyles or bundles of practices are not static. Changes in geographic and occupational household dynamics contribute to changes in cultural identity and related food practices. Dietary tastes and preferences change over the course of migration, which can be characterized by a spectrum running from maintaining one's cultural identity (multiculturalism) to adapting to the local cultural habits (homogenization), with many hybrid forms in between. Change along the spectrum does not always happen voluntarily: participation in some practices dictates the rhythm or content of others bundled to it. This makes it difficult to deem one particular practice or either end of the spectrum more or less inclusive than the other. For instance, by going to school, know-how about Dutch food habits increased and practices adapted accordingly to include Dutch bread into breakfast. At the same time, by starting to work, meal times had to change towards local practice rhythms. Both are examples of shifts toward cultural homogenization, but they are not necessarily similarly in- or exclusive. This also underlines the need to understand the cultural acceptability of food as a dynamic process rather than as static, as previously argued by Hammelman and Hayes-Conroy (2015).

Secondly, food practices and their performances change. Sometimes new practices emerged that became linked to existing food system practices (e.g. Syrian migrants starting a Syrian cheese business). Other times new practice elements were integrated into existing local provisioning practices (a Dutch farmer including Syrian labneh in their offer), thereby transforming local food system practices. Additionally, for migrants, acquiring food according to cultural tastes and preferences in a new food environment sometimes meant enrolment into new practices, as happened in the case of home growing, food preserving and online shopping practices. However, although the performance of some of these practices may look similar from the outside, they contained different meanings and modes of engagements. In the case of making labneh, some practitioners performed this practice because they were already used to doing it, whereas others started because they experienced a lack of availability of labneh in their new food environment. Unravelling these dynamics of practice shows how complex the issue of inclusiveness is: simply deeming the practice of making labneh as such to be in- or exclusive is difficult and does not do justice to the complexity of people's experiences.

Thirdly, food practices also have an interactive relationship with the food environment. Migrant food practices influence the food environment and vice versa, which works out differently in different times and spaces. Short-term migrants arriving into the current food environment that offers opportunities for digital communities and platforms develop different coping strategies to fulfil their cultural dietary needs and preferences than long-term migrants did back in their day, which translates into different practices.

Finally, relating these dynamics of inclusiveness to health and sustainability, we identify potential for latching onto existing elements of migrant food practices for transitioning towards a healthier and more sustainable food system. In terms of health, being de-routinized after migration stimulates reflection, foregrounding (unhealthy) elements of people's food practices, which has potential for making practices healthier. Furthermore, a tool like the Arabic food groups-based Wheel of Five encourages diversity in dietary standards, providing a better match with migrant food practices and making healthy food recommendations more culturally appropriate.

Regarding sustainability, the identified know-how on fresh, seasonal and local food among the migrants studied offers potential for the transition towards a more sustainable food system through a focus on such fresh, local and seasonal food. This focus fits well with some elements of migrant food practices, who are routinized in buying such food. Consuming - and to some extent also growing – local, seasonal and fresh food is thus essentially part of their cultural identity, and this cultural knowledge should be appreciated (Hammelman & Hayes-Conroy, 2015). Instead of losing these cultural habits upon migration, these routines should be facilitated and encouraged – although perhaps not explicitly in the name of sustainability, as this framing did not resonate. Rather, a meticulous approach is needed to make the connection between sustainability and migrants' everyday food practices. For instance, as many migrants frequently shop at ethnic stores and/or fresh markets, offering more fresh, local and seasonal food that is also culturally acceptable in these places could be an interesting option for stimulating healthy and sustainable consumption.

2.5 Discussion and conclusion

This paper aimed to understand what inclusiveness means in light of our increasingly multi-ethnic cities. Appeals for a more inclusive food system suggest a current state of exclusion for vulnerable groups like migrants. However, our results indicate that rather than working from a normative frame that is imposed top-down on a given population, a more nuanced understanding of what constitutes in- and exclusion is required. Inclusiveness is a dynamic process, in which migrants can be capable of

including themselves, demonstrating creativity in sustaining their cultural practices and developing coping strategies in interaction with a changing food environment. Our practice theories approach has been instrumental in identifying these dynamics. We see a number of ways in which our findings can contribute to shaping more robust pathways to a healthier and more sustainable food system that is also inclusive: (1) moving beyond a supply side only-perspective on in/exclusion; (2) taking a critical look at nationally or even globally defined dietary guidelines; (3) emphasizing citizens' creativity in organizing their food practices; (4) acknowledging that migrants are also consumers driven by 'lifestyle' needs like convenience; and (5) identifying health as an interesting access point for dietary change. At the core of these recommendations lies the observation that inclusive transitions to sustainable diets should be informed by how migrants actually engage with food in their daily lives – rather than making assumptions about their food habits and values from a distance – and that these food practices are dynamic and change over time and space.

First of all, in response to food desert thinking we referred to in the introduction, our findings highlight a more multidirectional and dynamic interaction between food environment and food practices. We fully support Hammelman and Hayes-Conroy (2015)'s call to look beyond food availability only, and start paying attention to "how cultural acceptability develops through complex relationships between people and food systems" (p.44) in order to effectively understand cultural inclusiveness. Food culture, practices and the food environment are dynamic in multiple senses, with changes occurring in both the country of residence and country of origin. This requires appreciating the complexity of everyday life of how migrants negotiate their food practices, as our study has aimed to illustrate through a practice theories lens.

Secondly, in line with this complexity of daily life, dynamics and variation between groups of migrants, our findings illustrate how there are limits to the extent to which nationally defined dietary guidelines can be effective. For instance, as our findings demonstrated, seasonal food consumption may be prevalent in the home country but is affected and diminished by migrating to a new food environment. Even though migrants' 'home-country' practices of seasonal consumption might fit with the Dutch dietary guidelines in terms of consuming fresh foods, the specific foods associated with home-country seasonal consumption are not as such available in the Netherlands. Drawing up one set of guidelines that are culturally appropriate or inclusive is therefore complicated. Rather, adaptive and reflexive capacity is key, where migrants themselves are being involved, for instance following the initiative of the NGO Pharos to draw up an Arabic foods-based Wheel of Five in cooperation with health experts and consumers from the region.

Thirdly, for local governments working on inclusive food system transformations, our research suggests that policymakers should recognize citizens' flexibility and creativity when tailoring interventions. Inclusiveness is hard to measure based on simple socio-economic parameters but is rather diverse in form and subject to change over time and space. Migrants themselves are not passively waiting to be included but actively shape their food environment and develop creative coping strategies, as 'knowledgeable and capable agents' (Giddens, 1984) with some transformative capacity to actively interact with and change elements in the food environment to fulfil their dietary needs and preferences. Rather than using quantitative parameters such as only measuring the availability of certain 'culturally appropriate' food items to indicate in-or exclusion, our qualitative approach shows the complexity of what inclusiveness means in practice, illustrating different dynamics between short- and long-term migrants and in interaction with changing food environments and bundles of practices.

Fourthly, convenience also played a role in the changing lifestyles and food practices of migrants. Inclusiveness means taking into account that also migrants seek convenience, in acquiring and preparing foods to their 'culturally appropriate' foods, which was illustrated by the example of preparing or buying labneh. This means that solutions such as proposing urban agriculture for cultural inclusion might not be appropriate when migrants' changing lifestyles increasingly require convenience. The supposition of migrants having the time and interest needed to grow their own food, practiced by many short-term migrants, might not uphold when lifestyles change, like women working out-of-home. This research only lightly touched upon convenience and further research into the role of convenience in relation to inclusiveness is required, which might differ between groups of people.

Finally, when defining an inclusive food system from a health and sustainability perspective, our findings indicate that health is an easier access point than sustainability. De- and reroutinization upon migration often includes moments of reflection that help transition to healthier food practices. For sustainability, the connection with migrant food practices is less obvious and more attention should be paid to how sustainability can be integrated within food practices. Moreover, sometimes there were trade-offs, as in the case of fresh vegetables, where migrants changed towards buying fresh year-round rather than eating preserved food, which was beneficial in terms of health but less so in terms of sustainability.

The present study has zoomed in on one particular group of migrants to conduct a comparison over time, among different lengths of stay. This allowed for an in-depth understanding of the dynamics of inclusiveness and change among this population group. While there are most likely similarities to be found in migrant groups from the

same region with similarities in food culture, our sample also shows how diverse the dynamics of inclusiveness already are within one cultural group over time. In reflecting upon the cultural diversity of most current metropolises, further research is therefore required among other cultural groups, to explore to what extent the identified dynamics transpire among other migrant populations. This calls for a careful consideration of cultural food practices among different groups of migrants in a city in order to achieve truly inclusive strategies to feeding the multi-ethnic city.

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Chapter 3

Inconspicuous sustainability in food practices of Dutch consumers with type 2 diabetes
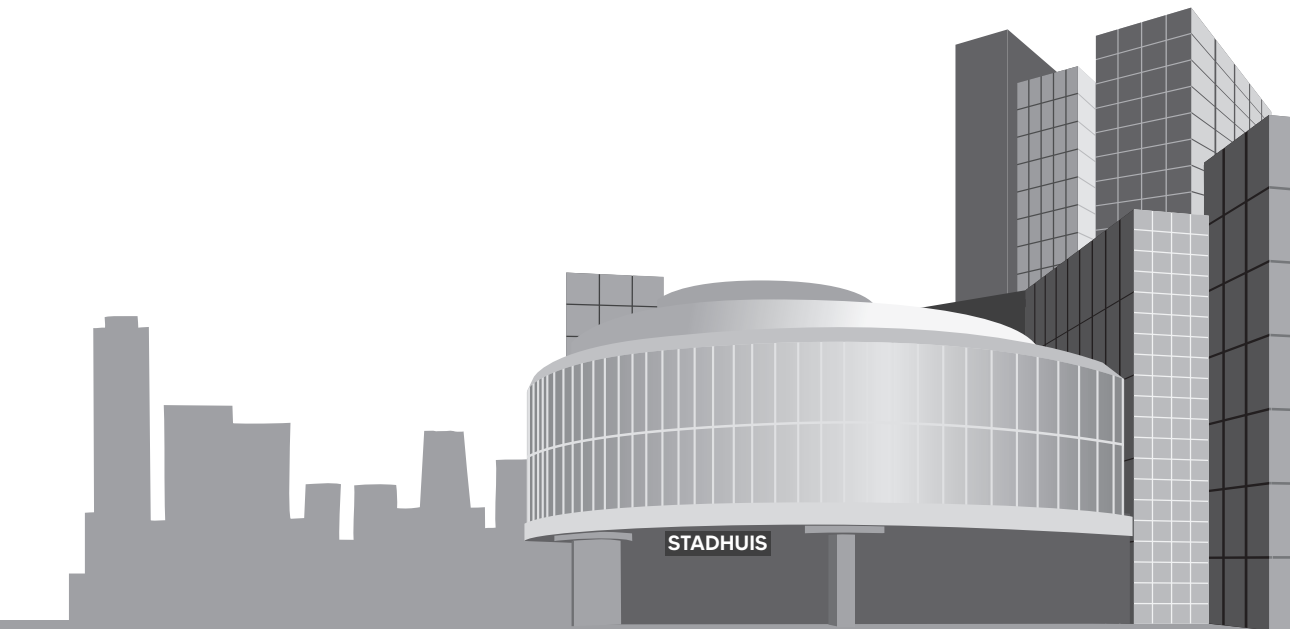
Abstract

Efforts to involve consumers in the transition towards sustainable diets often presume a degree of reflexivity on the concepts of health and sustainability in the minds of consumers 'doing healthy and sustainable food'. Departing from the hypothesis that people with type 2 diabetes have been confronted with a physical health issue which has spurred some reflexivity around food consumption, we study how this reflexivity subsequently relates to sustainability in food practices, through the process of de- and reroutinization of mundane food practices. We take a practice-theoretical approach to compare and contrast reflexivity and performance in food practices, combining in-depth interviews with observations during food shopping and cooking. Our findings illustrate a diversity in the extent to which food practices are disrupted after being diagnosed with diabetes. We conclude that reflexivity is not necessarily inspired only by being diagnosed with a major health issue, but that there are more factors determining whether or not lifestyle changes actually take place, such as experiencing bodily discomforts and broader societal attention to lifestyle change. In terms of sustainability, positive environmental effects could be identified 'piggybacking' onto changes in practices that were performed towards a healthier diet, such as diversifying protein intake and eating less processed foods.

3.1 Introduction

The world today is facing a major food-related health crisis. Changing food consumption patterns have contributed to a worldwide increase in chronic non-communicable diseases (NCDs) such as type 2 diabetes (Hu, 2011; WHO, 2003). In 2016, more than 1.9 billion people were overweight or obese (WHO, 2020). Many of these NCDs – including type 2 diabetes – occur significantly more often among people with lower socio-economic status[3] (SES) than among people with high SES. This contributes to growing health disparities (Agardh, Allebeck, Hallqvist, Moradi, & Sidorchuk, 2011; Monteiro, Conde, Lu, & Popkin, 2004). These epidemiological developments have spurred a global plea for healthier diets (Hawkes, Jewell, & Allen, 2013; WHO, 2013). As the pressure of the food system on the environment is growing as well, calls for better health are increasingly allied with sustainability in appeals for moving to comprehensive 'sustainable diets' (EAT-Lancet Commission, 2019; FAO, 2012; Garnett et al., 2014; Mason & Lang, 2017). Such sustainable diets are intended to be health-enhancing, have low environmental impact, be culturally appropriate and economically viable, thus combining health and sustainability concerns (FAO, 2012; Lang, 2017).

In attempts to involve consumers in the transition towards these sustainable diets, a degree of reflexivity on the concepts of health and sustainability in the minds of consumers 'doing healthy and sustainable food' is often presumed. Accordingly, the focus is on increasing people's awareness around healthy and sustainable diets (Grunert, 2011). Against this background, it is interesting to explore the effect of being diagnosed with an NCD such as type 2 diabetes on reflexivity regarding health, food and sustainability. Major life events, including contracting an NCD like type 2 diabetes, often disrupt habits and create moments of reflection that contain opportunities for change in routines (Plessz, Dubuisson-Quellier, Gojard, & Barrey, 2014; Warde, 2016). Hence, facing a change in health status is likely to forefront the issue of health and consequently the role of food as a central lifestyle element.

Yet, taking a sustainable diets approach seriously means the impact of such a vital health issue should be understood not just in terms of health but also in terms of sustainability. The study departs from the hypothesis that people with type 2 diabetes have been confronted with a physical health issue and subsequently have developed some health-induced form of reflexivity around food consumption. The paper then explores how this reflexivity relates to sustainability in food practices, through the process of de- and reroutinization.

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3   SES is usually determined based on education, occupation and income levels (Shavers, 2007)

At the same time, studying reflexivity only is not enough for understanding sustainability in food habits. There may be discrepancies between explicit engagements with sustainability and what is actually happening in terms of environmental impact in everyday performances around food. For instance, Neuman, Mylan, and Paddock (2020)'s study on 'translated cuisines' illustrates how the influence of other cuisines transforms norms of what constitutes a 'proper meal'. This change also has a sustainability side-effect of reducing meat consumption by introducing more legume-based meals. Another recent example comes from Browne, Jack, and Hitchings (2019)'s work on festivals which they explore as sites of already existing sustainability experimentations. They emphasize the importance of looking beyond engineered experiments towards the flexibility and adaptability of existing everyday practices in order to foster sustainable futures. Finally, Dubuisson-Quellier and Gojard (2016) illustrate how their participants explicitly distanced themselves from environmental engagement to differentiate themselves from the social group leading the sustainability movement, while actually performing environmentally friendly practices.

Practice theories highlight the ordinary daily sustainability that might remain hidden in a top-down engineered experiment or an attitudes-focused perspective. Similar to Browne et al (2019)'s call for looking outside of intentional interventions for sustainable consumption practices, this study looks at 'inconspicuous sustainability' that may emerge in de- and re-routinization of food practices after being diagnosed with an NCD. 'Inconspicuous sustainability' here refers to actions that are sustainable in outcome but not necessarily in intention. It conceptually borrows from Shove and Warde (2002)'s notion of 'inconspicuous consumption' to highlight ordinary or mundane consumption practices – such as showering or doing dishes – rather than more conspicuous consumption practices. It also builds on abovementioned work by Dubuisson-Quellier and Gojard (2016). By examining to what extent food consumption practices are environmentally beneficial – regardless of whether reflexivity on sustainability is present with those performing these activities – patterns of so-called 'inconspicuous sustainability' can be identified.

This perspective is particularly interesting when looking at sustainable practices among a population of people with type 2 diabetes, an NCD that is frequently associated with lower SES (Agardh et al., 2011). Many studies have examined the health implications of being diagnosed with type 2 diabetes among low SES populations (see for instance Polhuis, 2019). By contrast, sustainability in food practices of this population has received less attention. Sustainability is commonly a concept that is mostly reflexively present among more well-to-do, highly educated groups (Donald & Blay-Palmer, 2006). As such, it is related to a certain cultural repertoire that may not be accessible to all people across diverse socio-economic backgrounds (Guthman, 2008; Johnston,

Rodney, & Szabo, 2012). Yet, deeming the poor to be eco-powerless or even excluded because they cannot buy organic food seems to be a simplification of the complex dynamics at play in everyday food practices. For instance, many low-income consumers already perform 'sustainable' practices (such as frugality, limiting food waste and eating less meat), albeit often out of financial concerns (Katz-Gerro, Cveticanin, & Leguina, 2017). Rather than assuming people with lower SES perform less sustainable practices, the present study therefore studies sustainability in food practices of people with type 2 diabetes across SES. In addition, public understanding of sustainable food varies, and may not align with the complexity of the rapidly evolving scientific understanding. This study therefore allows participants to reflect on sustainability aspects they deem most important.

In short, the aim of this paper is to explore the dynamics of de-and re-routinization of food practices of type 2 diabetics and their potential sustainability impact. To achieve this aim, we employ a practice theoretical approach which we elaborate below in our theoretical framework, followed by a methods section and our empirical findings. We demonstrate how food practices that de- and re-routinize after being diagnosed with diabetes also create opportunities for sustainable food consumption. Finally, in our discussion and conclusion we critically reflect on the dynamics of reflexivity and on how current approaches of promoting sustainable diets may exclude from our lens those who do not reflexively perform sustainability.

3.2 Theoretical framework

To shed more light on the relationship between reflexivity and everyday performance on sustainability, a practice theories approach is employed. Practice theories have frequently been used to study sustainable consumption practices (Sahakian & Wilhite, 2013; Spaargaren & Oosterveer, 2010; Welch & Warde, 2015). Practice theories are plural but share certain basic tenets, such as a focus on understandings or meanings, bodily experience, know-how or competences and materials (Gram-Hanssen, 2010). This paper does not commit to one practice theory but rather integrates these basic shared tenets, borrowing amongst others from Schatzki (2002) and Warde (2005, 2016). Within a practice theoretical approach, routines and habitual behaviour are highlighted rather than assuming rational agents who base their actions on explicit reflections and convictions. This perspective fits very well with the topic of food consumption, as demonstrated by the abundance of food consumption studies using practice theories (Cheng, Olsen, Southerton, & Warde, 2007; Paddock, 2017; Shove & Southerton, 2000). As Warde (2016) puts it, "we eat in a state of distraction" (p.102): most food consumption happens without explicit deliberation.

Still, moments of reflexivity may arise within practices, due for instance to changes in other practices or changes in the social or material environment (Warde, 2016). This includes major life events such as contracting an NCD, which may create 'fractures' (O'Neill, Clear, Friday, & Hazas, 2019). These are moments of reflection that can be cause for de- and re-routinization of food practices. However, taking a practice theoretical perspective, Burningham and Venn (2020) also criticize simplistic understandings of life course transitions fostering opportunities for sustainable consumption. They argue that a transition is 'a drawn-out process of ongoing change' (p.115) which is always situated within an individual, social and material context. For instance, the needs and desires of others within the household also shape consumption practices. The current paper aims to contribute to this discussion on reflexivity in transitions by exploring to what extent a 'life course transition' of being diagnosed with type 2 diabetes creates a disruption and leads to reflexivity and to de- and re-routinization, with potential sustainability benefits.

Moreover, reflexivity also relates to Schatzki (2002)'s conceptualization of practices as 'doings and sayings', in particular in relation to sustainable consumption practices. Studying 'doings and sayings' means looking at bodily performances of activities within a socio-material context ('doings') rather than at meanings or shared values only ('sayings'). However, the 'doings and sayings' within a practice are not always singular. Sometimes, as Walker (2013) illustrates, a set of doings may look the same when observed externally, but can still be different because they are enacted on the basis of diverse meanings. For instance, consuming little energy can be motivated both by thrift and by environmental concerns. This relates to the concept of 'inconspicuous sustainability' as introduced above, where there is an apparent discrepancy between reflexive awareness of sustainability ('sayings') in the practice and actual sustainable performances ('doings'). In the present study, we therefore look at both reflexivity and performances to identify patterns of sustainable consumption.

Finally, a note on our approach to healthy and sustainable diets. Although we are aware of the evolving scientific debate and consensus on what constitutes a healthy and sustainable diet, we are less interested in these official definitions. Rather, we want to study how these concepts are performed and understood within daily practices by various consumers. Much of the literature on health in relation to socio-economic differences relies heavily on quantitative measures of dietary intake or food environments (e.g. Mackenbach et al., 2019). By contrast, we want to add a more actor-oriented approach which concentrates on how meanings and understandings figure in practices and co-shape (un)sustainable activities.

3.3 Methods

Inspired by practice theories, the methodological approach applied in this study is qualitative. This approach allows for contextual and in-depth understanding of how everyday food practices are performed in situ, which fits with a practice theoretical orientation on routine or 'doings and sayings' as outlined above (see also more elaborate practice-methodological reflections by Halkier & Jensen, 2011a; Hitchings, 2012). Both current practices as well as practice-trajectories over time were studied to understand how and to what extent the diagnosis of diabetes led to de- and reroutinization of food practices. Two particular food practices within domestic consumption were selected: acquisitioning and preparing food, with specific attention to understandings of health and sustainability performed within these practices. Although the practice of eating also figured within the study as an outcome of food acquisitioning and preparing, the practice of eating was not included as a standalone practice. This is because the practice of eating is a very complex practice and is in fact made up of many different practices and would warrant a separate study (see Warde, 2016).

Two methods were combined to study both 'sayings and doings' constituting practices:
1.   semi-structured interviews focused on 'sayings', verbal accounts of doings, to uncover meanings and understanding;
1.   complemented by (participant) observation to study 'doings' with an emphasis on bodily routines.

The two methods were used to study both food acquisitioning and preparing food and to triangulate and check for disparities between 'doings and sayings'. The interview was conducted first, after which participants were accompanied in their shopping routes to observe their actual rout(in)es. The practice of preparing food was subsequently observed in participants' homes. Due to personal circumstances, wo participants were interviewed at the university building, where one also prepared food. Twelve interviewees agreed to being observed in both shopping and cooking; six were only willing to be observed during cooking; and one participant only during shopping as he did not cook.

3.3.1 Fieldwork and preparation
To prepare for the fieldwork, the first author consulted a nutritional expert and attended a training session of the local Diabetics association on eating with type 2 diabetes. The interview guide was further informed by the theoretical framework of practice theories. This included paying particular attention to the roles of the physical and material, meanings and competences (Shove, Pantzar, & Watson, 2012). In addition, some retrospective questions were included about whether and how getting type 2 diabetes changed food acquisitioning and preparation practices. Specific attention was

also paid to participants' understandings around health and sustainability, inquiring how participants understood these concepts and to what extent and in what way they considered their own daily food practices as healthy and sustainable. This included questions such as 'What is your idea of sustainability and sustainable food?', and 'To what extent do you think you eat healthily?'.

3.3.2 Data collection

Data was collected in the fall of 2019 and early 2020. Participants were recruited online; through flyers distributed at hospitals, GP and dieticians' practices; through personal networks; through a key contact at the Diabetics association; and through a local newspaper. Participants received a gift card (20 euros) for their participation. After an informed consent form was signed, the interviews were conducted, recorded and transcribed in their original language (Dutch). Quotes used in this article were translated by the first author who is a native Dutch speaker. After transcription, the data were coded with Atlas TI. General code categories were drawn up a priori based on the interview guide, and elaborated inductively.

In total interviews and observations were conducted with 22 individuals. Some interviews and observations also included a partner, when cooking and/or food acquisitioning was done by a partner rather than the diabetic themselves. Demographic characteristics of the sample can be found in Table 3.1. 10 participants were male and 12 female. Their average age was 64, and the majority was retired. To indicate SES, educational level, net household income and occupation were included. As Table 3.1 shows, the educational level of the participants varied widely.[4] Participants were asked to mark a category of their net income, which all but one participant agreed to. Two-thirds lived in the city of Almere where the recruitment was focused, with the remaining third living across the Netherlands. All participants were Dutch nationals with the exception of two participants, one from the UK and one from Surinam, who had been living and working in the Netherlands for decades and spoke Dutch fluently.

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4   In the Dutch educational system, a university of applied sciences degree and upwards is considered 'highly educated'.

Table 3.1 Demographic characteristics of research participants

	M/F	Age	Diabetes since (years)	Occupation	Education	Household disposable income	Food budget in %	House hold size
1	F	67	5	Retired	Vocational school	1000-2000	15%	2
2	F	65	25	Job	UAS[5]	3000-5000	10%	2
3	M	32	1.5	Job	UAS	1000-2000	10%	4
4	F	72	15	Retired	High school	2000-3000	open	1
5	M	65	6	Job	UAS	5000+	10%	2
6	M	54	0.5	Job	Vocational school	3000-5000	10-15%	4
7	F	84	20	Retired	Primary school	1000-2000	unknown	1
8	M	45	3.5	Welfare	Vocational school	2000-3000	unknown	1
9	M	73	22	Retired	UAS	2000-3000	unknown	1
10	M	76	20	Retired	UAS	2000-3000	25%	2
11	M	54	18	Job	UAS	5000+	12%	4
12	M	71	15	Retired	UAS	unknown	unknown	1
13	M	62	15	Job	PhD	3000-5000	15%	4
14	F	50	0.5	Job	Vocational school	3000-5000	20%	2
15	M	69	2	Retired	High school	1000-2000	unknown	1
16	F	79	20	Retired	High school	1000-2000	10%	1
17	F	61	7	Job	Vocational school	2000-3000	25%	2
18	M	74	25	Retired	High school	2000-3000	5%	2
19	F	72	16	Retired	High school	2000-3000	6%	2
20	F	54	20	Job	Vocational school	3000-5000	10%	3
21	M	67	23	Retired	UAS	2000-3000	8%	2
22	F	62	22	Retired	High school	1000-2000	30%	4

3.4 Results

In this section, we present our findings starting with reflexivity and complemented by performances. Our research is exploratory in nature. Throughout our results section, we aim to explore dynamics and mechanisms found in our population rather than making robust causal claims or generalizations. We first outline dynamics of reflexivity in food practices of people with type 2 diabetes, and particularly regarding health and sustainability. Then we expand our gaze to performances or 'doings', looking at emerging competences and other changing socio-material aspects of food practices. Finally, we compare reflexivity and performances of food practices, demonstrating how the

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5   UAS: University of Applied Sciences

identified health-induced changes in performances of practices contain opportunities for sustainable food consumption.

3.4.1 Reflexivity

In this sub section, we discuss three different elements of reflexivity as they emerged out of our empirical findings. We start with a general analysis of reflexivity and changing food practices, after which we zoom in more closely on health and reflexivity and on sustainability and reflexivity. Throughout these three themes, we highlight how reflexivity does not come about in a singular fashion after the type 2 diabetes diagnosis. Rather, the findings show diversity in the extent to which food practices are disrupted after being diagnosed with diabetes. We distinguish several key factors within food practices or adjoining practices that also shape reflexivity, such as changing medical protocols, practice trajectories over time, and other household members.

3.4.1.1 Reflexivity and changing food practices

Our assumption based on literature was that being diagnosed with type 2 diabetes brings reflexivity to food practices. While this assumption is valid in general among our participants, there is variety in when and under which conditions such moments of reflexivity occur. The moment of being diagnosed with diabetes itself does not necessarily lead to profound reflection for everyone. For instance, some more recently diagnosed participants did not change their food habits much, while others who were diagnosed earlier did change their diets more radically over the last two years. Reflexivity on health and food appears to be driven by more than just the event of being diagnosed with the disease. Although providing information and advice matters, more factors are needed to explain how food practices actually change. These can be found in other bundled practices or practice elements, such as a changing context of medical protocols for treating diabetes or participants experiencing bodily effects of diabetes.

Starting with the former, there has been a shift in the way diabetes is being treated. This is characterized by increasing attention for the relationship between lifestyle and diabetes (Hu, 2011). The treatment protocol changed from prescribing medication to also recommending dietary changes. For older participants who were diagnosed over twenty years ago, there was no real dietary advice beyond 'eat less sugar and cakes' upon their diagnosis:

> "It wasn't very well known back then. Only sugar-free pastries and no chocolates etc. Other than that, you weren't educated on it. Even though you can do a lot more to live a healthy life, so I started to work on that." *(Participant 16 - F, 79, diagnosed 20 years ago)*

Yet, despite the more recent attention to dietary changes in treatment protocols, we found that the older participants were, the less likely they were to completely overturn their food routines. Even with new treatment protocols available, some older participants still understood diabetes primarily as 'sugar disease' ('suikerziekte') – a term which is frequently used in Dutch to refer to diabetes. Consequently, de- and reroutinization remained concentrated on reducing sugar consumption, as this older participant illustrates who was diagnosed more recently, when protocols had already changed:

> 'When I was cooking, I added a scoop of sugar and salt, also in the vegetables. It's really good! You won't believe it, but it just makes the food tastier. Now I'm leaving out the sugar. The exception is if I make something that really can't do without sugar, like corn – you really have to cook that with sugar. But then I won't snack during the rest of the day.' *(P1 - F, 67, diagnosed 5 years ago)*

Those diagnosed more recently (<10 years) received concomitant information about diets, and obtained the opportunity to consult a dietician providing elaborate dietary and lifestyle advice. For example, participant 14 (F, 50, diagnosed 0.5 years ago) got a recommendation for a cookery book from her dietician including weekly meal schemes which she gladly used. This demonstrates the relevance of the type of information received at the reflexivity moment of being diagnosed with diabetes. At the same time, it also illustrates the power of habituation (Warde, 2016) among older participants who only de- and routinized their sugar consumption.

Three participants stand out in particular, as they recently completely or partially reversed their diabetes after having had diabetes for nearly two decades. Over the years, they started to suffer more bodily discomfort, such as diminishing eyesight or overall listlessness. These physical issues, together with the continuous increase in their insulin dose and frequency, inspired them to reflect on their own health and the need for change. Two of them subsequently signed up for a program called 'Reverse Type 2 Diabetes'. This is a new initiative that is sponsored by health insurance companies and has a high success rate. 92% of participants completely or partially reversed their diabetes, and 30% does not use any medication at all anymore (Voeding Leeft, 2020). The newly available treatment approach focused on dietary changes in combination with emerging bodily effects of diabetes inspired reflexivity to eventually change lifestyles after having been diagnosed many years ago. The other interviewee also managed to reverse his diabetes recently but did so on his own. For these participants, reflexivity arrived recently after many years of living with diabetes but led to major de- and reroutinization.

Here, bodily discomfort due to diabetes contributed to reflexivity. Yet, there was large diversity in the extent to which participants experienced bodily discomfort, which also

depended on how long participants have had diabetes. Participants who were diagnosed recently struggled with not really noticing anything in their body, which made it harder to change their lifestyle because the health urgency was not particularly pertinent. Only when this interviewee had to undergo a serious by-pass operation as a result of a heart condition she started reflecting on the importance of taking care of her body, including of her diabetes:

> "I knew I had it, but I just didn't want to admit it. I was like, I'm not that old, and I'm already on these and these meds, and I don't want more. Very stupid. Now I think, how could I ever think like that? If you're sabotaging your body by categorically denying you have diabetes, you're doing a very bad job. That's when I changed course radically" *(P1 - F, 67, diagnosed 5 years ago)*

When routines are disrupted the process of reroutinization takes over, in which a 'new normal' is created (Warde, 2016). One interviewee who successfully participated in the Reverse Type 2 Diabetes program illustrated this process:

> "At some point, your diet's just going to feel normal. That's the thing with lifestyle change. People sometimes ask me: how do you manage to keep it up? I turn it around: do you guys insist on eating potatoes, fries, pizza, etc. all the time? Yes, they say, that's perfectly normal. That's the point, if you change your lifestyle, you get a different normal way of eating." *(P9 – M, 73, diagnosed 22 years ago)*

For another group of participants (n=5) being diagnosed with diabetes did not change much in terms of their reflexivity on health or food. They felt they were already keeping a healthy diet. Reflexivity emerged earlier on in previous lifestyle practices influencing their current knowledge around health. This includes growing up in a family with a lot of attention to food or having children with type 1 diabetes:

> "If you have a child with diabetes, you're going to look things up. […] I have two kids with type 1 diabetes and my daughter has had it for 25 years, so you already start watching your food and carbs. And they had already warned me because it's very common in the family: my Dad's family all have type 2 diabetes, so I knew I could expect it" *(P2 – F, 65, diagnosed 25 years ago)*

This meant that for these participants, being diagnosed with type 2 diabetes did not change much in terms of dietary habits, as reflexivity on health as well as on food was already strongly present. In short, it appears reflexivity in food practices arises from a number of different sources rather than just from being confronted with a physical health issue.

3.4.1.2 Health related reflexivity

Having outlined general dynamics of change in food practices upon a type 2 diabetes diagnosis, we now zoom in on a particular theme, i.e. reflexivity around health. Four key mechanisms or themes emerged from the data in relation to health: know-how about health; self-efficacy; being in control; and the competing values of food quality and taste.

Firstly, the extent to which health-induced reflexivity led to de- and reroutinization was impacted by particular understandings of health in food practices. All respondents were aware of the relationship between food and diabetes, although to varying extents. For many participants their understanding and know-how around health appeared to be driven by their diabetes, as it was centred around specific dietary recommendations that apply in particular to diabetics. This meant it was at minimum focused on limiting the intake of carbohydrates and sugar:

> "If I relate it to myself because of diabetes, I would try to be carbohydrate-conscious (…). Looking at what kind of fats you eat, like now with those wholegrain products, you really notice that you feel full" *(P8 - M, 45, diagnosed 3.5 years ago)*

Others had a more elaborate understanding of health, extending to consuming fresh and minimally processed food and dietary diversity. As mentioned before, a small number of participants already paid a lot of attention to food and health before their diagnosis. They therefore had a very elaborate understanding of healthy food, e.g. knowing which vitamins could be obtained from particular vegetables.

Secondly, there were some differences in experiences of self-efficacy towards diabetes and adapting food practices. About half of the participants mentioned diabetes being an inherited disease running in their family. However, there was variety in the extent to which those participants still felt they had an active role in their diabetes:

> "I think if people are serious about their – well, illness, I don't call it illness, although I guess it is an illness actually… People don't want it, they don't study it, and when they hear they have it don't want to hear it. And then they go to the doctor and say: I don't feel well, and then the doctor says: well, let's see, how do you eat? Type 2 [diabetes] is 90% your own responsibility." *(P4 - F, 72, diagnosed 15 years ago)*

'That's the difficulty of type 2, it's inherited. So that's why I am angry: my fault? It's not my fault at all.' *(P20 - F, 54, diagnosed 20 years ago).*

In terms of self-assessment, almost all participants considered themselves to eat healthily, although some did mention that they had not eaten healthily in the past. Only three participants did not consider their own diet very healthy, because they were snacking too much and struggling to control their impulses.

Thirdly, the feeling of being in control was a recurring theme. This figured in being able to decide for yourself how you eat, in knowing what your blood sugar level is and in being able to resist temptation:

> "I always need to finish something when I open it, be it a packet of biscuits or a bag of liquorice. I try to watch myself, no matter how hard it is. The easiest thing, they say, is not to buy it but to walk through the aisle with blinkers on. But I do need a few things from there, like chocolate bars. If my blood sugar is low, I can boost it in a number of ways. The easiest way is to drink a Coke or have a chocolate bar." […]
>
> *[I] "So you have to have snacks in the house but you have stay away from them?"*
>
> "Yeah, that's hard. I'm kind of taking advantage of that." *(P8 - M, 45, diagnosed 3.5 years ago)*

Resisting this temptation required self-control, which not everyone possessed in equal measure. Moreover, many participants struggled with control as they experienced being limited in their freedom. Sometimes having diabetes can even make you feel imprisoned, as one participant described it. What is considered particularly challenging is to be told by a dietician what (not) to eat. Rather than following these recommendations to the letter, some participants would prefer living a bit shorter over living a restricted life:

> "I do everything I can without sugar, but if there's a party or a birthday, I'll just have a pastry. I won't pass. I'd rather die a year earlier." *(P12 - M, 71, diagnosed 15 years ago)*

Living a good life here prevailed over always acting healthily, demonstrating the balancing act between pleasure and risk, social and physical considerations that occurs in consumption practices (Lindsay, 2010). This battle between the desire for control and the temptations provided by the social and material environment also illustrates the deficiencies of a rational actor-model that underlies a lot of consumer research (Kollmuss & Agyeman, 2002). Our participants indicated that despite their good – rational – intentions, they did not always manage to be in control. At the same time, participants did find resourceful ways to cope with and counter these feelings of being bodily

imprisoned by changing mental perspectives. For instance, the two participants who joined the 'Reverse Type 2 Diabetes' programme emphasized a change in dealing with tastes and preferences. Rather than framing a product as 'something I am not allowed', they rather constructed it as 'something I do not want'. This way, they still managed to keep being in control of their diabetes. This also requires having insights into what effect certain foods have on your blood sugar level, which generates new skills and know-how on food. We will further elaborate on this in the section on performances.

Finally, the importance of good quality food and food that tastes well came up in many interviews and observations. Particularly around meat, the importance of good quality was emphasized by multiple participants, which meant they specifically bought this at the butcher. Tasty food was also important, and occasionally this was associated with organic, which is in line with findings of previous studies (Cerjak, Mesić, Kopić, Kovačić, & Markovina, 2010; Godin & Sahakian, 2018). One participant recently changed his shopping habits to almost exclusively shopping at the organic store, because he found the produce tasted much better there. However, taste also changes as food patterns change and can also become re-routinized, as this participant explains, who radically changed his diet:

> "Taste changes when you eat something else for three months. Then you just get used to the taste you eat. For example, I had to go to a lunch meeting, so I told them: I don't eat bread, just give me a cup of soup. But I got a beetroot salad with sour herring, and I never used to eat beetroot before because I didn't like it at all. But my taste had completely changed, and it was absolutely delicious. And you also get used to eating celeriac without salt, so I now eat a lot less salt." *(P9 - M, 73, diagnosed 22 years ago)*

These different dynamics around health and reflexivity again illustrate how there is not one clear pathway in which being diagnosed with type 2 diabetes creates increased know-how on health. Rather, taking a practice theoretical approach sheds light on how a variety of meanings (i.e. being in control, quality, taste) also co-shape reflexivity on health. The results show how changing food practices towards more healthy food routines requires more than providing information on health, but also demands taking seriously other meanings at play within food practices that may compete with health understandings.

3.4.1.3 Sustainability related reflexivity

The third and last element of reflexivity is sustainability-related reflexivity. Building on the assumption that being diagnosed with type 2 diabetes brings reflexivity to food practices in terms of health, the next step is to explore to what extent and how this

relates to reflexivity on sustainability in food practices. This was studied by inquiring after participants' understandings of sustainability in their food practices. To begin, there was quite some variety in what participants associated with sustainable food, ranging from food waste (n=7) to food packaging (n=5), local food (n=4), animal welfare (n=3), reducing meat (n=2), seasonal food (n=2), and organic food (n=1). Sometimes one participant mentioned multiple concepts:

> "Buying products of the season of course. Not too much, so you don't have to throw things away. Things that haven't been exported, home-grown. Things that don't have to cook for too long. But mostly home-grown. I don't need strawberries for Christmas." (P4 - F, 72, diagnosed 15 years ago)

Sustainability was most commonly associated with food waste. This aspect of sustainability has received much attention in public campaigns by the Dutch government (Soethoudt, Vollebregt, & Burgh, 2016). One participant even went to a farmer in the rural hinterland just outside the city to collect leftover onions and carrots after the harvest:

> "I asked a farmer when he was harvesting his carrots and onions. You can keep them very well, so we just put 40 kilos of onions and 40 kilos of carrots in the barn, we could eat stew all winter. It's a shame nothing happens with that! Things could be much more sustainable, in general." (*P6 - M, 54, diagnosed 0.5 years ago*)

Moreover, many participants also referred to other sustainable practices such as separating waste (n=11), reducing energy consumption (n=3) and low-impact travelling (n=3), which are bundled to food practices through their common meaning of sustainability. The practice of separating waste also led to becoming more reflexive about the amount of plastic packaging that comes with food, which was considered unsustainable by some.

Reducing meat consumption, while broadly understood as (one of) the most important element(s) of sustainable food (Garnett et al., 2014), was not commonly associated with sustainability in our sample. Only two participants shifted to having one or more vegetarian meals out of concern with the environment, which was in both cases instigated by family members. For those thinking of organic food and animal ethics, a number of participants tended not to trust labels on products in supermarkets indicating organic or animal welfare (such as the Dutch 'Beter Leven' ('Better Life') label that ranks animal welfare). Sometimes participants were also confused in general about what is actually best for the environment, as this participant illustrated when talking about organic products:

"I'm a bit of two minds here. On the one hand, I think, well, the environment. But on the other hand, I think there's such a lot of crap. I prefer to do things cold turkey, all or nothing." *(P14 - F, 50, diagnosed 0.5 years ago)*

Finally, almost half of our participants actually did not really know what sustainable food entailed:

"I think it's a good idea but I don't know what it is exactly. I have this much money and I come into the store and I want this and that and that. So I don't know exactly what it is, I'd like to try it but I don't know what it is." *(P15 - M, 69, diagnosed 2 years ago)*

For our participants, health-related reflexivity on food did not necessarily extend to developing reflexivity on sustainability in their food practices. All of our participants did become reflexive on health in relation to food consumption after their diagnosis, but not in equal manner on sustainability. Those who did know about sustainability mentioned non-diabetes-related motivations coming from adjoining practices, such as having children who worked in a sustainability-related field. This lower reflexivity on sustainability transpires despite increased attention in society at large for the relationship between lifestyle and environmental impact, somewhat similar to the growing consideration of the connection between lifestyle and type 2 diabetes.

This limited reflexivity in terms of sustainability is interesting in relation to both the income and educational levels of our participants. The majority of these participants with little understanding of sustainable food scored relatively low in terms of SES. On average they were not highly educated and had an income between 1000-2000 Euro. This link between SES and understanding or valuing sustainability is supported by Blue, Shove, Carmona, and Kelly (2016)'s and Walker (2013)'s practice-based analysis that the essential elements for some practices are not evenly distributed across society, but that these are structured according to wider patterns of socio-economic inequality. Whereas this unequal distribution is often applied to financial resources, our sample illustrates this also includes having access to meanings like sustainability. However, this does not mean that their actual practices are unsustainable, which we will demonstrate now by looking towards performances of practices.

3.4.2 Performances
Having established the dynamics of reflexivity in terms of both health and sustainability, we now turn to the complementary aspect of performances or 'doings' as central practice element. These doings also get de- and re-routinized after a type 2 diabetes diagnosis, as will be outlined below. We zoom in on relevant elements in the two practices of

preparing food and food acquisitioning, highlighting how change here also comes about in diverse ways and is contingent on aspects like competences and adjoining lifestyle practices.

3.4.2.1 Preparing food

Within the practice of preparing food, some differences can be identified between cooking skills and know-how of different participants and how these (did not) change after being diagnosed with type 2 diabetes. These differences relate among others to gender, age, existing health knowledge and the influence of other household members. In general, almost half of the participants considered themselves to be good cooks, enjoyed cooking and took the time for it (30-60 minutes per day, during the week). More women than men considered themselves to be competent in cooking. Six of the men did not cook at all, but either their partner cooked, ready-made meals were bought in the supermarket or freshly made meals were delivered to their home through different services. For older participants without partner, the women tended to still cook albeit simple meals. Older single men tended to look for alternatives, as they had never really cooked in their lives. Most older participants prepared traditional food, sticking to the standard traditional Dutch meal of potatoes, meat and vegetables. Some implemented lower-carb alternatives to potatoes, such as sweet potato or turnip. They hardly used recipes, did not experiment much and did not include many novel products developed for diabetics such as legume-based pasta (chickpea spaghetti) or vegetable-based rice (cauliflower rice) that was recently introduced in the supermarkets.

Those participants that considered themselves to be good cooks all enjoyed experimenting in the kitchen with new recipes and products. Two participants returned to recipe-inspired cooking after being diagnosed with diabetes. They both changed their diet radically towards a low-carb diet which required new input. Many participants used cookery books specifically targeted at people with diabetes (with less carbohydrates and sugar). One participant who was following a strict low-carb diet improved his cooking skills but notably also started baking his own treats, as ready-made snacks typically contained too many carbs. Being able to cook well was also linked to having more knowledge about health. This was particularly clear in reverse, as those participants who could not cook or did not like to cook were also not very reflexive in terms of health. As participant 8 (M, 45, diagnosed 3.5 years ago) illustrates, when he recently started to cook simple meals from scratch – rather than eating micro-waved ready-made meals every day – he started to also think about what actually goes into the food and what that effect that has on your body in terms of health.

Contextual conditions also shape the practice of cooking, as cooking and eating are embedded in social and material relations with other members in the household

(Halkier & Jensen, 2011b; Miller, 2013). Partners of people with type 2 diabetes were jokingly referred to as a 'type 3', as they were often affected by having a diabetic in their household. When participants switched to lower carb meals, partners sometimes ate along. In one case a partner who was overweight also lost weight. However, more often partners did want to continue eating carbs. This meant the person cooking had to prepare partly separate meals, for instance cooking both potatoes and turnip (low-carb variant), or rice and cauliflower rice.

3.4.2.2 Food acquisitioning

Within the second practice under study, i.e. acquisitioning food, key themes that emerged were the diverse dynamics around finances and the emerging competences around being able to read food ingredient labels. In general, for all of our participants, the supermarket was the most frequented retail outlet for food shopping. Half of the participants also frequently visited fresh markets, primarily to buy fish, fruits and vegetables. For those participants keeping a strict low-carb diet, about 90% of products in the supermarket were a no-go, as only fresh, un- or minimally processed foods were part of their diet. Still, most people were quite satisfied with their local food environment. Six people sometimes went to a nearby farm to buy local food such as eggs or cheese.

For most participants, finances were not a particularly limiting factor in their food shopping practices. About one third of them did not know what they spent on food every month. More than half stated they would not shop differently if they had more money. Seven people felt somewhat limited financially. Only two participants explicitly and frequently referred to money being a limiting factor in their shopping practices (both with incomes between 1000-2000, for a 1- and 2-person household, respectively). This translated primarily into shopping based on offer. Both selected where to go shopping based on wherever specific products were discounted that week. Only one participant specifically mentioned that his financial situation limited him in eating food which was better in terms of his diabetes. He expressed the will to eat better (i.e. healthier), but only if this was financially feasible:

> "There was a kind of bread my previous dietician recommended. You couldn't buy that in the supermarket but only at Bakker Bart [a bakery chain in the Netherlands]; never been there. The new one tells me to buy wholegrain bread. That's only 70 cents, for half a loaf of bread. The one the former dietician recommended, she said you should try half, and that costs 3.50. 3.50 for half a bread, I say! That's a huge difference between 3.50 and 70 cents." *(P15 - M, 69, diagnosed 2 years ago)*

There were more participants who shopped for offers, independent of their financial situation. There was a distinction between participants not actually having money to spend or participants not wanting to spend money. One participant stated she was financially very comfortable (monthly income of 3000-5000 for a 2-person household), but still watched every penny when doing groceries. She was used to this from times when the family did not have as much money. She now rather enjoyed being thrifty:

"It's a sport. I live in a nice house so I could spend more, but it's just a sport. I think if something is on sale, let's say string beans are always 2.99 or so and if they're 0.99 cents I'll take them. But that's just more of a sport." *(P2 - F, 65, diagnosed 25 years ago)*

On the other side of the spectrum, one of the two participants with a self-proclaimed rather limited budget, was very motivated by animal ethics and did not mind paying extra for free-range eggs:

"I only buy free range eggs. And I don't mind at all that they are more expensive, because it's just the two of us anyway. We don't really eat a lot of eggs. If I bake something, then yes, but normally, no. So I don't care if it costs an extra fifty cents or a euro." *(P1 - F, 67, diagnosed 5 years ago)*

Moving away from finances, the diagnosis of diabetes also brought on new competences in food shopping. As many participants were now at least to some extent watching their carbs, sugar and/or salt intake, reading and understanding ingredient lists on food products became important. As one participant explained, in the program 'Reverse Type 2 Diabetes', this is a skill that is taught to everyone by means of a 'groceries game':

"You do a shopping game with lots of products you can pick, and then you have to guess how many sugar cubes are in them. And then you look at the packages, and in that way you learn to look at what's in them." *(P9 - M, 73, diagnosed 22 years ago)*

However, not everyone was doing it, as some participants considered the information on labels too complicated:

"We don't like reading labels. They should actually start simplifying the labels. If you want to use labels, then you shouldn't argue about 4.8 or 4.6 grams of something in a product, but rather just say if it is a product with lots of sugar or average sugar or low sugar. Nobody is interested whether it is 14.3 or 12.9 grams.

> You can write out a whole list of ingredients, but for about half of them, nobody knows what it means and what it is." *(P6 - M, 54, diagnosed 0.5 years ago)*

This confusion also sometimes extended beyond reading labels to understanding what exactly is healthy. Participants felt the industry tried to trick them sometimes and they encountered a lot of contradictory information on the internet. Yet, despite the confusion, most participants had become more competent in terms of overall food and health knowledge since being diagnosed with diabetes. This happened through enrolment in new practices such as consulting with a dietician or attending food and lifestyle courses.

In sum, both in the practices of preparing food and acquisitioning food, changes in performances or 'doings' take place after being diagnosed with type 2 diabetes. However, these changing performances do not necessarily follow one pathway, but are contingent on a variety of other practice elements. De- and re-routinization of food practices after diagnosis with type 2 diabetes is not singular but diverse. This includes differences in trajectories of said practices (e.g. having a limited budget in the past influencing current food shopping practices), on household characteristics (e.g. being single or not, being male or female) and on competing meanings (e.g. caring about animal welfare versus buying cheaply). This analysis brings us to the final element of this paper: what do these diverse dynamics of de- and re-routinization that occurred after being diagnosed with a major health issue have to offer in terms of sustainable consumption potential?

3.4.3 Inconspicuous sustainability

This section brings together the identified changes in reflexivity and practice performances to analyse them in terms of sustainability – or rather as 'inconspicuous sustainability' as introduced before. Many food-related lifestyle changes that were implemented in practices motivated by health also had positive environmental effects, without explicitly being labelled as such by participants as carriers of practice themselves. Mostly those with lower SES had limited or no reflexivity on sustainability but actually did perform sustainability in their daily food activities. Many of these participants had no or very limited explicit understanding of sustainability and could have easily been labelled as not performing sustainable practices, if our study would have stopped at examining values or attitudes on sustainability.

To illustrate, cutting down meat consumption is a central element of sustainable diets (EAT-Lancet Commission, 2019; Garnett et al., 2014). Coincidentally, for the majority of our participants eating less meat was part of their shift to a healthy diet that fits a diabetic, which came with increased reflexivity on health and food after diabetes:

> "I try to eat as many vitamins, minerals, different types of vegetables together as possible so that it's always a balanced meal. I eat in a flexitarian way, which means I eat meat twice a week, fish twice, chicken and cheese once and beans twice. So I vary that as much as possible. And then I always try to make sure that every meal is complete in terms of nutrients." *(P2 - F, 65, diagnosed 25 years ago)*

Even though only two participants explicitly associated eating less meat with sustainable food, in terms of practice performances, more than half of our participants reduced their meat consumption. However, this occurred not for the sake of sustainability but because of health considerations. Another participant was unfamiliar with the concept of sustainable food, but did prepare mostly vegetarian meals because of her religion and consumed mostly local, fresh and organic food from her husband's vegetable garden, which makes for rather sustainable food patterns (Garnett et al., 2014).

An additional health and lifestyle-related example can be found in shifts to low-carb meals, in which advanced competences contributed to greater general awareness around food with positive environmental consequences. Cooking competences that emerged after being diagnosed with diabetes included cooking from scratch with fresh or minimally processed food rather than eating ready-made meals, which is considered better for the environment (Garnett et al., 2014). Moreover, based on concerns other than sustainability – health, quality and taste – one participant changed his diet towards mostly organic food, which also can have positive sustainability effects (Magnusson, Arvola, Hursti, Åberg, & Sjödén, 2003; Mondelaers, Verbeke, & Huylenbroeck, 2009). Additionally, when as a result of diabetes the new competence of reading ingredient lists and labels emerged into the practice of buying food, this sometimes led to an increase in attention for the origin of food products as listed on the packaging:

> "With fresh fruit and stuff, I look at whether it's coming from Morocco or wherever. I really look at that. Then I don't buy it, if I have a choice. I sometimes buy blueberries. You have them from Morocco or wherever, far away, but also from the Netherlands. I prefer to buy from the Netherlands. Maybe they cost a quarter more, but... I really look at that. Also because I've started to look more at those packages and stuff, I also look more at the origin." *(P18 - M, 74, diagnosed 25 years ago)*

Finally, many participants indicated wasting (almost) no food, which is another important element of a sustainable diet (FCRN, 2020). Particularly the older single participants wasted almost no food, as they had become very routinized in preparing appropriate portion sizes. Yet, most of these participants either stated they did not care about the environment because they felt too old for it or simply had no idea what

sustainable food entailed. Several participants also purchased local food products from a nearby farmer. Although this could be considered an indicator of sustainable consumption, most participants expressed motivations of perceived better quality rather than sustainability concerns.

All of these activities occurred as side-effects of changing food practices over the course of being diagnosed with type 2 diabetes and can be considered to be beneficial in terms of sustainability. In other words, positive environmental effects could be identified 'piggybacking' onto changes in practices that were performed towards a healthier diet. Changes in food practices motivated by a reflexivity on health, such as diversifying protein intake and eating less processed foods, thus contain interesting potential if looked at with a sustainability lens.

3.5 Discussion and conclusion

Our study illustrates the importance of not only exploring the reflexive and conspicuous to gain an understanding of sustainable consumption (Browne et al., 2019; Shove & Warde, 2002). Rather, our study demonstrates how the ordinary and daily practices around food are characterized by change and improvisation. Our practice theoretical approach has been instrumental in foregrounding performances around sustainability that take place outside the scope of explicit reflexivity on sustainability. Whereas discussions on the attitude-behaviour gap focus on the discrepancy between attitude and behaviour from an attitude perspective – why do pro-environmental attitudes not translate into pro-environmental behaviour - we approached the question in a different way. Taking a practice theories perspective, we looked at 'pro-health activities' and how they implicitly or explicitly also address sustainability. By broadening our scope beyond reflexivity, we uncovered environmentally relevant changes in actual activities regardless of pro-environmental attitudes. This illustrates that being informed and motivated about sustainability seems not to be the only road to consuming more sustainable food. Rather, change can also come from other sources than changing beliefs or know-how, and there is opportunity for sustainable food considerations to latch onto health-induced changes in food practices.

Similarly, in terms of health our study showed how rather than from changing attitudes by being educated on health only, reflexivity on health can also come from diverse elements or cues in the socio-material environment (Polhuis, 2019). In our study, being diagnosed with a major health issue also appeared not to be sufficient motivation for changing lifestyles, in spite of the opportunities for change it might contain according to the literature (Verplanken & Wood, 2006). We concur with Burningham and Venn

(2020)'s view on change as a drawn-out and ongoing process, rather than as singular pathway of transition. It is striking that in our sample, the most comprehensive lifestyle changes of participants occurred recently, over the past two or three years, even though these participants had been diagnosed with diabetes for almost two decades. External factors seemed to play a more important role in producing lifestyle changes here, such as experiencing bodily symptoms of diabetes and changes in adjoining practices such as changing treatment protocols for diabetes from medication only towards also including elaborate dietary recommendations. This calls for recognizing diversity in experience rather than providing generalized understandings of how reflexivity comes about and how food routines change after major life events.

With these findings, the present study also provides a contribution to Boström, Lidskog and Uggla (2017)'s call for environmental sociology to provide a better understanding of the role of reflexivity. They state that "it is questionable whether reflexivity is sufficient in itself as a principle to guide practice towards more sustainability" (p.13) and recommend further research to look at the embeddedness of and conditions required for reflexivity. The present study has provided such a contextual and embedded understanding of the role of reflexivity in consumption practices towards more sustainable practices. The results demonstrated the diverse pathways of change, de- and re-routinization and specific moments of reflexivity. We showed how elements of sustainable consumption can still be identified even when there is no explicit sustainability-related reflexivity, but rather through changing performances of practices due to health-related reflexivity. We therefore conclude with Boström, Lidskog and Uggla (2017) that the concept of reflexivity is useful for environmental sociology, but that reflexivity is not uniform and therefore requires an in-depth, qualitative and contextual approach.

We found a difference in reflexivity between the concepts of health and sustainability. This is particularly relevant as increasingly the two are integrated into one ideal planetary diet (EAT-Lancet Commission, 2019). In our study, we explored the extent to which being more conscious of health and food due to a food-related lifestyle disease such as type 2 diabetes also affected people's understandings of sustainable food. For our sample, this did not seem to be the case. While participants were indeed more conscious of health after diabetes, this was distinct from understandings of sustainable food. It also became clear that changing lifestyle practices for health reasons seems to have more appeal than doing so for sustainability reasons, as health is much more personal and can have direct bodily manifestations. Being confronted with a personal health issue led to changes in food practices towards more health for almost everyone, whereas being confronted with sustainability in the media almost every day did not – at least not explicitly. This is in line with findings from other more quantitative studies such as Van Loo, Hoefkens, and Verbeke (2017). However, whereas this study recommends that messages combining

information on health and sustainability will not drive off certain consumer groups and may appeal to a larger group than a message on health only, our qualitative work shows that sometimes there was aversion towards sustainability messages – even though actual performances could still be earmarked as sustainable. This observation complicates the agenda for integrating health and sustainability in explicit terms by appealing to these values, as they do not necessarily go together in people's minds.

Finally, as an outcome of our focus on both reflexivity and performance in food practices, we have illustrated the complex role socio-economic differences play in understanding sustainable practices. While practice theories have been critiqued for their lack of attention to power and inequalities, in our study this approach has aided in providing a more nuanced understanding of socio-economic differences, primarily because it allowed us to look beyond activities undertaken from environmental concern only. By including participants across SES and studying their understandings and performances around health and sustainability in food practices, we illustrate how SES alone does not explain or predict (un)sustainable practices. It is important for policy efforts to recognize this diversity in motivations for pro-environmental actions, rather than only focusing on those groups of citizens complying with the most dominant understandings of sustainability concerns. Consumers should not be considered 'eco-powerless' when they do not explicitly align with values around sustainability. Rather than being disempowered and passive, consumers appeared creative and competent, who adapt to their new lifeworld after diabetes and are resourceful in navigating their daily life after being disrupted by a major health issue.

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Chapter 4

In- and exclusion in urban food governance: exploring networks and power in the city of Almere
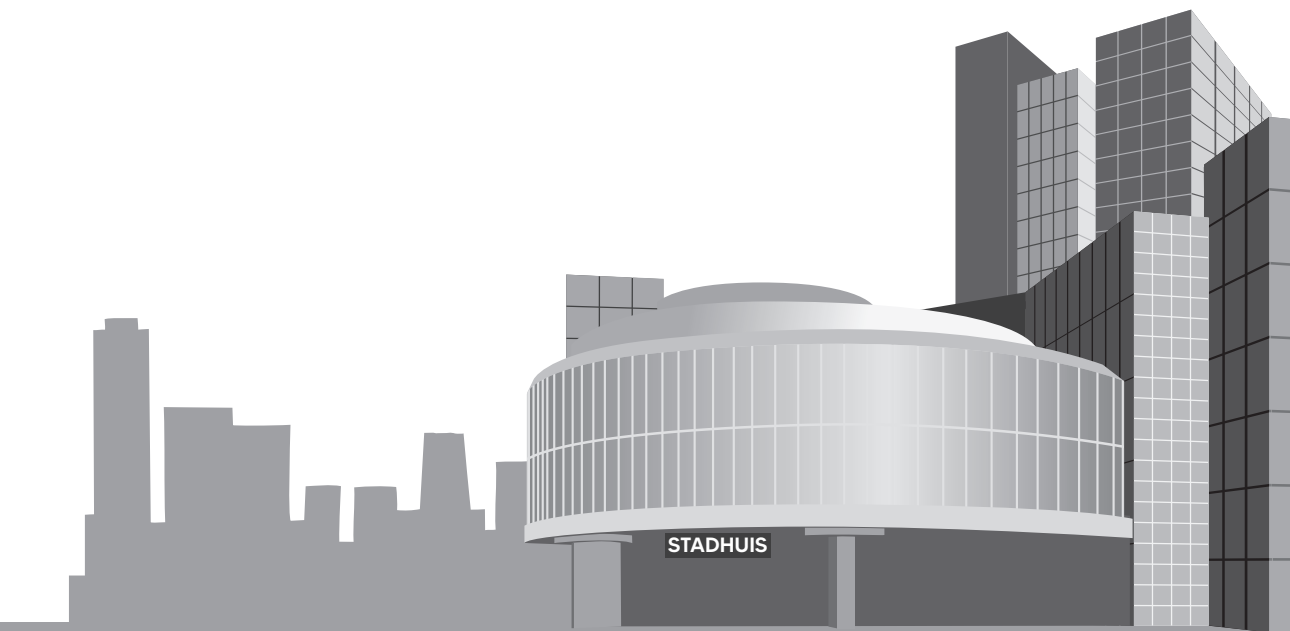
Abstract

Cities are becoming involved in food governance, with a shift to multi-actor urban food governance taking place. Yet, not all food system actors are equally represented in these governance processes. Facing challenges on participation and social justice, questions arise on how inclusive urban food governance is in practice. The current paper aims to provide a contribution to this debate by looking at the city of Almere, the Netherlands, in the development of its first urban food strategy (UFS). The paper assesses the governance network involved in the creation of the UFS and studies mechanisms of in- and exclusion within this process. Conceptually, the paper uses Manuel Castells' network theory of power. Methodologically, the paper combines a network survey with expert interviews. The paper finds that the municipality is at the centre of the network, trying to balance inclusive versus efficient governance. This highlights the tensions around inclusion in governance through networks, as a network is only responsible for those included in the network, whereas governments are ultimately responsible for all of their citizens, even if they are not directly included in the governance network. This calls for further reflection on the roles of citizens in urban food governance in a network society.

4.1 Introduction

Food governance is changing. Due to globalization, the role of nation-states as the primary scale for governing food has changed, as they are increasingly joined by cities (Blay-Palmer et al., 2018; Sonnino, 2009; Sonnino, Tegoni, & De Cunto, 2018). The urban level has become a critical scale where environmental, social and economic dynamics around food are reproduced, making it a key space to address these dynamics (Moragues-Faus & Battersby, 2021). This emergence of the urban level in governing food is manifested in the Milan Urban Food Policy Pact (MUFPP), which started in 2015 by and currently includes over 200 cities as signatory parties (MUFPP, 2021). The turn towards urban food governance includes a more multi-actor process essentially involving networked governance relations (Sonnino, Tegonia & De Cunto, 2018, Manganelli, 2020). This shift to multi-actor, networked governance holds the potential for a stronger and more diversified civil society engagement (Candel, 2014; Renting, Schermer, & Rossi, 2012).

Yet, this potential might not be lived up to in current urban food governance processes, as not all food system actors seem to be represented in many of these emerging governance networks (Moragues-Faus, 2020). Faced with a new governance responsibility on food, many cities appear to struggle with how to take up this task in an inclusive manner (Halliday, Torres, & Van Veenhuizen, 2019; Sonnino, 2019; Sonnino et al., 2018), particularly in light of the growing cultural diversity of the urban population (BCFN & MacroGeo, 2018). For instance, less than half of the cities studied by Sonnino et al. (2018) had actual formal and inclusive food governance mechanisms in place – inclusive here referring to the engagement of a broad variety of different food system actors. As cities wrestle with their new governance tasks around food, they are at risk of reproducing inequalities (Moragues-Faus & Battersby, 2021). Moragues-Faus and Battersby (2021) therefore call for more work around emerging urban food governance, specifically on engaging with social and cultural aspects to recognize different needs and preferences of diverse citizens.

This paper aims to contribute to this debate by providing a conceptual exploration of the mechanisms of in- and exclusion at play in urban food governance networks. This requires a conceptual framework that can appreciate changing governance constellations into networked governance and also clearly conceptualizes in- and exclusion, which Manuel Castells' network theory of power (Castells, 2011, 2013, 2016) provides. As Castells' theory has not been applied to the study of in- and exclusion on an urban level, this paper deploys Castells' theory and reflects on its contribution in the discussion.

Castells' theory will be applied in a case study on the governance network involved in the creation of the Dutch city of Almere's urban food strategy (UFS). Almere is an interesting case to study emerging urban food governance and inclusion. While its urban diversity is amongst the highest in the world, this diversity appears not to be reflected in the process of developing Almere's recent UFS (2020-21), as will be demonstrated in this paper. Using Castells' approach, within this case study of Almere, in- and exclusion is understood to refer to both process and content, i.e. understanding who is included in the process of formulating the UFS and for what reasons, as well as understanding whose agendas are taken up and whose are left out.

In what follows, first a conceptual chapter outlines the need for a novel perspective to analyse in- and exclusion in urban food governance, after which Castells' network theory of power is presented. Next, the methodology section is provided, followed by the results section that describes an in-depth exploration of the mechanisms of in- and exclusion in the network around the food strategy, based on Castells' four types of power. The paper ends with a discussion on empirical and theoretical grounds.

4.2 Conceptual framework

4.2.1 Networked governance and in- and exclusion

As the domain of governing shifts from government to governance, the relationship between a government and its citizens also changes. Whereas governments are traditionally understood to be responsible for their citizens, new governance processes through multi-stakeholder arrangements often involve a (governance) network of actors, which particularly materializes at the urban scale (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2012; Swyngedouw, 2005). Governance network theory (Hajer & Versteeg, 2005; Klijn & Koppenjan, 2012; Sørensen & Torfing, 2005) analyses these processes, describing governance networks as a new, polycentric form of governance that consists of relatively stable sets of interdependent, but operationally autonomous and negotiating actors, focused on problem solving" (Hajer & Versteeg, 2005, p.341).

As power becomes dispersed in networked governance and the roles of government change, the question arises how this shift impacts the democratic legitimacy of decision-making processes (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2012; Mees & Driessen, 2019; Sørensen, 2013; Sørensen & Torfing, 2005). Participation in a governance network is often shaped by entitlement and status, and takes place within a certain structure of representation (Swyngedouw, 2005), which risks favouring 'coalitions of economic, socio-cultural or political elites' in imposing the 'rules of the game'(Swyngedouw, Moulaert, & Rodriguez, 2002). Inclusion is further complicated by tensions between inclusion in terms of

process and content. Stakeholders and citizens may technically be in these networks, but fail to have their content represented in the network (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2012). Or, the reverse might be true: although not directly represented, specific stakeholder interests might still be included in the network through indirect representation. This raises questions on how in- and exclusion of stakeholders in a networked governance process actually works and how this is shaped by power relations.

4.2.2 In- and exclusion in urban food governance

These questions also apply within the field of urban food governance, where cities are struggling to redefine their roles in the newly emerging domain of food. Within this context, a governance tool that is gaining prominence is the urban food strategy (UFS). UFSs are typically applauded for their ambitions regarding inclusion of a broad spectrum of stakeholders (Hebinck & Page, 2017). However, UFS development processes may not always be as inclusive as intended (Cretella, 2016; Halliday et al., 2019; Hebinck & Page, 2017; Sonnino et al., 2018). For instance, Cretella (2016) finds that in the case of Pisa, despite ambitions to be participatory, a UFS was still developed from an established network of actors which did not include local grassroots movements. Hebinck and Page (2017) illustrates how in Eindhoven (NL) and Exeter (UK), which both explicitly viewed the UFS as a tool for addressing social inequalities, efforts to include socially vulnerable groups did not succeed. Moreover, in the case of Eindhoven, the UFS developed by local participants was eventually rejected by the city council as unfeasible (Hebinck & Page, 2017). In brief, it appears that exclusionary dynamics abound in emerging urban food governance networks.

4.2.3 Castells' network theory of power

To better understand what is happening within these networks around in- and exclusion, this paper proposes using Manuel Castells' network theory of power. While this theoretical perspective is not new to the field of environmental policy and planning (e.g. Bush & Oosterveer, 2007), it is usually applied at the global and not the urban level. Castells' approach nevertheless appears as a relevant and appropriate theory to use at the urban scale, as it has a very well-developed theory of power that can serve to deepen our understandings of in- and exclusion in networks, including urban food governance networks.

Castells (1996, 1997, 1998) conceptualizes the global network society as the new basic social structure of society in the age of globalization, constructed around digital networks of communication that exist on global, national and local level. Within this new global network society, classical power theories focused on the nation-state no longer suffice to explain power relationships. Castells (2013) therefore proposes a set of power relationships based on in- and exclusion that fit this new global network society.

Castells (2013) defines power as "the relational capacity that enables a social actor to influence asymmetrically the decisions of other social actor(s) in ways that favour the empowered actor's will, interests and values" (p.10).

For Castells, power in the network society consists of the binary logic of inclusion and exclusion: actors are either in or outside of a network (Castells, 2013). He defines a network as a set of interconnected nodes, which is a (group of) social actor(s). Nodes can be more or less important depending on their capacity to influence the network's goals or program. Each network is programmed in a certain way, with codes and goals that are particular to each network. The ability to access, structure, steer and link networks are what constitutes power in the network society. These mechanisms translate into four kinds of power: (1) networked power, (2) networking power, (3) network power and (4) network-making power (Castells, 2011, 2013, 2016) (see figure 4.1). Whereas the first and second types of power are more traditional, the third and fourth types of power are new and characteristic for the global network society.

Networked power is the power of certain nodes over other nodes within the network itself. This form of power works differently for each network, depending on its programmed goals. For instance, in food provisioning networks, large food suppliers have been very powerful. This is the most traditional form of power in Castells' categorization and has gradually lost ground to network-making power.

Networking power is the power of nodes within networks over actors outside networks. Networking power is exercised through gatekeeping, which is the process by which actors within the network can decide who does (not) get access to the network. This type of power can be seen for instance in which social actors or organisations do (not) get invited to stakeholder meetings.

Network power concerns the rules of inclusion, or the power of the standards, 'protocols of communication' of the network over its nodes. For example, in order to join the UFS development of Almere, actors need to be professionally or personally associated with the city. These standards can be negotiated by the members of the network, but once set tend to favour the interests of those at the core of the network. Network power increases when the power of the network as a whole grows in relation to other networks as more actors are following the same codes.

Network-making power is the most crucial form of power, which is new and defining for the global network society. It operates on two basic mechanisms: a) programming and b) switching. Programmers can program and reprogram the network in terms of its ideas, visions and frames. This is a key function of the network, as control over the program

means being able to pursue your own projects and goals. Switchers connect different networks by aligning their goals and combining resources, fostering cooperation and fending off competition. They can do this by combining different networks or by de-coupling parts of the network in response to innovation.
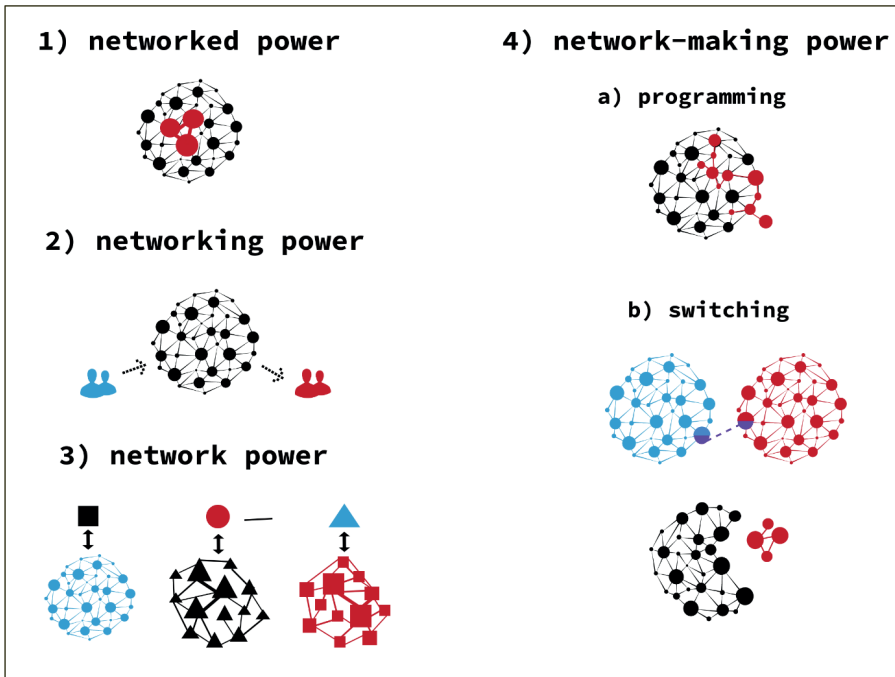
Figure 4.1 Power in the network society (based on Castells, 2013)

In short, Castells' four types of power emphasize how in- and exclusion can occur in at least two different ways: both through process (being allowed to participate in a network) and content (getting one's interests and agenda programmed into the network). Network-making power in particular is important for understanding to what extent and how new codes and programs (such as cultural food diversity or sustainability) are integrated into the governance network when a new process like a UFS is initiated.

4.3. Methodology

4.3.1 Case study

The city of Almere was selected as a case study for this paper because of its urban diversity and recent (2020-21) development of an urban food strategy. Almere is home to 148 nationalities and currently, 44% of the urban population have a migration background and these numbers are projected to rise further (Gemeente Almere, 2021), moving toward a majority-minority city where the majority of the urban population comes from a cultural minority group (Crul, 2016). Almere is also a city with a higher number of people from lower socio-economic compared to the rest of the Netherlands, which coincides with above-average rates of health issues like overweight and obesity (AlleCijfers, 2021; RIVM, 2012). Globally, this population group is underrepresented in policy development (Halliday et al., 2019), making questions about inclusion across the socio-economic spectrum especially relevant in Almere.

Furthermore, Almere is an active city in terms of urban food governance. Almere is a member of several city networks around food such as the MUFPP, the Ellen MacArthur Foundation and the Dutch City Deal 'Food on the urban agenda'. Moreover, Almere is one of the first Dutch cities to develop a UFS and as such can be considered a frontrunner in urban food governance.

4.3.2 Methodological design

Castells' theory methodologically fits well with a social network analysis. While social network analyses are generally conducted on a quantitative basis, Luxton and Sbicca (2020) call for studies combining a quantitative and qualitative social network analysis, providing insights into both the 'structure' and the 'story' of networks The current study builds upon this methodological approach, as illustrated in figure 4.2. Following Sbicca, Hale, and Roeser (2019), stage 2 aims to map the 'structure' of the network and gives a static understanding of the urban food governance network. Stages 1 and 3 serve to explore the 'story' and provide a more dynamic understanding of the network. The first and second stage were partly conducted in parallel and the third step served as a sequential validation step to check the findings from the survey (step 2). To prepare for the social network analysis and gain a deeper understanding of the local situation, the first author conducted exploratory participant observation at municipal events around food, including a stakeholder session on the UFS.
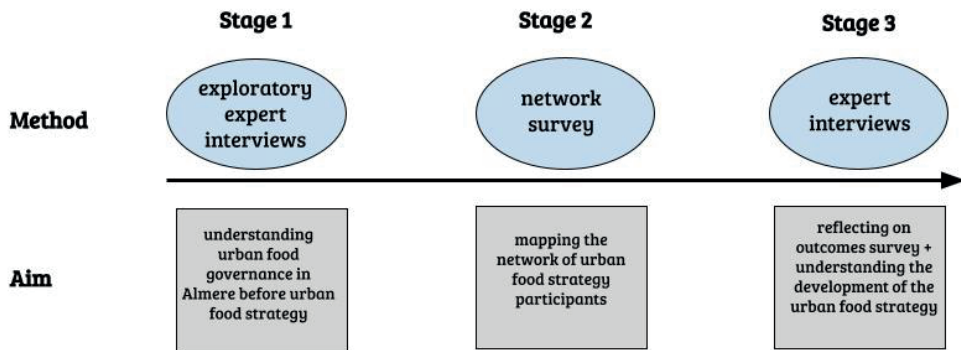
Figure 4.2 Methodological design

In stage 1, three expert interviews were conducted with (ex-)government officials to understand the timeline leading up to the development of the UFS in 2020. In stage 2, a social network analysis was conducted through a network survey, which was administered to participants who were identified in the preparatory fieldwork as contributors to the food strategy (i.e. being invited to participate in the development of the strategy). Participants were asked to list up to five parties that were directly important to their organisation in the field of food, which were subsequently assessed in terms of frequency of contact, dependency and type of exchange. The survey was initially distributed by email through a key civil servant of Almere. A total of 26 people completed the network survey, equalling a 65% response rate. Respondents represented a total of 17 different organizations. Rather than including one entry per organization, all separate entries were included into the network analysis. This is because the network analysis aims to map where the centre of power lies in the urban food governance network (networked power), which includes noting whether some parties are more represented than others. Finally, during stage 3, twelve additional semi-structured interviews were conducted. Participants were recruited from different kinds of organizations based on their role in the food strategy development and/or their position in the urban food governance network of Almere. These interviews served to reflect on the survey findings and on the process of the UFS development.

All interviews were transcribed in their native language (Dutch). Quotes used in this paper were translated by the first author, who is a native Dutch speaker. The network survey was analysed using Excel and UCINET, a network software program.

Table 4.1 Expert interviews

No	Stage	Type	Organization	Type of organization
01	1	Exploratory expert interview	Municipality of Almere	Local government
02	1	Exploratory expert interview	Municipality of Almere + Flevo Campus	Local government
03	1	Exploratory expert interview	Municipality of Almere	Local government
04	3	Expert interview	Wageningen University & Research; Ontwikkelcentrum Stadslandbouw Almere; De Kemphaan	Researcher, citizen
05	3	Expert interview	Food Cabinet	Entrepreneur
06	3	Expert interview	Municipality of Almere	Local government
07	3	Expert interview	De Kemphaan (urban farm)	Entrepreneur
08	3	Expert interview	Voedselbos Sieradenbuurt	Citizen initiative
09	3	Expert interview	Stichting Buitengewoon	Foundation
10	3	Expert interview	Flevofood	Network organization
11	3	Expert interview	VINDplaats Zenit	Citizen initiative
12	3	Expert interview	Regelrecht van de Boer	Entrepreneur
13	3	Expert interview	ONZE Volkstuinen	Entrepreneur
14	3	Expert interview	Municipality of Almere	Local government
15	3	Expert interview	Groene Buren	Citizen initiative

4.4 Results

In this section, first a historical perspective is given on how food entered the urban governance agenda in Almere and led to the UFS development. Next, the urban food governance network around the UFS is assessed and dynamics of in- and exclusion are identified based on Castells' four types of power.

4.4.1 Food on the urban agenda

While food production was part of city planning from the city's inception (Jansma & Wertheim-Heck, 2021), it has not always been as strongly present in the municipality in subsequent decades. Only recently did it enter the urban agenda, whereby Almere's winning bid in 2012 to host the Floriade in 2022 played an important role. The Floriade is a travelling horticulture exhibition in the Netherlands which is held every ten years. For this bid, a vision was developed inspired by the location of Almere in the food-producing province of Flevoland. This led to the Floriade's theme of 'Growing Green Cities' with a sub theme on food called 'Feeding the City'. In preparation for this Floriade, a 'youth Floriade' was developed by the municipality which included the appointment of 'Urban Greeners': a group of ten young entrepreneurs working on sustainability and alternative food provisioning.

The success of this project eventually co-inspired the thematic focus on urban food provisioning of the Flevo Campus, a knowledge hub financed by the municipality and the province. This hub consists of these two parties, Aeres University of Applied Sciences Almere and an Amsterdam-based research institute (AMS):

> "We connected with one of the lines of the Floriade, and that was Feeding the City. So early on with the Floriade, we had food as one of the pillars. And this Feeding the City, the Floriade, the youth Floriade, the Urban Greeners, entrepreneurs who joined, and especially entrepreneurs increasingly in Almere itself, that's how the Flevo Campus gradually came into being." (I03)

I03 recalled that it was difficult to persuade the city council to agree with Flevo Campus' focus on food. The political climate in Almere's city council is characterized by opposing movements (I02, I03, I06). There is room for novelty and pioneering, typical for a young city like Almere, but there are also increasingly conservative tendencies in the city council. This duality also partly explained why it took some time for the municipality to develop a UFS, while several years earlier I04, I09 and I10 had already jointly proposed a plan for developing a UFS. Eventually, Flevo Campus was very influential in the decision to start drawing up a UFS in 2020, urging the municipality to take their Floriade commitment to Feeding the City seriously and to 'just start somewhere' (I01, I06). This led to the decision to draw up a UFS, as a tool for later developing a food policy rather than immediately starting with food policy (I05).

4.4.2 The urban food strategy

The decision to formally draw up a UFS was taken in 2020. The process of drawing up this UFS was facilitated by Food Cabinet, an Amsterdam-based company. The process took place in three main phases involving different stakeholders. First, an expert panel and a supervisory committee were established, both of which met around five times. The expert panel started off with three members, all applied researchers with extensive knowledge of Almere and food (including I04). To also promote more local involvement, two additional panellists were invited: one from Rabobank – a bank serving as an important knowledge partner on food – and one from Flevofood (I10), a network organization of food entrepreneurs from Flevoland promoting local food. A supervisory committee was founded with three core members: one from the Economic Board of Almere, one from Aeres University of Applied Sciences, and one from Flevo Campus (and sometimes joined by I06 as municipality representative). This committee was tasked with a more methodological reflection on for instance the right approach for a UFS within the specific political context of Almere. Finally, a 'practice committee'

was established through interviews with 10 stakeholders, who were selected based on recommendations from the expert panel.

This process resulted in a draft UFS document, which was presented in a live stakeholder meeting in August 2020. The discussions from the meeting were used as further input for finalizing the UFS. The final version was approved by the city council in April 2021 and contained three core ambitions for 2021-2025: 1) healthy food choices for everyone; 2) a sustainable food economy; 3) promoting local and regional products and initiatives (Groen en Gezond Almere, 2021).

4.4.3 Network analysis

A network analysis was conducted based on the network survey. Networks can be analysed through centrality measures, including degree centrality (Zhang & Luo, 2017). This is useful to quantify an actor's r elative power within a network based on their relations to other actors. Degree centrality can be divided into in-degree and out-degree centrality (Zhang & Luo, 2017). In-degree centrality refers to how many external ties from other nodes a certain node receives. A relatively high in-degree score indicates that a node is prominent, as other nodes seek connection to it. Out-degree centrality refers to how many ties are directed outwards from a node, towards other nodes. The in-degree score is most relevant when understanding Castells' first form of power, i.e. networked power, which looks at which actors have the most power within the network itself.

Figure 4.3 shows the network based on combined in- and out-degree centrality, which means the larger the node, the higher the total degree score. The network is coloured in terms of type of actor, where a blue node is a government actor, red is business, green is research, yellow is civil society and grey is 'other'. It is relevant to understand what types of actors tend to be most central in the governance network, which will be elaborated later under networked power. Overall, 95 different parties or nodes were included, which were mentioned by the total of 17 different organizations that filled out the survey. Two types of connections between nodes are distinguished: direct collaboration (solid lines) and indirect collaboration (dotted lines).

For this network, the average combined direct and indirect in-degree score of a node is 2,03 (direct 1.21, indirect 0,79), with a range between 0 and 14 (direct 0-9, indirect 0-6, see table 4.2). 37% of involved parties have a total in-degree score of >1 (21% direct, 16% indirect), and only 12% of all parties have a total in-degree score of >3. With a total of 95 parties, these scores indicate that the network is not very centralized. This is in line with how many interviewees (I02, I03, I04, I05) described the field of food in Almere, as relatively scattered and small-scale with many small initiatives and businesses.
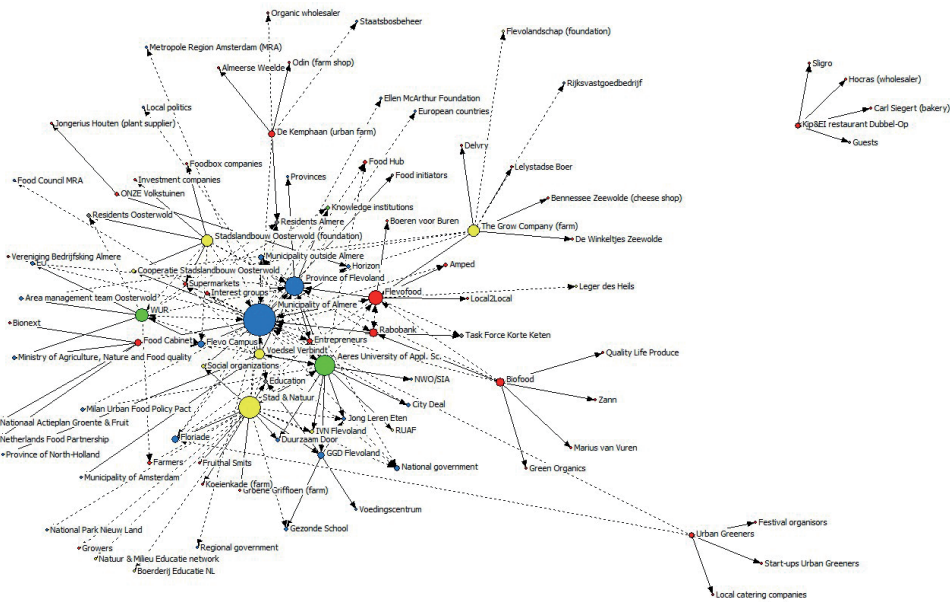
Figure 4.3 Network analysis (coloured according to type of actors)

Table 4.2 Nodes with total in-degree centrality >3 (ranked by total in-degree score)

Position		Type of actor	Direct		Indirect		Total	
			In-degree	Out-degree	In-degree	Out-degree	In-degree	Out-degree
1	Municipality of Almere	Government	9	18	5	17	14	35
2	Province of Flevoland	Government	6	5	6	4	12	9
3	Flevofood	Business	5	5	5	5	10	10
4	Flevo Campus	Government	5	0	3	0	8	0
5	Entrepreneurs	Business	4	0	3	0	7	0
6	Jong Leren Eten	Government	5	0	1	0	6	0
6	Education	Other	5	0	1	0	6	0
7	Supermarkets	Business	3	0	2	0	5	0
8	Aeres University of Applied Sciences	Research	3	15	1	11	4	26
8	Municipalities outside Almere	Government	2	0	2	0	4	0
8	Citizens of Almere	Other	2	0	2	0	4	0

Table 4.3 Top 10 Out-degree centrality

		Type of actor	Direct	Indirect	Total
1	Municipality of Almere	Government	18	17	35
2	Stad & Natuur	Civil society	18	14	32
3	Aeres University of Applied Sciences	Research	15	11	26
4	Stichting Stadslandbouw Oosterwold	Civil society	8	5	13
5	The Grow Company (farm)	Business	5	5	10
5	Wageningen University & Research	Research	5	5	10
5	Flevofood	Business	5	5	10
6	Province of Flevoland	Government	5	4	9
7	Voedsel Verbindt	Civil society	5	3	8
7	Biofood	Business	5	3	8
8	De Kemphaan (urban farm)	Business	3	3	6
9	Urban Greeners	Business	3	2	5
10	GGD Flevoland	Government	4	0	4

The survey also assessed the strength of ties between nodes by asking about frequency of contact and dependency. All ties were attributed scores between 0 and 2 based on frequency of contact (daily + weekly = 2; monthly = 1; half-yearly and yearly = 0) and dependency (completely/largely dependent = 2; partially dependent = 1; largely/completely independent = 0). Together, these scores contributed to an understanding of the strength of ties between the different nodes: the higher the combined score, the stronger the tie. If multiple ties existed between two nodes, their scores were averaged. Tie strength was analysed for ties between different types of actors (e.g. between government and business actors, see table 4.4). The average tie strength amounts to 1.9. Business to business ties are the most prominent and score relatively high in terms of tie strength at 2.1 (see table 4.4). In general, civil society actors tend to have relatively strong ties to their partners.

Table 4.4 Tie strength per tie type

Type of tie	Total ties	Tie strength
civil society - other	5	3.8
civil society – government	13	2.3
business - business	26	2.1
civil society - civil society	3	2
civil society – business	9	2
civil society – research	2	2
government - research	19	2
business - civil society	10	1.9
government - other	4	1.8
government – business	9	1.7
research – civil society	4	1,5
business – government	7	1.3
government - government	12	1.1
government – civil society	2	1
business – civil society	1	1
business - research	1	0

4.4.4 Networked power

Networked power – the power of certain nodes over other nodes within the network itself – has shifted in the urban food governance network over the past decades:

> "Until a few years ago, not a single municipality was talking about food. It was national policy or European policy for regulation, international market for production, etc. We were going around in circles, and every time the question came back to: what is our role as a municipality?" (I06)

As the local government was struggling to define its own position, questions arose on whom to include and particularly in what capacity when drawing up a UFS. In the end, the UFS ended up being 'owned' by the municipality, just like regular policy:

> "Does the food strategy belong to the municipality or to the city? If the latter, then it should not only be approved by the city council, but also by Flevofood and by Aeres University of Applied Sciences, etc. That's easier said than done, because then what exactly is the status of the strategy? It all gets a bit complicated. And there's quite a lot of government money involved, so that also legitimizes that the council says: this is government money, so we want to be able to decide

for ourselves what we do with it and be accountable for it. Eventually the strategy came to be the municipality's." (I06)

As the network analysis indicated, the municipality of Almere also holds the most central position in the network and the most networked power, with both the highest total in-degree score (14), and the highest out-degree score (35). Still, the municipality's average in-degree tie strength is just below average at 1.8. Many parties indicated cooperating with the municipality, but also indicated not being dependent on them for their survival.

Internally, the municipality struggled to convince city council members and civil servants of the importance of a healthy and sustainable food agenda (I01, I03 and I06). While in 2018, the city council drew up and approved an ambitious Sustainability Agenda, the daily reality in the council and civil service was much less idealistic (I06). I01 described that whenever a new fast-food chain opened in the city centre, half of the civil servants were cheering. This climate made it difficult to decide whether the municipality's role should be normative or more facilitating. The most fitting strategy according to I01 was to take a guiding rather than a normative role. This stems from municipal employees' (I01, I02, I03, I06) impression of Almere's citizens as not too concerned with food, which calls for a more cautious approach rather than being too regulating:

> "I think that food is quite an issue among the yuppies in the big cities, who are concerned with healthier, more sustainable and local food and often have the means and knowledge. I noticed that it was really a lot less popular in Almere. There is a certain group of 'converts' who are very concerned about it, but on the other hand you also have a very large group of people who just go to the supermarket, who don't always buy the healthiest food there, are completely unaware of the agricultural hinterland in Flevoland, of the fact that the potatoes they eat could come from there but arrive on their plate with an enormous detour, don't look at the packaging, really aren't concerned about any of this." (I02)

This impression, of citizens being not much engaged with food, functioned as a mechanism of exclusion from the governance network, which will be elaborated in more detail under networking power below.

While the top 5 most powerful nodes in the network appeared to be business actors (see table 4.2), individual entrepreneurs or businesses had low in- and out-degree centrality scores. This indicates a low level of networked power. The high position of Flevofood (no. 3) is an exception, which can be explained by the fact that Flevofood rather than being a single business, represents a network of entrepreneurs. I03 recalled missing the voice of local food entrepreneurs in the food debates that were going on during his time

at the municipality (2010-2018). The peripheral position of individual entrepreneurs is in line with other survey findings, where half of the participants (n=13) felt that involvement of businesses in the UFS was limited, despite almost everyone (n=25) indicating that businesses should be involved. The concept of network power explains this peripheral position and associated mechanisms of exclusion in more detail, which will be elaborated later.

4.4.5 Networking power

Networking power is 'gatekeeping' power of nodes within the network over those outside the network (Castells, 2013). This power is exercised by the municipality as commissioner of the UFS, the external facilitators and the expert panel. The municipality exercised networking power in making the important decision on who would facilitate the UFS development, i.e. who would be given further networking power to decide whom to include in the UFS development process, illustrating dynamics of inclusion. A company based in Amsterdam was selected, which evidently excluded other Almere-based initiatives like I05, I09 and I10 who had already developed a proposal for a UFS a few years earlier. The choice for this company was therefore criticized by I09:

> "I think much more use should be made of the knowledge and expertise of the Almere people themselves, instead of saying, there is a very good organization in Amsterdam, we could hire them in Almere… Then you're not helping the Almere economy at all, because at some point the knowledge will simply go back to Amsterdam." (I09)

On the other hand, a former municipal employee I02 supported this choice because of the need to finally 'get things moving', for which external parties were considered useful. Aiming to use local knowledge through involving local researchers and entrepreneurs, the external facilitators shared networking power with the expert panel in deciding whom to invite to the 'practice committee' and stakeholder meeting.

One group of actors who clearly lacked networking power were citizens. They were not represented in the network and thus did not formally participate in the UFS development. This was inspired by pragmatic considerations of the external facilitators, given time and resource constraints:

> "Ultimately the strategy is a political document and it's also true that the city council has the last word, so in that sense it's indirect representation: it's actually the people of Almere who have the floor when it comes to this food strategy. Their involvement is much more indirect. I would have liked to have spoken to

a hundred more people in Almere and to have conducted a large survey, etc., but well…" (I05)

I06 supported this choice not to include citizens in UFS deliberations as in his experience, often the 'usual suspects' showed up in these kinds of policy questions: "… the thirty highly educated Almere citizens who always like to talk about these things." Within the expert panel, inclusion across cultural or socio-economic background was not specifically addressed in selecting members of the practice committee and stakeholder meeting (I04), which effectively functioned as a mechanism of exclusion for those groups. Demographically, network survey participants had a different profile than the average Almere citizen in terms of socio-economic status and ethnic background. Whereas Almere has a relatively high share of people with a low socio-economic status (Gemeente Almere, 2021), 22 out of the 26 survey participants were highly educated. All participants were Dutch nationals, while Almere consists for 40% of people with a migration background (Gemeente Almere, 2021). I04 expressed not to be surprised by these demographics. Although the involved participants were not representative of the average Almere citizen, in his experience, they represented the food movement in Almere consisting largely of middle-aged, white people. In his opinion, it was very difficult to get people with a migration background to be involved in food initiatives. As culturally diverse citizens largely remain out of scope in a 'business as usual' process, not specifically addressing cultural diversity as an inclusion criteria for participating in the UFS functions as a mechanism of exclusion. Still, Almere's multi-ethnic population does engage with food but through different practices:

"I remember a meeting on the city farm, and I looked out the window and all of a sudden I saw a group of mostly foreign people with long sticks, and they were ramming against the trees to get the food out, because it was just available to everyone. And that's when I thought: we're successful! I don't know these people and they're just coming here by themselves to get this food. That's also a form of Feeding the City." (I03)

Similarly, some food-related citizen initiatives (I08, I11) prominently engaged in local food producing practices appeared to lack networking power, which functioned as a mechanism of exclusion. I08 and I11 were mostly unaware of the development of the UFS. Upon hearing about it, I11 advocated for involving 'ordinary' citizens with vegetable gardens:

"With food policy, you could say that so many percent of the supermarket must be local. And, if gardeners have leftover vegetables, that they do not throw them away but can distribute them somewhere. You can make policy on it, but currently

that party is not involved at all. Those vegetable gardeners who have their little garden, I think it's just seen as a hobby and not a lifestyle. And I think when you talk about food policy, you also have to talk about lifestyle and about the market."

This quote illustrates how citizens and their food practices were perceived differently by those involved in citizen initiatives and the municipal employees, which functioned as a mechanism of exclusion. Whereas I02, I05 and I06 indicated the population to be not much concerned with food, these interviews with citizen initiatives as well as the example of I03 on foraging offered a different perspective. However, these types of citizen initiatives were not seen by municipal employees and were excluded from the governance network. As a result, they also did not have access to network-making or programming power to have their interests directly represented, which is another mechanism of exclusion.

4.4.6 Network power

Next, network power (in the form of rules of inclusion) was held again mostly by the municipality. According to Castells (2013), once set, rules of inclusion tend to favour the interests of those at the core of the network, which was also the case in Almere. The UFS was commissioned and paid for by the municipality who therefore wanted to be able to decide how to go about it (I06), clearly demonstrating a mechanism of inclusion. From this position, the civil servants involved (including I01 and I06) were also able to largely decide the rules of inclusion into the governance network. For instance, being a citizen of Almere by itself appeared to not fit the rule of inclusion, which indicates a mechanism of exclusion. Moreover, participation in the governance network largely involved "…a lot of talking and thinking, and very little doing…" (I13), which frustrates in particular small business owners:

"At a certain point the networks start to revolve around networking and talking to each other. I'm quite happy to talk too, but then, after six months, you have to get results and then you have to move on. There are a lot of people who are paid to talk, and if you find that out at some point you think: I'm just telling the same thing all over again. Stop talking and do something! So I did stop with a lot of networks because there was too much talking." (I13)

This quote highlights the restriction of active participation, i.e. inclusion, based on financial compensation. A number of interviewees (I09, I12, I13), again in particular entrepreneurs, mention being hindered by not being paid for participation as a self-employed entrepreneur:

> "You get your umpteenth spinach smoothie and you see the same people sitting there again and then you think: that one is paid, that one is paid, that one from the health services is also paid, that one is from the government and is also paid and then we have here unpaid and unpaid." (I09)

An exception here again was the central position of Flevofood (I10), as explained above. The somewhat strained relationship between entrepreneurs and government actors was also visible in the network analysis, as in terms of strength both government-business (1.7) and business-government (1.3) ties scored below average (see table 4.3).

Finally, network power also took shape through 'codes' (Castells, 2013) on sustainability. Within the governance network, sustainable food was primarily interpreted in terms of local or regional food as sustainable. This formed another rule of inclusion, as in particular parties working on local food were included, functioning as a mechanism of inclusion. Still, although Almere has over 140 urban agriculture initiatives producing local food (Dekking, 2018), these organizations were for the most part not formally included, which also applied to those engaged in foraging practices. Both of these groups work with 'local' food but remained out of scope and excluded, which could be due to their smaller scale, limited resources to participate in the network and a less developed identity around 'local' food.

4.4.7 Network-making power
4.4.7.1 Programming
Programming happened most prominently in the expert panel with the external facilitators, where the main themes for the UFS were selected early on (I04, I05). As a new city, Almere had a well-developed city identity focused on being a pioneering city situated in an agricultural hinterland. This 'DNA of the city' (I05) was used to sketch out what this means for Almere in terms of food and informed a distinct proposition for its UFS in comparison to other cities (I05). This informed the initial draft of the UFS, focusing on health and economy. Based on these themes, members for the practice committee and stakeholder meeting were selected as further programmers – although the main themes remained roughly the same in the final UFS. This indicated the large programming power of the expert panel in determining the content of the UFS, effectively operating as a mechanism for exclusion for other content. For instance, although the cultural diversity of Almere's population was mentioned by I05 in the stakeholder meeting as a central aspect of Almere's identity, it was primarily framed as a topic for future opportunities, rather than something to be programmed into the current UFS document. As hardly any people from non-Dutch backgrounds were involved in the UFS development, this was not surprising from a programming and network-making power perspective, but did constitute a mechanism of exclusion.

The identity of Almere also played a role in determining the content of the UFS. This happened through carefully balancing ideals around healthy and sustainable food with how municipal employees perceived Almere as a city reluctant to government involvement. I05 described how with each topic in the strategy the expert panel always reflected on whether this point would be just relevant for 'the converts' or for all citizens. By starting small in this way in terms of ambition, the aim was to slowly let the program of the network fan out across the different nodes to include as many different nodes as possible (I05). This can be seen as a mechanism of inclusion:

> "This is not a city where there is great enthusiasm for influencing behaviour. That just doesn't fit with Almere where people have the space to be allowed to live the way they want to live. That's what we are. And then suddenly taking very far-reaching measures to influence behaviour, that's not going to work. So we dialled it down a notch in the strategy." (I06)

4.4.7.2 Switching

Switching, the second form of network-making power, refers to making and breaking links between different networks or actors. The expert panel contained two important switchers in particular: I10 and I04. Flevofood (I10) successfully connected with the UFS in sharing a common goal on promoting regional food. I10's powerful position in the expert panel did not come about in isolation, which he explained when describing how he was invited because of his connections with for the municipality:

> "I am one of the people in Almere who happens to be in this network, who happened to make the choice to find this important for myself, so then roads naturally meet. I talk a lot with [I14] for example from the municipality, and as a result you are in the pot of people who are also asked and you also do more projects with them." (I10)

Evidently, being actively engaged in a broader network on food and particularly with the municipality functioned as a mechanism of inclusion into the food governance network around the UFS.

Secondly, I04 was a powerful switcher as he had been involved in food in Almere for over 20 years. He created many different initiatives, associations and networks around food in Almere, which he connected to the practice committee and stakeholder meeting. Although his personal network included many citizen initiatives, these were largely not actively switched onto the governance network. In this respect it is important to mention that, contrary to Flevofood, most citizen initiatives were small-scale and

lacked the resources and time to invest in engaging in networking. This functioned as a mechanism of exclusion.

Aside from the expert panel, Flevo Campus was another important switcher. Flevo Campus combined institutional, research and entrepreneurial networks and regularly organized meet-ups where different food actors from Almere met. I14 mentioned the Flevo Campus as an important platform where food is often discussed informally. Informal discussions and networking thus also appeared to play a role in urban food governance, but these are not captured in our conceptual and methodological approach focused on explicit in- and exclusion in the network.

Finally, within the municipality, switching also happened through choosing which policy domains to connect to the UFS, which was decided within the municipality. The domains of economy and health were switched on as the two central pillars of the UFS:

> "If you limit sustainability to one councillor, the topic will remain small. So it's a fundamental choice to make the subject as broad as possible so that it's not always on the plate of the councillor on sustainability. It's a logic to strengthen the support capacity in the council. So when the question was, who is going to pull the cart, it was fairly obvious that the councillor of health would do it because food is often associated with health." (I06)

4.5. Discussion

In this discussion, we first reflect on our empirical findings followed by a theoretical reflection on the value of using Castells for our case.

4.5.1 Empirical reflections

Our findings illustrate how challenging multi-actor governance is when the power still resides largely with one node (the municipality) that controls most mechanisms of in- and exclusion. We identified various mechanisms. Firstly, the municipality setting the rules of inclusion on how to participate in the network withheld individual entrepreneurs from entering the network and contributing to its program. This was because of the way participatory practices were designed – with a lot of talking and a lack of financial compensation. Secondly, the municipality demonstrates the tension between inclusive versus efficient governance: how to balance getting things done with including diverse stakeholders in the process. Van de Griend, Duncan, and Wiskerke (2019) similarly highlighted the constant trade-off between the proactive and reactive role of the municipality of Ede, the Netherlands, in engaging with citizen initiatives

around food. Thirdly, the municipality struggled with balancing 'raising awareness about food system issues' with 'guaranteeing meaningful participation', similar to the findings of Van de Griend et al. (2019). The eventual role of the municipality of Almere as facilitating rather than as normative illustrates the result of this struggle. This was considered to be the best fit with its citizen population, which was perceived as passive and reluctant about government interventions. This perception did however result in the exclusion of citizens from the governance network.

The above analysis shows how in particular municipal employees and their frames about citizens exercised power in the network. By primarily understanding citizens as 'not much engaged with food', citizens remained out of view and out of power in creating the UFS. However, our findings uncovered that citizens were actually active in the domain of food – albeit largely in practices outside the scope of the network, such as foraging or allotment gardening. These everyday practices were mostly not switched onto the formal network, indicating a discrepancy between local, practical knowledge and expert knowledge (Cheyns, 2011; Hebinck & Page, 2017). This threatens the legitimacy of the UFS as a strategy for the whole of the city, rather than for only those included in the network. Moving forward in implementing the UFS, inclusive urban food governance could mean looking more closely at how to engage a diversity of citizens from across the socio-economic and cultural spectrum. This could mean taking into account how governance is exercised through these practices outside of the formal governance network, which involves looking critically at the way in which current in- and exclusion mechanisms prohibit citizen engagement in the urban food governance (Cornea, Véron, & Zimmer, 2017; Moragues-Faus, 2020).

These observations particularly matter as the role of cities in food system transformations continues to grow (Sonnino et al., 2018). As urban food governance responsibility is increasingly shared with multiple actors who are not democratically elected, the locus of governance may become further removed from citizens, highlighting the democratic tension of governance through networks (Sørensen & Torfing, 2005; Swyngedouw, 2005). A network is only responsible for those included in the network, whereas governments are ultimately responsible for all of their citizens, even if not directly included in the governance network. This calls for further reflection on the roles of citizens in urban food governance in a network society, exploring more direct forms of inclusion through for instance food policy councils or citizen juries (Smith & Wales, 2000).

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4.5.2 Reflecting on Castells

Using Castells to explore an urban food governance network has proven insightful for understanding the minute workings of power working in- and exclusion. His four types of power each highlight different mechanisms of in- and exclusion, through 'old-boys network' strategies (networked power), by declining participation with an appeal to the non-fit with existing codes (network power) or by the perceived (ir)relevance of the new actors for the network (networking power). For instance, while from a traditional networked power perspective the municipality holds most power over other nodes in the network, the concept of network-making power nuances this by also identifying some other influential actors such as Flevo Campus and Flevofood. This approach has thus proven useful to understand some specific dynamics of in- and exclusion.

On the other hand, although proposed as an addition to governance network theory for its elaborate analytical toolbox to understand in- and exclusion, the application of Castells' theory in this paper proved to be somewhat insufficient for grasping the actual nuances of in- and exclusion in governance processes. Several challenges can be identified. In Castells' approach, in- and exclusion is binary: a node is either in or outside of the network. The role of indirect representation ('indirect inclusion') of citizens through elections is therefore hard to capture in Castells' framework, as the political reality of urban food governance proves to be more complicated than his binary understanding. Moreover, next to formal participation or inclusion in the network, there are also informal processes taking place outside of the official channels that might also influence the programming of the governance network, e.g. through Flevo Campus or through citizen initiatives lobbying with specific civil servants or councillors.

Furthermore, even though some parties were officially included in the governance network, the extent to which their participation was meaningful – in the sense that their ideas and values were taken up – was also difficult to grasp using Castells. As some frustrated individuals indicated that participation is often 'a thin layer of veneer', it is evident that inclusion in a network does not necessarily equal inclusive urban food governance. Inclusion through formal participation is one aspect, but what this inclusion actually means in terms of interests being taken up into the programming of the governance network is something completely different (see also Klijn & Koppenjan, 2012). For instance, the UFS's thematic focus was already decided early on and was not substantially changed after additional stakeholders participated in the next phases of the UFS development. This could simply mean that they were recognized by all. However, it could also indicate that participation in the later phases technically meant inclusion in the process but not in terms of influence on content. This is hard to distinguish with Castells.

Finally, for Castells, network-making power is the most important form of power. Our findings support this by showing how other forms of power are linked to network-making power. For instance, the expert panel held network-making power by programming health and economy as the main topics for the UFS early on in the process. By doing this, they were able to exclude other domains and thereby also associated (groups of) actor(s), i.e. exercising networked power. While Castells' concept of network-making power is useful in bringing out how codes come about, a more detailed analysis on exactly how these codes exercise discursive power can be challenging using Castells. Additional analytical toolboxes such as critical discourse analysis could prove useful here, which specifically zooms in on how power relations are formed and reinforced through language (Fairclough, 2013). An example here is De Krom and Muilwijk (2019)'s analysis of Dutch food policy (for other examples see also Ehgartner, 2020; Tessaro, 2022).

Still, it remains difficult to conclude whether the perceived lack of nuance around discourse, the meaning of inclusion and the role of informal networks is due to the use of Castells or rather due to the choice of a network analysis as primary method. This is because a network analysis approach reinforces the binary distinction between in- and exclusion that is present in Castells, by primarily recognizing and mapping links between organizations, without leaving much room for the quality and content of these links. Further research could therefore explore using Castells on a similar topic but using for instance discourse analysis as a method, to evaluate what this theory-method combination might bring that a network analysis could not and to further assess the value of Castells' network theory of power for urban food governance.

4

Chapter 5

The elusiveness of inclusiveness:
a theoretical reflection

Chapter 5
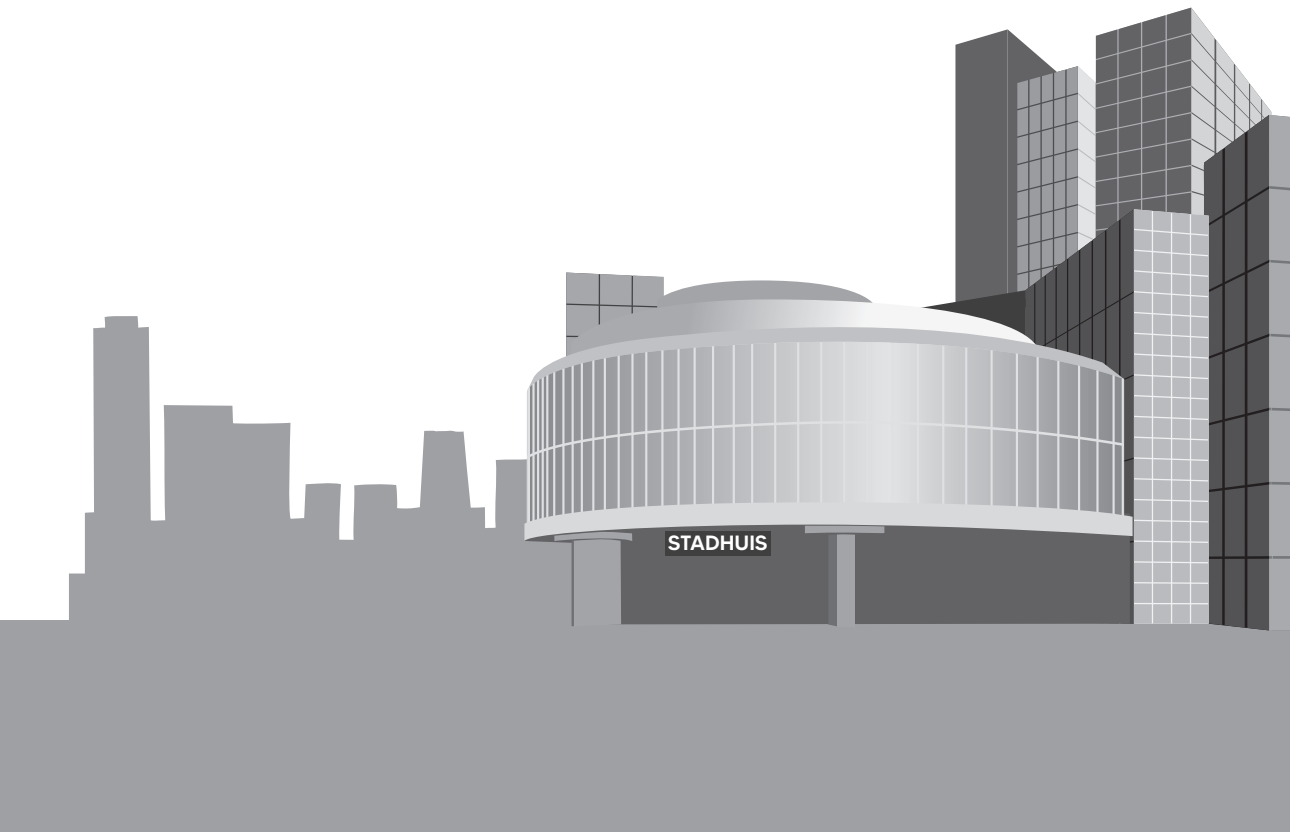
5.1 Introduction

This thesis explores what inclusiveness means for healthy and sustainable urban food system transformation by making use of two theoretical approaches: social practice theories and Castells' network theory of power. Social practice theories are the main theoretical point of departure and are used in Chapters Two and Three. In Chapter Four, social practice theories are supplemented by Castells' network theory of power to further specify power relations in governance practices and associated mechanisms of in- and exclusion.

In what follows, social practice theories are first positioned within the context of conceptualizing in- and exclusion. This serves as an introduction to explore in more detail the concept of 'inconspicuous sustainability' that is used in this thesis to approach in- and exclusion, particularly in Chapters Two and Three. This will be done by zooming in on practice theories' distinction between doings and sayings, the notion of shared access to meanings on sustainability, a link to Bourdieu's concept of (mis)recognition and finally through practice theories' underutilized concept of 'spaces of intelligibility', which serve in particular to link governance practices to consumption practices. Next, in- and exclusion is discussed using Castells' network theory of power. The chapter ends with a conceptual assessment of the complementarity of the two theoretical approaches used in this thesis, placing the two approaches in dialogue with each other to assess what both could learn from one another in grasping in- and exclusion.

5.2. In- and exclusion and social practice theories

5.2.1 Social practice theories

The topic of in- and exclusion is central to the majority of social theory, which has been concerned with social, economic and cultural differences and inequalities for decades (see for instance Bourdieu, 1984; Giddens, 1984). These theories can be broadly divided into approaches focusing on social structures and approaches focusing on human agency to explain in- and exclusion (Shilling, 1999). A prime example of the former is critical theory, which focuses on patterns of domination and power structures. This is primarily understood in terms of capitalism and its domination over society, but can also be applied to domination over the environment, in the specific bodies of literature on critical political ecology and critical sustainability. Critical theory can be considered a normative branch of social theory, being prescriptive rather than descriptive (Fuhrman, 1979). Critical theoretical approaches are adept at identifying issues of power, class and inequalities in a structural way. However, critics of critical theory note that it is often incapable of reconstructing after deconstructing, i.e. developing actual strategies

for political action and social change (Corradetti, 2012). After analyzing structural patterns of power and domination, it often stops short of recommending concrete ways to address these issues. Moreover, some of the agency, creativity and resourcefulness of consumers in their everyday food habits also risks getting lost in this perspective, which primarily studies macro-level structures. For instance, by focusing their attention on countering large-scale phenomena like capitalism and capitalist institutions, there is a risk of remaining too abstract and overlooking individual consumer strategies of coping with these institutions on a daily basis.

Whereas critical theory leans towards the structural side of explaining social reality, other approaches rely on agency. To illustrate, within consumption literature, some studies presume individuals act as more or less rational agents who primarily make decisions based on information. This so-called voluntarist approach can be seen for instance in studies focusing on people's attitudes towards sustainability or health to understand and explain consumption behaviour (for instance de Boer, Schösler, & Aiking, 2014; Hoek et al., 2011). Policy actions resulting from this approach revolve around information campaigns to improve consumers' sustainability and health outcomes. However, this type of approach risks overlooking the attitude-behaviour or value-action gap, which is the discrepancy that exists between consumer attitudes and their actual actions (Kollmuss & Agyeman, 2002). By focusing strongly on individual agency, the structural factors that also affect actual consumption patterns and associated inequalities are overlooked, such as time restraints, cultural factors and the broader social context. This voluntarist approach therefore may result in 'blaming the consumer' as the prime subject responsible for unhealthy and unsustainable food consumption.

In short, both those approaches that focus primarily on agency and those that focus on structure run into some conceptual and practical problems when trying to understand and address in- and exclusion. This is where social practice theories come in, forging a middle road out of the dualisms of the structure/agency debate (Schatzki, 2002; Shove, Pantzar, & Watson, 2012; Spaargaren & Van Vliet, 2000). Instead of favouring either agency or structure, practice theories conceptualize social reality as made up of 'practices' as the basic unit of analysis. While practice theories are diverse, common central elements are the importance of socio-material context – shared background understandings and objects shaping social affairs – and the importance of bodily routines. Studying practices means studying daily lives, by means of identifying habituated patterns of action, embedded and shared norms, physical and mental requirements, and material demands (Mylan, Holmes, & Paddock, 2016). A much-used definition of a practice comes from Reckwitz (2002), who defines it as "a routinized type of behaviour which consists of several elements, interconnected to one another: forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, 'things' and their use, a background knowledge in the form

of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge" (p.249). Putting it in more simple terms, Schatzki (2002) defines practices as 'doings and sayings', emphasizing the importance of both embodiment or activities, and knowledge or meanings in practices.

With its focus on practices as units of analysis, a practice theoretical perspective can offer an alternative to existing structural and voluntarist approaches to understanding in- and exclusion around healthy and sustainable food. Whereas structural approaches primarily focus on large-scale institutions and their contribution to exclusion, practice theories instead highlight the role of individuals in practices as 'knowledgeable and capable agents' (Giddens, 1984). These agents are considered as experts in their daily lives and are viewed as creative and flexible in finding coping strategies to handle potential or perceived exclusion. At the same time, a voluntarist and agency-centred approach is also avoided in practice theories, as individuals are not perceived as rational but rather as routinized beings, whose activities or practices are co-shaped by their socio-material context. As such, practices, not individuals or structures, are the sites of intervention, which means individual agents are not solely held responsible for overcoming exclusion but are also not overlooked entirely in their expertise and creativity. A practice theoretical approach can thus not only help overcome the dichotomy between agency and structure, but it can also rise above binary understandings of what in- and exclusion looks like.

However, despite providing some analytical tools for conceptualizing in- and exclusion, this issue has not been explicitly addressed from a practice theoretical perspective. Some efforts have been made, for instance by Blue, Shove, Carmona, and Kelly (2016) who, examining public health policy and associated health inequalities, show that the essential elements of some practices are not evenly distributed across society, but structured according to wider patterns of among others socio-economic inequality. Similarly, Blue, Shove, and Kelly (2021) also offer an understanding of obesity and obese societies not as an isolated issue but as "an expression of extensive complexes of practices that are continually on the move" (p.1053). Still, despite these scarce practice-based studies, in- and exclusion in relation to sustainable food practices remains underexplored. Indeed, practice theories have been criticized for lacking a solid understanding of how inequalities come about and more broadly of how power works (Sayer, 2013; Soron, 2019; Walker, 2013). Practice theories are most frequently used to study a variety of consumption practices, rather than investigating other food system practices such as provisioning or governance. Some scholars argue that with this focus on the micro-scale or daily life of consumers, practice theories fail to develop an explicit account of power that forthrightly addresses powerful agents such as governments and corporations, large-scale social structures and processes, and hegemonic ideologies (Soron, 2019). Soron (2019) adds that practice theories accommodate and qualify the tendency to give

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individuals all of the responsibility for sustainable food systems, rather than challenging this trend. Evans, Welch, and Swaffield (2017) counter this point by highlighting how a view from practice theories fundamentally criticizes governance approaches that target individuals. This is because practice theories actually emphasize the routine nature of much of consumption and argue for practice-based rather than individual actor-based policy interventions (Evans et al., 2017).

In brief, although some of these criticisms regarding power can indeed be addressed and countered from a practice theoretical perspective (see also Watson, 2017), practice theories do not illuminate everything about human life, including the precise workings of power (Nicolini, 2017; Schatzki, 2018). This is related to the nature of practice theories as a primarily ontological endeavour. Ontology is a branch of metaphysics concerned with questions on the nature of existence, and primarily aims to answer the question of what kinds of things or entities exist in the universe. Practice theories have a distinct 'social ontology', contending that the basic kinds of entities that exist in social life are social practices (Schatzki, 2002). Additionally, Schatzki (2011) as well as other practice theorists (Shove & Walker, 2010) contend a flat ontology. This means that there are no distinct levels of practice, but instead there is one single plenum of practices and arrangements, which do vary in terms of the strength of their connections with one another and the size of bundles they form (Schatzki, 2011).

As practice theories are ontologies, they are not a 'theory of everything' or a so-called grand theory, and can therefore form theoretical alliances with additional theoretical approaches that help better understand certain phenomena – granted they are ontologically compatible with the central thesis that practices are the basic reality (Schatzki, 2018). This applies to topics like learning or experience, and crucially also to the issue of power. This can be related back to Schatzki's view of practice theories' flat ontology, which makes it difficult to account for scale and hierarchy and to understand how some practices have a disproportionate amount of influence to orchestrate practices in other places (Watson, 2017). Watson (2017) identifies as the core challenge for practice theories and power to develop methods and concepts that can aid an understanding of "how arrangements and associations of practices and the heterogeneous flows they are bound with are produced through, and reproduce, systematic inequities in capacities to act, including to act in ways which shape others' capacities to act" (p.179). It is against the background of this ongoing theoretical debate within practice theories that this thesis positions itself with its contribution to understanding in- and exclusion in relation to healthy and sustainable urban food practices.

This thesis makes an effort to contribute to this debate, primarily through the concept of inconspicuous sustainability: actions that are sustainable in outcome but not

necessarily in intention (see particularly Chapters Two and Three of this thesis). In what follows, a more theoretical reflection will be provided on this concept of inconspicuous sustainability. It will be used as a conceptual tool to reflect on in- and exclusion.

This is done by first establishing Schatzki's view of practices as 'doings and saying'. This is essential to understanding the notion of inconspicuous sustainability, as it distinguishes between reflexive (conspicuous) and unreflexive (inconspicuous) actions (5.2.2). Next, the discussion moves to conceptualizing what in- and exclusion might mean in this context, by zooming in on access to shared meanings like sustainability (5.2.3). This is further supplemented by Bourdieu's concept of (mis)recognition (5.2.4). This concept proves useful not only to understand in- and exclusion in consumption practices, but also to study the interaction between governance and consumption practices (5.2.5).

5.2.2 Doings and sayings

Understanding the concept of inconspicuous sustainability leads to a fundamental discussion on a potential discrepancy between 'doings' and 'sayings', which is how Schatzki describes practices in their most basic form (Schatzki, 2002). Summarizing Schatzki's view on the relationship between doings and sayings, Nicolini (2013) writes: "From a practice perspective (…) language cannot always fully and exhaustively capture the understanding that underlies practice, and yet the two are inseparable. Practice is thus always linguistically under-determined yet language actively enters practice and makes it possible to transform what we do" (p.165). 'Sayings' primarily figure in Schatzki's concept of 'teleo-affectivity' and to an extent also in his notion of 'general understandings'. Teleo-affectivity refers to "a range of normativized and hierarchically ordered ends, projects and tasks, to varying degrees allied with normativized emotions and even moods" (Schatzki, 2002, p.80). Schatzki decentres the role of the individual practitioner and instead looks at the shared meanings across practitioners associated with the practice. It is 'what actors do together' that makes up the so-called teleo-affective structure of the practice:

> "A person need not be thematically aware of the teleological end points that determine what makes sense to him or her to do. (…) Teleo-affective structures are recurring and evolving effects of what actors do together with what determines this. They themselves, however, do not govern activity. Activity is governed by practical intelligibility, which is itself determined by mental conditions" (Schatzki, 2002, p.81).

Similarly, Taylor (1973) states that

> "meanings and norms implicit in [...] practices are not just in the minds of the actors but are out there in the practices themselves, practices which cannot be conceived as a set of individual actions, but which are essentially modes of social relations, of mutual action." (p.27)

Additionally, 'general understandings' as a concept is less well defined in Schatzki's own work, but has been elaborated by fellow practice theorists Welch and Warde (2017). General understandings, according to them, refer to 'ideational elements common to multiple practices' (p.2) and are both discursive and non-discursive. Welch and Warde (2017) also refer to Sayer (2013)'s account of values as a particular kind of general understanding, which he defines as: "'sedimented' valuations of things that have become attitudes or dispositions, which we come to regard as justified (…) and which merge into emotional dispositions, and inform the evaluations we make of particular things, as part of our conceptual and affective apparatus (Sayer, 2013, p.171). In brief, it is clear that the 'sayings' part of a practice refers to meanings or understandings that are shared across practitioners.

However, despite practice theories' focus on meanings being shared and localized with the practice rather than in individual actions, meanings or values within a practice are not always singular. While outcomes of practice – the actual observable activities, or 'doings' – can be the same, they can be performed with very different understandings among carriers of practice performing the doings. This leads to potential discrepancies between doings and sayings, and more importantly to a way of conceptualizing what in- and exclusion might look like from a practice theoretical perspective in relation to food practices. Such a discussion begins by zooming in on the concept of shared meanings or sayings in practices, and considering whether access to these shared meanings is open to everyone.

5.2.3 Access to shared meanings

Reflecting on access to shared meanings is directly relevant to the question of 'inconspicuous sustainability' and its consequences for understanding inclusiveness, by examining what meanings or understandings do achieve public acclaim, and which practices are not recognized as sustainable because they are not driven by the 'right' values. To what extent does the concept of sustainability need to be immediately – discursively – present in the practitioner's mind, when they are performing a practice that can be externally labelled as healthy or sustainable, based on scientific consensus? If people buy organic food but do so for health reasons only and do not care about the environment, is it fair to describe the practice as 'buying sustainable food'? If people are

thrifty and do not want to waste any food for financial reasons, can this be considered a sustainable practice? Can a practice be labelled or recognized as sustainable if the practitioner never heard of the word sustainable before or at least does not consider the environment in their actions?

This issue is particularly relevant in the current debate on sustainability transitions and can be considered in terms of in- and exclusion. Sustainability is commonly a value, meaning or understanding that is mostly discursively present among more well-to-do, highly educated groups and as such is related to a certain cultural repertoire that is not accessible to everyone (Donald & Blay-Palmer, 2006; Guthman, 2008; Johnston, Rodney, & Szabo, 2012). Walker (2013) illustrates this issue on the field of energy consumption, with his empirical comparative examples of people technically performing the same 'doings' in terms of consuming little energy, but for very different reasons or motivations. For some, keeping the temperature low in the house is done out of principle – using little energy to save the planet – whereas for others, it is a matter of sheer poverty – not having enough money to pay for the heating bills.

Walker (2013) notes that access to certain sustainable practices can be restricted because the practice has certain embedded norms and rules, which makes the opportunities of participating in these practices exclusive. He then moves to supplementing practice theories with Sen (1985)'s capabilities approach to better grasp how this process works. This approach emerged as a criticism of using economic welfare as the essence of measuring human progress, in a quest to establish what constitutes an inclusive method for assessing human quality of life, making it an explicitly normative theoretical approach. The capabilities approach somewhat resembles practice theories in its basic premise that human life is a set of 'doings and beings', or 'functionings' (Sen, 1985). These functionings are achievements of a person, which are informed by the capability set available to them, which in turn is determined by resources and the physical and social environment (Sen, 1985).

Combining practice theories with a capabilities approach, Walker (2013) notes that the key question becomes whether you as an individual have the capabilities needed to successfully integrate the elements required for an effective performance of the practice. Walker (2014) subsequently makes a point of emphasizing the important role of not only materials (such as money) and competences (such as knowledge) as fairly evident elements, but also of meanings as the third central practice element that one does or does not have access or rights to in order to 'successfully' perform a practice:

> "Meanings, the third category or 'element', are less obviously subject to the notion of a right to something. In one sense, the political articulation of a right to sustainable living is itself an attempt to give a particular normative meaning to everyday forms of practice. But it would be wrong to see 'sustainability' meanings as necessarily having a primary status in the actual embedded meanings and images of what constitute more sustainable practices, or for culturally embedded and evolving meanings to be as readily subject to governance measures. Even so it would be incumbent on involved actors to promulgate meanings that promote inclusive recruitment into sustainable practices" (p.54)

In looking for a normative basis for understanding inequalities in practices, Walker thus turns to Sen and his capabilities approach. This approach is not prescriptive in describing what inclusion should look like, but instead takes a more process-oriented understanding of normativity, where the primary point is that people have the right to being able to make certain choices or other. However, a drawback of this approach in relation to practice theories is that the capabilities approach is rather focused on the individual as the basic unit of social analysis. This approach therefore lacks the relational approach that is central to practice theories, which looks at practices as its core units of analysis and studies the relationships between different practice elements like meanings and materials, as well as between different practices.

5.2.4 (Mis)recognition

A more practice-based alternative for understanding in- and exclusion can be found with Sayer (2005), who builds on Bourdieu and conceptualizes inclusion as having access to the practices and ways of living that are valued by society. According to Sayer, factors like socio-economic status or class render this access highly unequal and thus have a major impact on the possibility of achieving valued ways of life that bring recognition and self-respect in society and as such perpetuates exclusion. Sayer bases this analysis on Bourdieu and in particular his concept of (mis)recognition, particularly relevant to this discussion.

Understanding Bourdieu's notion of misrecognition requires a brief turn to basic view of the human condition of relationalism. This is provided by Atkinson (2019) in his in-depth study of Bourdieu's work, which will be used as the basis for this conceptual excursion. What makes humans unique according to Bourdieu is their capacity to manipulate symbols, which on their own have no significance but acquire their meaning within a system of other symbols, and often in oppositional relationships. Central to Bourdieu's thinking is that the significance of symbols is anchored in social life. This means that different societies may also attribute different meanings to different sets of symbols and oppositions, and that meanings are entirely randomly attributed. Our lives are characterized by intersubjectivity: we are essentially 'beings-perceived' by others and

define ourselves by distinguishing ourselves from others using symbols (such as money, physical characteristics etc.). This intersubjectivity also means we are fundamentally dependent on recognition from others. We need to be recognized by others in order to have purpose in life, and this is what ultimately motivates why we do what we do, according to Bourdieu. Within our distinct societies, we all establish certain regimes of recognition that hold power over others.

This is where symbolic capital emerges: some symbols carry the recognition of being worthy or justified, and those possessing this symbolic capital are seen as more worthy and justified than others. The ability to define what counts as symbolic capital is called symbolic power by Bourdieu, which if it is very strong can result in 'doxa', the deepest layer of accepted knowledge about the world. The opposite of symbolic power is symbolic violence, which happens when other properties or characteristics are downgraded. Ultimately, however, what counts as symbolic capital is always arbitrary, as it is socially defined within societies by those holding symbolic power. Because of the random nature of what is being recognized by others as worthy, Bourdieu prefers to call this phenomenon 'misrecognition' instead of recognition. When some arbitrary symbol or property is perceived as inherently worthy, conferring power onto those possessing this symbol, this is not because it *is* worthy but because it is being misrecognized as such.

This brief introduction to Bourdieu's notion of (mis)recognition provides a useful analytical concept to further elucidate how in- and exclusion takes place around healthy and sustainable food practices. For instance, taking a Bourdieusian perspective, Paddock (2016) illustrates these dynamics of (mis)recognition in the context of alternative food. She demonstrates how class culture plays out in the practice of alternative food consumption, as it is being used by middle class alternative food consumers to distinguish between 'us' and 'them'. Instead of being claimed by one (middle-class) group of consumers, the author calls for the field of alternative food consumption being recognized as a highly differentiated terrain. Paddock (2016) primarily uses misrecognition to conceptually understand why certain groups are excluded from alternative food consumption and are accordingly moralized for not eating well. The concept of misrecognition could however be used in a different way as well, i.e. to understand how meanings of sustainability themselves as symbols get misrecognized. By using a particular symbol (i.e. an explicit engagement with sustainability) to understand what is accepted and recognized as sustainable food consumption, those not conforming to this symbol risk being excluded by not being recognized as worthy or just.

5.2.5 Governance and spaces of intelligibility

In what follows, Bourdieu's concept of (mis) recognition will be applied to understanding in- and exclusion not only in food consumption practices as illustrated above, but also

in food governance practices and in particular, in the interactions between these two types of practices.

Bourdieu's concept of (mis)recognition can be connected to another concept from practice theories, i.e. what Nicolini (2013) refers to as 'spaces of intelligibility' when explaining Schatzki (2002)'s account of practice theory. Schatzki (2002) strongly relies on philosophers Heidegger and Wittgenstein, who both emphasize the importance of 'intelligibility', which refers to how we make sense of things. Intelligibility is only possible when there is a background of having a prior understanding of a certain situation. This prior understanding is in turn also informed by other practices, which in this way create their own 'spaces of intelligibility': "[w]hat something means depends very much on the practice at hand and the intelligibility space constituted by it. A hammer can thus be understood as a tool, but also as a prize, or a symbol of people power" (Nicolini, 2013, p.177). These spaces of intelligibility are always collective and historically determined. They are primarily related to the element of meanings or norms: what practice or activity is being recognized as something or other: what meaning is given to it? Evidently, there is a clear link to Bourdieu's conceptualization of (mis)recognition.

Although Schatzki uses the concept of spaces of intelligibility in a rather abstract sense, it is interesting to explore to what extent this concept can be applied to governance practices. As food policies increasingly aim to promote healthy and sustainable diets among citizens, it can be debated whether sustainability as a value needs to be shared and promoted as such within these policies. There appears to be a dominant narrative or hegemonic understanding that determines the way in which food consumption practices are understood, made sense of, and labelled; or in Bourdieusian term, the way in which practices are (mis)recognized. The way we understand, assess or classify a practice is dependent on other practices and practice elements.

This dynamic also takes place within governance practices, performed within a certain space of intelligibility that recognizes some activities as sustainable and others not. In particular, consumers from lower socio-economic and ethnically diverse backgrounds and their food practices tend not to be recognized as being environmentally engaged. The focus on sharing the meaning, understanding or value of environmental concern obscures certain activities with actual positive environmental impact that are performed by those not deliberately invoking environmental concern as motivations for their actions. For instance, a young urban professional gone vegan tends to be considered as a green consumer, yet a migrant who refrains from eating meat because of their faith, or a type 2 diabetic who cuts meat from their diet for health reasons, is not recognized as sustainable. People from lower socio-economic classes or different cultural backgrounds are not consciously 'doing sustainable food' (Katz-Gerro, Cveticanin, & Leguina, 2017;

Malier, 2019) and as such, tend to also remain outside of the scope of food policies engaging explicitly with sustainability.

Halkier and Holm (2021) also engage in this debate by exploring the contributions of a practice theoretical perspective to understanding the healthiness of food practices of people with a socioeconomic disadvantage. They also suggest a return to Bourdieu, through the notion of 'social hierarchy', which although not explicitly mentioned, can be directly linked to the concepts of (mis)recognition, doxa and symbolic power. Social hierarchy, Halkier and Holm (2021) state, is at play when normative judgement is applied "when differences in the ways in which something is practiced [...] are understood on a scale of being more or less appropriate" (p.758). Such normative judgement plays an important role in social inequality, as also highlighted by Sayer (2005). Social hierarchy, according to Halkier and Holm (2021) is thus related to normative inequality. Applied to food governance practices, this means that some forms of doing sustainable food are considered better than others in particular spaces of intelligibility, as illustrated above.

The (mis)recognition of certain people's practices in spaces of intelligibility as performed and perpetuated through governance practices can thus constitute a kind of exclusion. Governance practices may rely on a certain kind of explicit normative concern with sustainability, recognizing only certain practices as 'sustainable' and not others in their space of intelligibility. To understand how such hegemonic understandings come about in a space of intelligibility, practice theories can thus shed some light not only on consumption but also on governance practices around food – albeit in an abstract manner.

5.3 In- and exclusion and Castells' network theory of power

Practice theories proved valuable for understanding the dynamics of everyday life and the mechanisms of in- and exclusion present in food consumption practices. However, in thinking about in- and exclusion related to governance practices per se I selected a different theoretical lens for Chapter Four of this thesis, i.e. Castells' network theory of power. This approach was chosen because I argue that while valuable for understanding micro-level dynamics of in- and exclusion in everyday life, practice theories do not sufficiently provide analytical guidance on how to study the same topic of in- and exclusion in a larger social process such as urban governance, where power is at play. This is related to the flat ontology advocated by prominent practice theory scholars like Schatzki (2011), which means all practices operate at the same level or in the same 'plenum' of practices.

This premise renders it more difficult to distinguish between more or less powerful or institutionalized practices or to distinguish hierarchy, which is relevant when studying governance practices. Castells' network theory of power presents a theoretical lens that helps bring to light the dynamics of in- and exclusion taking place in these practices. His theoretical perspective specifically focuses on in- and exclusion by taking a network perspective to identify diverse forms of power. In what follows, I will briefly summarize and further reflect on the value of Castells' network theory of power in this way to study in- and exclusion in governance practices.

Applying Castells in a local instead of global context may provide interesting results in terms of power. Castells' prime contribution to understanding in- and exclusion is in his meticulous conceptualization of how different kinds of power work and specifically, how they work through different kinds of mechanisms of in- and exclusion. Using Castells' theory showed that, despite aiming for a more horizontal and participatory process in the urban food strategy, actual inclusion of diverse stakeholders is hampered by a still existing power concentration with the municipality as the traditionally most powerful actor. Castells' theoretical perspective is able to reveal how this dominance plays out in different ways, such as in how the power to determine the type of interaction favoured in participation practices excludes some actors, or how the power to be able to select people for specific roles in the governance process leads to an advantage for well-connected people. This theoretical view thus provides an additional analytical dimension to understanding in- and exclusion, by highlighting the roles of power therein.

Moreover, the network perspective also provides a dynamic and processual perspective of what in- and exclusion looks like. Although binary in its understanding of in- and exclusion, a networked approach is more dynamic in showing how different forms of power are constantly being reproduced in the network and also are subject to change, as new content enters the network and different actors can become in- or excluded. Castells' theoretical perspective allows for a detailed understanding of how certain practices are switched onto the existing dominant network determining the content of the food strategy, and how others (diverse urban food provisioning and consumption practices) are not, which demonstrates one kind of in- and exclusion. Castells' network theory of power serves well to explain how this switching is either successful or unsuccessful, emphasizing the importance of discourse, codes or frames that create certain lenses through which particularly policymakers as the most central network node view the governance process. In brief, Castells' fine-tuned conceptual toolbox allows for discovering how these processes of in- and exclusion work and particularly brings in a sophisticated and sensitive understanding of different ways in which in- and exclusion can come about, based on distinct types of power .

However, the largest potential shortcoming of Castells' approach is its binary understanding of in- and exclusion, which derives from its technologically oriented network approach. This poses two main problems. First, it tends to overlook the large grey area of stakeholders being neither in- nor excluded, but using spaces that are more informal to influence a governance agenda. Secondly, inclusion into the network in the formal sense does not equal being meaningfully included, in the sense of one's content reaching the core of the network's program, which can be considered essential to truly being inclusive. These nuances around in- and exclusion currently are not covered in an approach based on Castells, which undermines its value in using it to study in- and exclusion in urban food governance practices.

5.4 Practice theories and Castells' network theory of power on in- and exclusion

In an effort to follow Schatzki (2018)'s advice on forming theoretical alliances around certain topics, this thesis explores a novel theoretical alliance by using Castells' network theory of power to understand in- and exclusion to supplement practice theories. This thesis can therefore be considered as an attempt to see whether a network theory perspective can complement a practice theoretical account of in- and exclusion, and vice versa. It is important to note that neither practice theories nor Castells' network theory of power are so-called 'grand theories', i.e. theories that aim to explain all of social reality. This implies that it is possible to partly supplement these theories with another concept or theoretical perspective. Having used both practice theories and Castells to explore in- and exclusion within this thesis, I will now reflect on the points of overlap and divergence between the two theoretical perspectives.

Practice theories and Castells' network theory of power may not seem like the most straightforward fit, but upon inspection, there is significant overlap. Both theoretical approaches have a shared understanding of agency: not individual actors but practices (practice theories) or networks (network theory) have agency. In both approaches, shared ideas, values and meanings are central to shaping these practices or networks. Within practice theories, meanings are core elements of what makes up a practice, and those are inherently shared among different practitioners. Within network theory, the function of networks is to strive towards a shared value or goal, arranged through programs. Additionally, both theoretical approaches share an emphasis on the role of materiality in shaping social reality.

Furthermore, in both approaches social reality is very dynamic and interconnected. This is most evident in a network theory approach, which construes social reality as

a network that is constantly evolving and creating new links and connections. The same can be observed in social practices, which bundle and link and form rhizomatic structures (Nicolini, 2013), that may look a lot like networks. Moreover, Castells' concept of counter-power or resistance emphasizes the unruliness of everyday life that is also core to practice theories: it is hard to steer human behaviour in one particular way and exercise top-down power. Finally, Castells' network-making power of switching shows similarities with practice theories' concept of 'bundles of practice', where practices can be linked through a shared element in different practices.

Besides these many resemblances, there is one core and essential difference between practice theories and Castells' network theory of power, which is ontological. As explained before, most practice theorists posit a flat ontology, which presumes that everything takes place on the same ontological level and that no hierarchy can be distinguished between different phenomena, as everything essentially is practice (Schatzki, 2011). By contrast, it is at least debatable whether Castells' network theory can be considered to possess a flat ontology. Network theory explicitly distinguishes between the global and local scale, in its discussion of networks and flows, space of flows and space of places. It therefore appears that hierarchy exists in Castells' theory, which is incongruous with practice theories' flat ontology. Indeed, this is precisely the reason why Castells' network theory of power was added as a conceptual toolbox to explore in- and exclusion in urban food governance, as practice theories' lacked a full-fledged account of power and power differences. In brief, it appears practice theories and Castells' network theory of power share a number of premises but are ultimately not entirely ontologically congruent.

Still, supplementing practice theories with another theoretical perspective that is well developed in terms of conceptualizing power does add value to understanding what in- and exclusion looks like in urban food practices. Practice theories' flat ontology makes it less suitable to highlight power in and between different practices and how this might result in in- and exclusion, which is what Castells' network theory of power can offer. On the other hand, Castells' network theory of power can also benefit from some practice theoretical input to further understand in- and exclusion in governance networks. Castells' perspective is very much focused on individual actors or nodes and their role in the (governance) network. What a practice theoretical perspective can provide is a focus on practices instead, which introduces a different dimension to understanding what inclusive governance could mean. This involves a view that is less about understanding which specific people or institutions are in- or excluded in processual terms, but more about looking at what practices are in- and excluded, which provides a more dynamic and nuanced view of in- and exclusion. Both theories thus have theoretical affordances as well as shortcomings in grasping in- and exclusion.

5.5 The elusiveness of inclusiveness

In brief, what has become clear from this conceptual reflection is that from a theoretical perspective, inclusiveness indeed does turn out to be elusive. In- and exclusion appear to mean something else in relation to consumption practices than in relation to governance practices, in the relationship between these two types of practices, as well as when viewed from different theoretical frameworks.

First, in- and exclusion in urban food consumption practices is mostly about (access to) public, shared recognition. It is more strongly focused on meanings attributed to certain actions, i.e. about intelligibility. With their focus on routines and ordinary activities, practice theories are well suited to study consumption practices, and in particular the in- and exclusion that emerges and disappears throughout processes of de- and re-routinization. The notion of inconspicuous sustainability as outlined in section 5.2 serves as the operationalization of what in- and exclusion means in this domain.

By contrast, in governance practices, in- and exclusion is largely about power: who holds the power to shape up practices around participation, to decide who is invited to the table, to determine the content of the governance practices. This type of in- and exclusion is well served by Castells' network theory, which has an elaborate conceptual toolbox to identify these power dynamics and subsequent mechanisms of in- and exclusion. Practice theories are simply less conceptually equipped to grasp the power dynamics that characterize governance processes. Crucially, this is not to say that practice theories are not appropriate at all to study governance, but simply that it could benefit from a more strongly developed theoretical view on power as provided by other social theorists, such as Castells.

However, practice theories can add something to the study of governance which network theory is less articulate about, which is the way they conceptualize the role of meanings and intelligibility. Although aspects like content, programs and codes are very important to network theory, they are approached in a more binary way, i.e. as a result of being in- or excluded from the network. What a practice theoretical perspective can add is a more dynamic and sensitive understanding of how in- and exclusion can come about through meanings and understandings, using the concept of inconspicuous sustainability. This concept is not limited to understanding in- and exclusion in consumption practices, but importantly also translates into the relationship between consumption and governance practices to grasp a different kind of in- and exclusion than Castells can offer, i.e. normative in- and exclusion and inequalities (as elaborated in section 5.2.5). Indeed, it appears that different theoretical lenses reveal different types of in- and exclusion, in different kinds of practices.

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Finally, this chapter has shown how practice theories needs additional theoretical tools to conceptualize power – and as such, in- and exclusion across different types of practices – in a useful way. Within this thesis, practice theories was therefore supplemented with Castells' network theory of power to study in- and exclusion in governance practices. For future research, it could be interesting to study in- and exclusion in relation to power differences not only in governance practices but beyond, in other types of practices. This could then involve additional theoretical approaches that have a well-developed view of power and largely match with practice theories, for domains where Castells' network-oriented perspective might not be the best fit. By exploring different theoretical alliances around power in such a way, practice theories can strengthen its grasp of in- and exclusion in particular practices.

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Chapter 6

Conclusion

Chapter 6
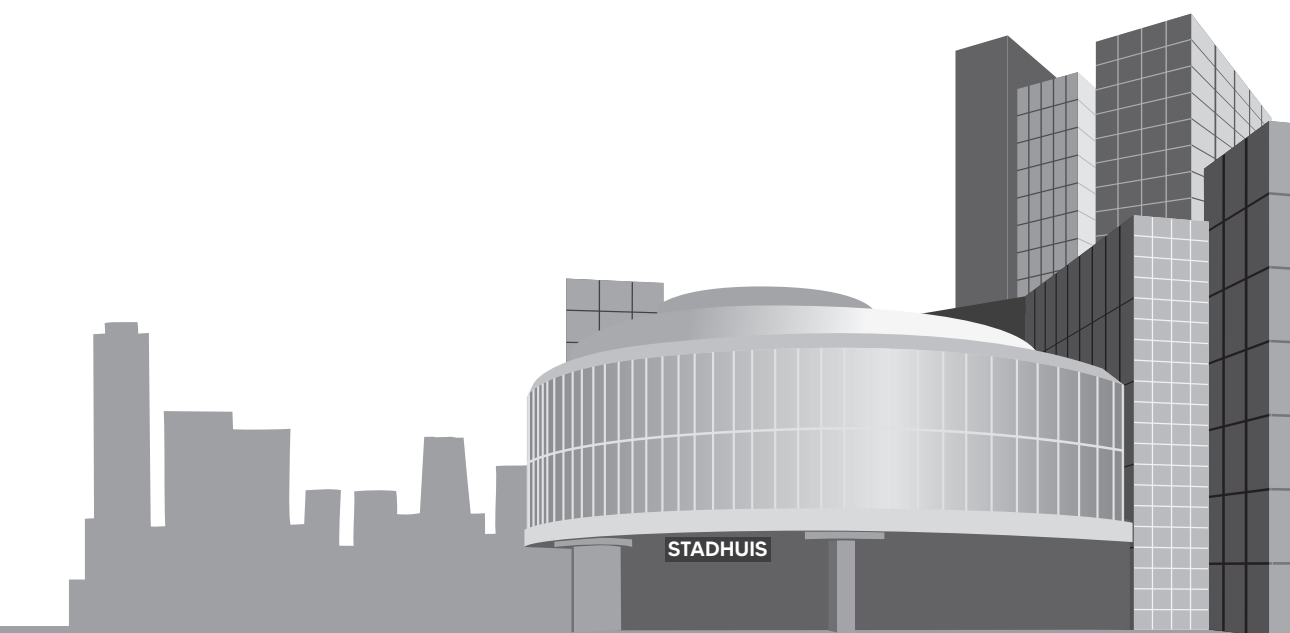
6.I Introduction

This dissertation started with my co-promotor sending me 'into the wild' – i.e. the city centre of Almere – to get a feel for what was happening in the city around food. I wandered around the sociological wonderland of Almere and took in the urban diversity of its population, the many ethnic stores, the contrasts of having a McDonalds right next to the city hall where the municipality was advocating healthy and local food, and of the weekly fresh market with 'Flevoland honey' sourced from Hungary rather than from Flevoland. So many people with their own everyday lives, with daily food practices performed often routinely rather than reflexively, swarming around our little university building opposite the city hall, where we promote healthy and sustainable lifestyles through education and research. How to bridge the gap between these worlds, given the challenges of our times in terms of the need for healthier and more sustainable food practices? Moreover, what might be hindering or excluding certain citizen groups from consuming more sustainable and healthy food? My impression was that for many of these citizens, these concepts of health and sustainability did not readily fit within the dynamics of their daily lives and food practices. This guided my focus on studying inclusiveness by looking at a person's own understanding of health and sustainability, which I assumed to be relevant for understanding how mismatches may occur between official dietary guidelines on health and sustainability, and people's own norms and knowledge around food. After this immersion in the context of Almere, I went back to my desk and worked out a research plan to further study these questions, which translated into three main research questions:

1.   How is in- and exclusion lived out in urban food consumption practices in relation to health and sustainability? (*Chapters Two and Three*)
2.   How does in- and exclusion play out in urban food governance in relation to health and sustainability? (*Chapter Four*)
3.   What does in- and exclusion in relation to health and sustainability in urban food practices mean from a theoretical perspective? (*Chapter Five*)

The thesis that resulted from this initial introduction to Almere has explored the conceptualization of inclusiveness in relation to healthy and sustainable food, through consumption practices and governance processes. Chapters Two and Three introduced two different groups of citizens, selected based on cultural background and socio-economic status, respectively. Both chapters used a similar, qualitative methodology to study everyday food practices and particularly the process of de- and re-routinization within these practices, either after migration (Chapter 2) or after a health diagnosis (Chapter 3). These chapters both applied a practice theoretical perspective. Chapter Four has taken a different empirical, methodological and theoretical focus, exploring

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questions of in- and exclusion in governance processes with an emphasis on the in- or exclusion of citizens from groups with different cultural background and socio-economic status. Castells' network theory of power has been used to further understand inclusiveness. Finally, Chapter Five builds on the empirical foundations provided by Chapters Two, Three and Four, using these studies to inform a dual approach to urban living labs.

In the remainder of this chapter, first the research questions will be answered (6.2). Next, the key points of this thesis are briefly reiterated (6.3), which is followed by potential policy implications (6.4). The chapter closes with a future research outlook (6.5).

6.2 Answering the research questions: key findings

Within this thesis, the concept of inclusiveness has been explored in different ways: with different conceptual foci (consumption and governance) and different theoretical perspectives. Despite these different approaches, there is still a common thread running from Chapters Two and Three into Chapter Four, which is the central role of framing and the associated lack of recognition and representation of certain sustainable and healthy food practices.

> 1. *How is in- and exclusion lived out in urban food consumption practices in relation to health and sustainability?*

This question has been explored in Chapters Two and Three among two different groups of consumers. Chapter Two highlights three main dimensions of dynamics of inclusiveness: 1) lifestyles are dynamic, 2) the performances of food practices are dynamic, and 3) food environments and food practices exist in a dynamic, co-creative relationship. These different types of dynamics all serve to illustrate that the concept of inclusiveness is intangible, as it is constantly in transition along with changing food practices in a changing food environment, and cannot be pigeonholed into a static conclusion on what is and is not inclusive about food practices. What emerges from the chapter is that consumers, when faced with a lack of a certain culturally appropriate food, are creative, capable and knowledgeable in adjusting practices to their new context and in the process also co-shaping the new context. This counters the understanding of this 'vulnerable' group as 'excluded' and instead highlights the resourcefulness of their everyday food practices.

Chapter Three similarly highlights dynamics and change, as it explores the relationship between health and sustainability in terms of reflexivity after a health diagnosis of

type 2 diabetes. This chapter particularly emphasizes the flexibility and adaptability of everyday food practices in fostering sustainable food futures. It foregrounds the ordinary, mundane sustainability present in everyday food practices in transition, referred to as 'inconspicuous sustainability'. By shifting the focus to actual performed food practices instead of measuring attitudes and understandings of sustainability, the chapter brings to light previously hidden sustainable elements in food practices of also people with a lower socio-economic status.

2. How does in- and exclusion play out in urban food governance in relation to health and sustainability?

This question has been explored in Chapter Four. A practice theoretical perspective with its focus on mundane activities has been instrumental in the consumption studies of Chapter Two and Three to problematize understandings of inclusiveness there. With Castells' network theory of power, the focus shifted to governance practices and looked at the broader network of actors, in which consumption practices also played a role but more in the background. This conceptual lens brought an additional dimension of inclusiveness, i.e. the distinction between inclusion in terms of process and content. For process, being included can equal being allowed to participate in a (food governance) network. In terms of content, being included can mean getting one's interests and agenda programmed into the (food governance) network. This brings to the fore the distinction between direct and indirect representation in governance practices (as in democracy). It also raises questions on how inclusive urban food governance could actually look like, and whether that should take place within the formal governance spaces such as developing an urban food strategy, as there appear to be mismatches between these governance practices as largely orchestrated by the municipality, and the everyday ordinary food practices of the urban population.

3. What does in- and exclusion in relation to health and sustainability in urban food practices mean from a theoretical perspective?

Chapter Five elaborated on this question by diving deeper into the conceptual embedding of in- and exclusion in the two theoretical approaches applied in this thesis: practice theories and Castells' network theory of power. These theoretical lenses have been used to study in- and exclusion in different settings, which also renders different understandings of what such in- and exclusion looks like. From a practice theoretical perspective, in- and exclusion is understood within the context of food consumption practices, which leads to a focus on access on shared meanings or values, inspired by Bourdieu's notion of (mis)recognition. Looking at governance practices, the role of power in defining in- and exclusion was more prominent, which was served well by

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Castells' network theory of power. Both approaches share a dynamic and processual approach to understanding in- and exclusion, but also differ in how they conceptualize in- and exclusion. While not completely compatible, both theories can benefit from borrowing from each other's conceptual toolbox, as together they can provide a more multifaceted approximation of what in- and exclusion looks like in urban food practices. In brief, using different theoretical tools to study the same concept has furthered this thesis' understanding of in- and exclusion and particularly the elusive nature of this concept, which will be elaborated upon next.

6.3 A practice-theoretical approach to urban food practices: the elusiveness of inclusiveness

This thesis set out to explore how in- and exclusion is lived in urban food practices. By unravelling the complex processes around in- and exclusion, the almost default categorization of people into excluded, vulnerable groups based on the dominant frames of culture and socio-economic status has been challenged. Current usage of the concept of inclusiveness therefore appears slightly problematic, as it is rather binary, static and normative, and may overlook the diversity and dynamics of everyday food practices and how they change.

In brief, this thesis argues that inclusiveness is elusive. It demonstrates that what constitutes in- and exclusion is nuanced and dynamic as it is negotiated in a variety of everyday food practices. Instead of looking at the in- and exclusion of certain people or urban groups, it is therefore essential to also recognize this diversity of urban food practices in policy and governance, to indicate multiple pathways of transition to a healthier and more sustainable food system. This core message will be further elaborated below, exemplified by key findings from the different chapters.

This thesis has revealed the variety of urban food practices that are performed daily by citizens, which crucially contain many different elements that are relevant in terms of health and sustainability. What has become clear from this thesis is that these practices and their elements are very dynamic in nature. They change as other elements in life change, whether due to migrating to another country, to giving birth, to being diagnosed with an NCD, or to starting a job. Next to these lifestyle influences, food consumption practices also change as food environments change, partly in response to and interaction with changing food consumption practices. Chapters Two and Three both illustrate a broad diversity of different practice trajectories, with distinct moments of reflection and changing performances of practices for different individuals, as they each engage in

different bundles of practices and move in different contexts. The process of de- and re-routinization of food practices thus takes shape differently across the board.

Within these processes of de- and re-routinization, what emerges as a theme across Chapters Two and Three is the role of reflexivity in relation to healthy and sustainable elements of food practices, and in particular, the diversity in the way it manifests. For instance, reflexivity on health can come from different sources, as both Chapters Two and Three illustrate: from learning about a new culture and its diet, from falling ill, or from changing medical care practices. Similarly, as particularly Chapter Three but also Chapter Two explores, sustainability-related reflexivity is not the most critical factor in assessing what sustainable elements might actually be present in diverse urban food practices. These findings have a bearing on how the role of reflexivity in changing consumer behaviour should be understood. As Burningham and Venn (2020) state, transition is a 'drawn-out process of ongoing change' (p.115), which is situated within changing bundles of practices and a changing socio-material context. This means using reflexivity as an access point for changing practices to becoming healthier and more sustainable is still useful, but the important caveat is that it should be understood in its embeddedness within the dynamics of everyday practices. What is ultimately clear from both Chapters Two and Three is that change, also towards more healthy and sustainable food consumption, is definitely possible in food practices, but also that grasping exactly how it comes about and how to stimulate it, requires an eye for diversity rather than a one-size-fits-all-approach.

Moving from consumption to governance practices, the broad variety in how health and sustainability forms a part of food consumption practices, either reflexively or unreflexively as 'inconspicuous sustainability', is not represented and recognized in current governance practices, as Chapter Four has demonstrated. As a result, current governance tools such as an urban food strategy to advance health and sustainability in food practices are liable to missing the point and skipping over the potential different pathways to healthy and sustainable food practices, as lived by these diverse urban population groups. In the urban food strategy development process in Almere, citizens were perceived by municipal officers as unengaged and uninterested in food questions. However, the different thesis chapters each present many examples of how these supposedly uninterested citizens actually did participate in food-related practices that carried interesting and relevant health and sustainability aspects. For instance, Chapter Four mentions how Almere's multi-ethnic population makes use of the 'edible city' by foraging fruit and nut trees, which takes place outside the scope of current formal food governance practices. Another example, from Chapter Two, is how Syrian citizens were making their own cheese from local raw milk from nearby farms – a prime example of local food consumption using a short food supply chain. Chapter Three provides the

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example of people who pick up kilos of potatoes and carrots left as food waste on the fields of Flevoland after the harvest.

As this variety of food practices and their potential for healthier and more sustainable food consumption are not recognized in current governance practices, opportunities are missed to actually advance more diverse transition pathways to healthy and sustainable food practices. For instance, Chapter Two illustrates how Syrian migrants frequently shop at ethnic stores. These types of stores are often not targeted in discussions about making the food environment healthier and more sustainable by increasing their offer of local food, which instead often focus on large chain supermarkets where the majority of consumers are presumed to shop. However, the diversity of food consumption practices should be appreciated as it creates room for more than one way to arrive at the much-needed healthy and sustainable food system transition.

This mismatch between consumption and formal governance practices and existing frames of how certain groups of citizens are perceived, may therefore result in actual exclusion. This happens as some citizens and their food practices risk not being taken seriously in terms of needs and preferences as well as their potential contributions in a formal governance tool such as an urban food strategy. This creates a kind of paradox: although inclusiveness is dynamic and elusive, at the same time practices can actually be excluded from governance processes when a static and normative frame of in- and exclusion is applied. In other words, when working with false assumptions, the marginalization of certain groups and their food practices that informs these false assumptions may actually come about. When their diverse understandings and practices around healthy and sustainable food are not taken seriously, neither are their needs and preferences to further advance these healthy and sustainable elements. To address this paradox, it is essential that the diverse food practices of urban residents are addressed through multiple political strategies that recognize numerous pathways of transition, as is further explored next in discussing potential policy implications of this thesis.

6.4 Potential policy implications

The current exclusion of certain urban population groups and their food practices from contributing to or participating in formal food governance practices appears to be easily taken for granted. Chapter Four illustrates how municipal officers and other stakeholders from the city of Almere almost brush over the reality that people with diverse ethnic backgrounds neither participate in food initiatives in the city nor in the urban food strategy development. Similarly, the vast majority of participants in the food strategy development were highly educated, and when confronted with these demographics,

interviewees quickly accepted this as reality rather than displaying efforts to include them more actively. Lip service was however being paid to the importance of being inclusive and involving a diversity of stakeholders across particularly cultural backgrounds, which was emphasized by the facilitators during the live stakeholder meeting of the food strategy participants. There are many ways in which this discrepancy between words and actions around inclusiveness can be explained, such as that policy has a normative direction and tends to include initiatives that go along with their future oriented policy vision. To realize more effective urban food governance, however, it is essential to observe more closely what is happening in the diverse urban food consumption practices across all citizen groups – i.e., moving beyond the 'usual suspects' of white, highly educated people. This can be approached in two ways: 1) by making efforts to include a broader variety of stakeholders in current formal governance practices, but also 2) to look for alternatives to the formalized food governance practices that better align with the variety of current and future food consumption practices.

To start with the former, to truly become more inclusive in urban governance practices, more effort should be made to include a more diverse set of participants. When no explicit efforts are being made at involving a diversity of stakeholders in any governance process, the same group of white, middle-class and highly educated citizens is likely to show up and the search for a more diverse set of stakeholders stops, as this thesis also illustrated. However, representing urban diversity in governance is important, to make sure needs and preferences of these groups are being taken into account, to actually recognize their contributions to healthy and sustainable food consumption practices in more diverse and perhaps more hidden ways and to eventually create more targeted and therefore more effective policy instruments.

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To make this more concrete, an example can be found in the new City Deal 'Food on the urban agenda' (2021) that was signed as a follow up to the first City Deal Food, and in which Almere also participates. Here, specific attention is paid to the ambition of affordability of local food for low-income population groups. Although this may seem like a promising sign that more attention is paid to looking beyond the usual suspects for sustainable food consumption, this ambition is based on assumptions that may very well be wrong and risk becoming an exclusionary frame. First, the ambition appears to be based on the assumption that particularly low-income population groups do not consume local food. Looking at the admittedly small but still relevant samples of population groups within this thesis, these assumptions cannot be supported, as in both Chapters Two and Three there are quite some examples of people consuming local food, even with lower incomes. Secondly, another assumption here is that affordability is the key problem that prohibits low-income groups from buying local food, which presumes a strong financial motive informing food choice. However, as again this thesis

has illustrated, the central role of finances in determining dietary choices is at least debatable and is definitely more nuanced than a simple assumption that a low income equals lacking money for local food. Instead, different consumers make different choices about what they consider most important, as different meanings compete in deciding what to eat, such as household members preferences, concern over animal welfare, time availability, to mention but a few. Therefore, rather than putting the affordability of local food for low income population groups on the agenda in this way, it would be more relevant to first understand what considerations are at play around local food consumption and also to know who are currently on track and who are not.

This requires taking a more responsive approach to participatory processes informing an instrument like the City Deal or an urban food strategy. A responsive approach builds on the notion of responsive evaluation, which essentially evaluates policy interventions qualitatively by engaging with stakeholder in dialogues about the various meanings and qualities of their practices (Abma, 2006). It thus departs from the premise of plurality and diversity of perspectives. While the notion of responsive evaluation is focused on the final assessment of the effectiveness of policy programs, a responsive approach should also be applied at the start of such programs. This approach fits particularly well within the domain of food and sustainability, where this thesis has demonstrated a broad variety of meanings and practices.

In addition, while going the extra mile to involve a broader, more diverse group of stakeholders in a governance process is an important first step, this should also come with appropriate participation formats that stakeholders identify with. This way their contributions can be well received, meaning multiple types of participatory arrangements are needed. A responsive approach thus requires a change in the practices of policymakers, both at the start of the process in recruiting stakeholders for participation, as well as in shaping the process to leave room for plurality. Policymakers should also recognize the way regular participation processes may often result in the exclusion of certain urban groups, and accordingly more actively put in an effort to engage these groups.

However, more is needed beyond opening up existing participation processes of formal governance practices to a broader group of stakeholders, which brings us to the second core policy implication of this thesis. More creative and perhaps more radical ways of looking for urban food governance, outside current formalized practices, should be explored. Rather than formatting governance practices according to the rules of the network as decided by core nodes such as the municipality, governance practices taking place outside this formal network should also be recognized.

This connects to the concept of everyday governance, as explored in Cornea, Véron, and Zimmer (2017). This approach is inspired by Foucauldian notions of dispersed power, which is relational and enacted in and through practices in socio-material contexts, thus fitting with a practice theoretical approach. Using this understanding of power implies decentring (local) government as the locus for governance studies and instead looking at the dispersed practices of both state and non-state actors that result in everyday forms of control (Cornea et al., 2017). This perspective also echoes Schatzki (2014)'s description of governance through practices within the domain of sustainability: "movement towards sustainability will neither result from all-powerful governors nor take the form of distinct large-scale shifts, but will arise instead from the efforts of innumerable would-be governors, distributed through the practice-arrangement plenum, to foster appropriate developments in their specific domain of governance" (p.26).

To be inclusive then means to take seriously all the would-be governors within their own practices: the Syrian migrant and their know-how about seasonality and freshness, creating changes in the food environment with their local cheese-making practice; the person with type 2 diabetes and their new skills, competences and meanings around health that change food consumption practices; and the numerous small citizen food initiatives that govern food by creating new meanings, competences and materials each in their own ways. These are elements of distributed and dispersed governance, which are very important to take into account from a municipal perspective. Formal governance practices should then be considered as practices that bundle with all these small ways of governing food in ordinary daily food practices.

Finally, this practice-based approach to governance crucially also involves recognizing the unruliness of everyday life, accepting that not everything can be steered and fit into a single mould. Instead, opportunities should be sought in access points around moments of reflexivity. Disruptions in routines, be it through migration or through a health diagnosis, will often lead to changing food habits, but not in the same ways and at the same time for everybody. There is not one but multiple recipes for changing consumption practices. Understanding how and where the most promising points of intervention are to advance more healthy and sustainable food therefore again requires an appreciation of the heterogeneous realities of daily food practices.

6.5 Future research outlook

Based on this thesis, five suggestions for future research are presented here. The first three relate to theory and the latter two to methodology. Starting with the theoretical outlook, future research could first of all further explore what in- and exclusion means in

different kinds of (food) practices, using different theoretical toolboxes. This thesis has selected two perspectives that each had their merits and downsides in grasping in- and exclusion, as discussed in detail in Chapter Five. Whereas practice theories went a long way to study in- and exclusion in everyday life, it essentially missed a well-developed conceptualization of power, which evidently also plays a role in understanding in- and exclusion. Future research could therefore explore different theoretical alliances between practice theories and other perspectives that have a well-developed view of power, to further understand what in- and exclusion means in different types of practices.

Secondly, future research could explore what in- and exclusion in relation to health and particularly sustainability looks like in other domains than food, such as nexus practices of energy and water. Food is a rather new field for urban governance, which is quite different from the domains of energy or water that have been around for a while. As such, they may be organized in different kinds of networks and be characterized by different kinds of power relations. It could be interesting to explore whether similar or different dynamics emerge in the interactions between consumption and governance practices in these domains, which in turn then could also trigger different ways of addressing the dynamics of in- and exclusion that might be valuable for the domain of food as well.

Thirdly, future research should further explore exactly how everyday governance is happening through a great number of urban food practices. Chapter Four in particular highlighted how besides the formal governance network, also many informal activities play a role in how content enters the governance network. Future research should specifically explore such alternative forms of 'everyday governance' taking place outside formal governance spaces. This could be done using Castells' concept of 'resistance' or 'counter-power' in conjunction with a practice theoretical approach that is particularly suited for studying the mundane, everyday forms of governance taking place outside the formal scope.

Fourth, moving on to more methodological research recommendations, this thesis used a social network analysis in combination with Castells' network theory of power. This seemed to fit well conceptually given the focus on networks. Yet, a network analysis approach by nature wields a binary approach of being either in or out, which may not do justice to the more fluid nature of urban food governance, where the boundaries between formal and informal networking are less strict. Future research could therefore explore additional methods for understanding the more nuanced elements of in- and exclusion in urban food governance network, for instance using a critical discourse analysis approach.

Fifth and final, what applies to policy in terms of taking a more responsive approach also goes for research and recruitment. When studying food practices to advance a more inclusive, healthy and sustainable urban food policy, it is essential to aim for getting balanced and representative samples, rather than easily accepting that the sample once again mostly constitutes of the 'green elite' as so often happens. The concept of Urban Living Labs (ULLs) provides one interesting way to harness the competences and knowledge of citizens with diverse backgrounds and in different roles (Brons, van der Gaast, Awuh, Jansma, Segreto, & Wertheim-Heck, 2022). ULLs are spaces of real-life experimentation where citizens can be actively engaged to create solutions to urban challenges (Ballon & Schuurman, 2015). Taking a practice theoretical approach to a ULL means to conceptualize it as the daily life, of which citizens are the experts, and which aims to uncover the – unreflexive – agency of a diverse urban population in co-shaping the food system. For recruitment, this also includes culturally appropriate methods such as recruiting within local communities through key figures. Future research could further apply this ULL approach to stimulate inclusive citizen engagement in research and thereby ultimately also in governance.

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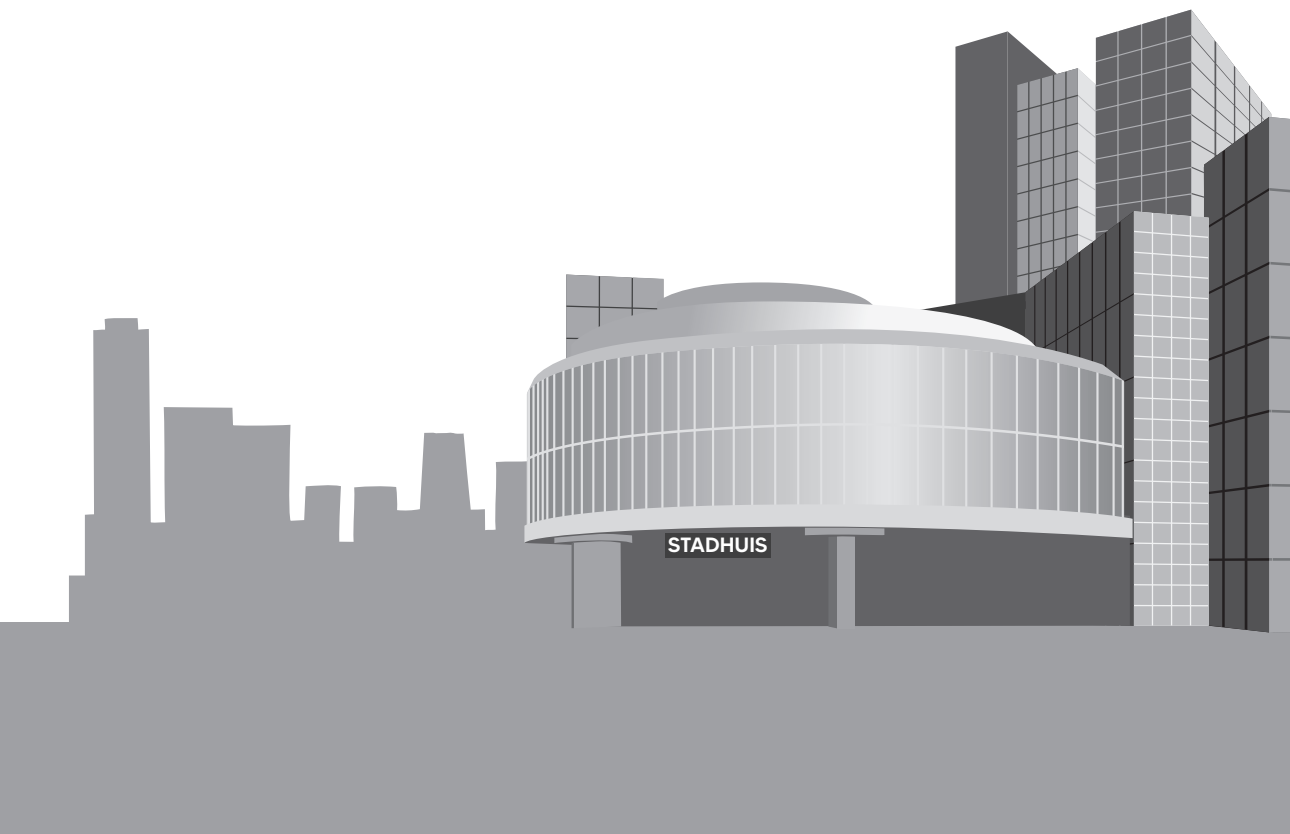
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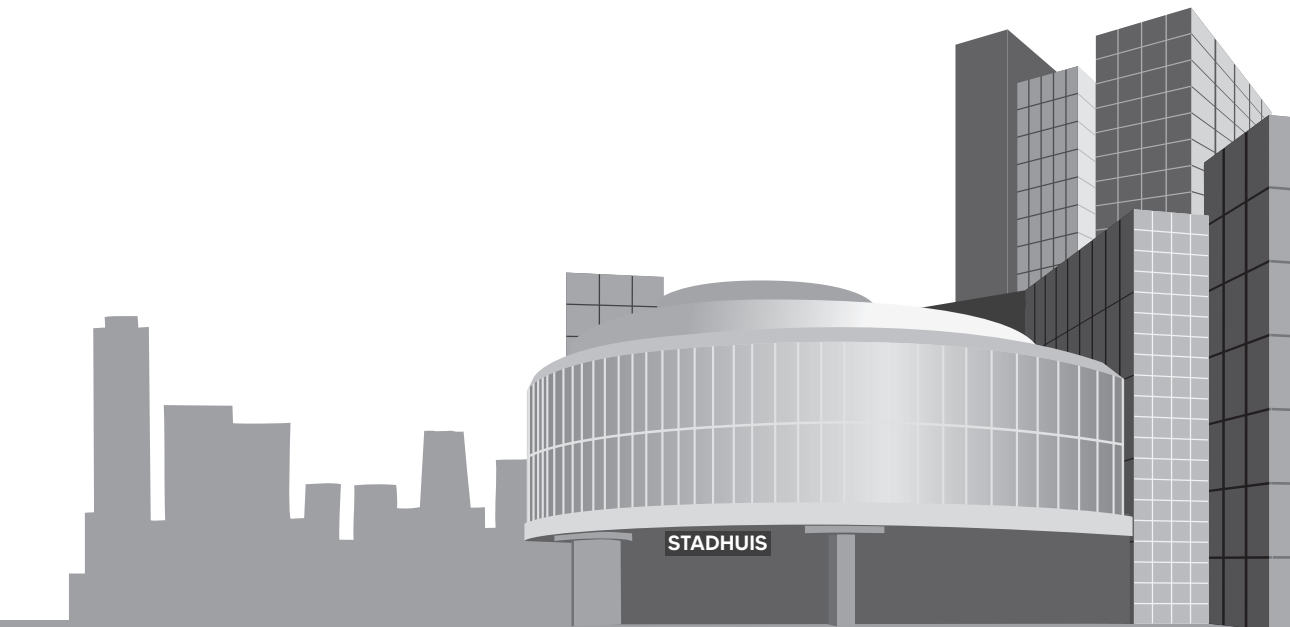
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Appendices

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Appendices

Appendix A *Chapter 2: Interview guide [translated from Dutch]*

1. Do you remember what you ate yesterday?
    a. Where and with whom?
    b. Is it a typical meal? How yes / no?
    c. Where did you do your groceries for that meal?
        i. Is that where you usually do your shopping? Where else?
        ii. Do you ever go to the farmer for groceries? (past / present) Market?
        iii. How often do you do your shopping?
        iv. Do you have a vegetable garden/balcony?
2. Do you remember what your favourite food was as a child? (e.g. birthday)
    a. Was it different from a normal day or comparable? How?
    b. Do you still eat / make that? Why yes / no?
3. Do you remember cooking for the first time?
    a. Where / when?
    b. What did you cook?
    c. Do you still cook this way or differently? How?
    d. Who taught you how to cook?
    e. Where did you do your shopping?
        i. Has that changed? (food environment)
        ii. How often did you do your shopping?
4. Do you remember the first meal you prepared in the Netherlands?
    a. Where / when?
    b. What did you cook?
    c. Who did you eat with?
    d. Do you still cook this way or differently?
        i. Kitchen? (electric cooking) Oven, freezer, storage space?
    e. Was it different or comparable to what you consumed/prepared in your own
       country?
    f. Where did you do your shopping?
        i. Has that changed? (food environment)
        ii. How often did you do your shopping?
5. Can you buy/consume what you want?
    a. Why yes/no? What do you do then then?
    b. Which products are difficult?
    c. Do you sometimes not buy something for financial reasons? What do you do
       then then?
6. What is your understanding of health/healthy food?
    a. Do you consider the Syrian kitchen to be healthy or unhealthy? Why?

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7.   What is your understanding of sustainability/sustainable food?
8.   Demographics
        a. Where in Syria are you from? City or countryside?
        b. How long have you been in The Netherlands?
        c. Who are you here with?

Appendix B Chapter 3: Interview guide [translated from Dutch]

Introduction

0.   I'm studying eating habits among residents of Almere. Among other things, I am curious about how you do your shopping and what you think about health. You will remain anonymous. All answers are relevant, nothing is 'wrong' or 'right'
     a. Do you mind if I record the conversation?
     b. And do you want to sign the informed consent form?

Food acquisitioning

1.   Can you tell me what you ate yesterday?
     a. Where and with whom?
     b. Was that a typical meal for you? How was it/not? Where did you do your shopping for that meal?
         i. Is that where you usually do your shopping? Where else?
         ii. Do you ever go to the market - farmer - ethnic supermarket - vegetable garden for your groceries? (now/former)
     c. How often do you do groceries?
     d. When do you do groceries?
     e. How to shop [means of transport]
2.   To what extent are you able to buy what you want in terms of food?
     a. For what reasons yes/no?
     b. To what extent do you sometimes not buy something for financial reasons?
         i. What do you do then?
     c. [How] would you eat differently if you had more money?
     d. Do you ever buy products you don't know? What reasons yes/no?
3.   Are you satisfied with the food environment in your neighbourhood / place of residence? *[now/past]*

Food preparation

4.   What are we cooking today?
     a) Do you cook this more often?
     b) How is this different/similar to how you normally cook?
         a. Week vs. weekend?
     c) Do you enjoy cooking?
         a. Easy/hard?
     d) What is important for you in cooking? *[convenience, health, money, familiar, safe…]*
     e) Do you cook with a recipe?

f) Do you ever prepare products you do not know?

  a. What do you do with them?

g) How long do you like to cook?

h) How often do you cook?

  a. What do you do for food if you don't prepare food? *[ready-made meal, frozen, delivery, eating out…]*

i) For whom do you cook?

  a. With whom do you eat?

j) What quantities do you usually cook? *[per day, multiple days]*

  a. What do you do with leftovers?

k) To what extent are you able to cook in the way you want to cook?

5. What you remember about the first time you cooked?

a) Where/when?

b) What did you prepare?

c) Where did you learn to cook?

d) To what extent do you still cook in this way?

6. Where do you usually consume food?

a. Do you have any other activities during eating? [watching TV, gaming, work, …]

Type 2 diabetes

7. Type 2 diabetes

a) Since when?

b) Treatment? [*Huisarts, POH, specialist, anders....*]

c) Medication?

8 To what extent and how has type 2 diabetes influenced your food habits?

a) Easier/harder to cook? Shop?

b) New knowledge and/or competences?

c) Influence on the household?

d) What do you miss most?

e) What would you do differently in terms of food shopping and cooking if you did not have diabetes?

Kitchen

9. To what extent are you satisfied with your kitchen?

a) What kind of stove *[gas, electric, …]*

b) How and where do you store food?

a) Do you have enough space?

c) Oven/freezer?

d) To what extent is there anything you miss in your kitchen?

Health and sustainability

10. What is your idea of health / healthy food?
    a. Would you say you eat healthy or unhealthy on average? For what reasons?
11. Do you have any other allergies influencing your food habits?
12. What is your idea of sustainability / sustainable food?
    a. To what extent are you worried about the environment?
    b. [if applicable] To what extent do you feel capable of acting on your concern?

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Appendix C Chapter 4: Sample interview guide stage I [translated from Dutch]

N.B. For these interviews, each interview guide was slightly adapted to fit the expert's expertise. This is a sample interview guide used to interview I02, a former employee of the municipality of Almere. Other interview guides used in this stage were largely similar.

General

1. Who are you? Could you tell a little more about your organization/business? [a*ctivities; main goals, successes, failures?]*
2. How would you characterize the local political context? *[economic, social, cultural, environmental]*
3. How important are questions around cultural and socio-economic background in your work?

Food in Almere

4. Since when have you been involved in the food movement in Almere?
   a) Can you tell us something about the developments in this movement: who started it, who set the agenda, where are we now?
   b) To what extent can certain parties be identified that dominate the food movement? Changes? [*content, process, parties]*
   c) To what extent were there certain parties that were not able to join? For what reasons?
   d) What is important for a food-related party in Almere to be able to participate in the food movement? / to have an influence on 'food policy'?
   e) How do you see the role of the Flevocampus in the food movement in Almere? And the role of the municipality of Almere?
   f) Who were the most important (3-5) parties for you to work with?
5. What do you know about the food strategy?
   a) *[explain core points of food strategy]*
   b) To what extent do you think the food strategy represents what the people/organizations/institutions of Almere stand for?
6. What is meant by 'citizen power' in the municipality of Almere? And with the spearhead 'healthy city for and by citizens' in the current food strategy?
   a) To what extent do you think it is important that citizens are involved in the development of food policy? (Cultural / socio-economic diversity? Possible blockages?)
   b) If yes: how could citizens become more involved in developing food policy?

    c) To what extent do you think citizens are involved in food strategy? [co-creation]

7.   Do you have any other comments?

Demographics
8.   Demographics:
    a) Age
    b) Gender
    c) Nationality
    d) Education level

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Appendix D Chapter 4: Network survey [translated from Dutch]

Welcome to this survey, which is addressed to you because of your involvement in Almere's food strategy. This survey is being conducted to understand the network of those involved in the food strategy: who are you and who do you work with? The questionnaire consists of two parts:

      A) questions about your organization's network around food;

      B) questions about Almere's food strategy.

Completing the survey will take approximately 5 minutes. By completing this survey, you agree to the use of this data for scientific research and for possible further input in the continuation of the food strategy. This survey was developed by Anke Brons, PhD candidate at Aeres University Applied Sciences Almere and affiliated with Wageningen University.

Introduction

- What is the name of your organization?
- What is your position within that organization?
- What category does your organization fall into?
  - o Local government
  - o Regional / national government
  - o Civil society organizations
  - o Companies (incl. self-employed)
  - o Citizens
  - o Research institutes
  - o Other, namely:
- Where is your organization located?
- Does your organization receive external funding? (e.g., from government, businesses)
  - o Yes
  - o No

Part A) Your organization's network around food

In this part, we will first ask you to draw up your own top 5 of the most important parties around food for your organization with whom you are directly involved. You will then use this personal top 5 again and again when filling in the more specific sub-questions about these 5 parties.

- Who are the most important parties for your organization in your network (around food) with whom you have direct dealings? (name of organization and/or person)

  For example, you might think of:

- Who your organization works with a lot to achieve your goals as an organization around food;
- Who are your main customers when you produce food or from whom you buy food;
- Who supports your organization financially or on whom you depend financially;

1.
2.
3.
4.
5.

• On average, how often do you have contact with these parties? (using your own top 5 from the question above)

	Frequency				
	daily	weekly	monthly	every 6 months	annually
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					

• To what extent are you dependent on these parties for your survival? (again using your own top 5 from the question above)

	Dependency:				
	Totally dependent	Largely dependent	Partly dependent	Largely independent	Independent
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					

• What do you exchange with these parties? (again using your own top 5 from the question above)

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	(multiple answers possible)				
	Money	Information	Products	Influence	Other
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					

- In addition to direct cooperation, there may be parties in your network that are important to your organization, but with whom you only deal indirectly. What are the most important parties (max 5) for your organization in your food network with whom you have indirect contact? (if not applicable, go on to the next question)

    For example, you could think of:
    - Organizations that your organization considers allies in achieving your goals around food;
    - National or regional governments and their policies of food;
    - "end users" of your (food) product who are accessed through an intermediary organization.

    1.
    2.
    3.
    4.
    5.

Part B) The food strategy of Almere

- Which parties do you think should be represented in the drafting of Almere's food strategy? (multiple answers possible**)**

    o Local government
    o Regional/national government
    o Civil society organisations
    o Businesses
    o Citizens
    o Research institutes
    o Other, i.e.: ……………………………

- In your opinion, to what extent are these parties actually represented in the drafting of Almere's food strategy?

	Good	Sufficient	Moderately	Insufficient
Local government				
Regional/national government				
Civil society				
Businesses				
Citizens				
Research institutes				

• If you have any further comments on Almere's food strategy, please leave them here: …

Background
• What is your age?
> o 18-25
> o 26-35
> o 36-45
> o 46-55
> o 56-65
> o 66+

• What is your gender?
> o Female
> o Male
> o Other

• What is your highest level of education?
> o Primary education
> o Secondary education
> o MBO
> o HBO/WO+

• What is your nationality?

• Are you open to a possible follow-up interview about your network and Almere's food strategy?
> o Yes, my email address / phone number are: …
> o No

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Appendix E Chapter 4: Sample interview guide stage 3

For these interviews, each interview guide was slightly adapted to fit the expert's expertise. This is a sample interview guide used to interview I05, the process facilitator of the food strategy. Other interview guides used in this stage were largely similar.

General

1. Who are you? Could you tell a little more about your organization/business? [a*ctivities; main goals, successes, failures?]*
2. What role does the local political context play in your work? *[economic, social, cultural, environmental]*
3. How important are questions around cultural and socio-economic background in your work?

Food strategy

4. Food strategy process:
   a) Offer written out, who was formal client? (Flevo Campus funding?)
   b) The city, who do you think that is? Citizens, who are they? How do you define that?
      i. Whose food strategy?
   c) How did you proceed? How did you come up with the people you talked to? On what basis, where did you start?'
      i. Expert panel, guidance committee
   d) You invited certain people, what do those people represent to you?
      i. In terms of type of organization, in terms of content?
   e) Who have been well connected and who have not?
   f) Reflection: if you had done it again, would you have done it the same or differently?
5. Reflection on survey:
   a. What do you notice?
      i. Demographics; businesses & citizens moderately represented; central position for government (Municipality, Province) and research (Flevo Campus)
      ii. To what extent does that fit with your vision of what a food strategy is / of whom a food strategy is? Could it be different? How?
   b. Zoom in on inclusiveness.
      i. Has that been brought up, named by others?
      ii For what reasons might it not be working well? *[language, interest in food/ health/sustainability]*
      iii. What would you like to/could you do about it?

6.   What is meant by 'citizen power' in Almere municipality? And with the spearhead 'healthy city for and by the citizen' in the current food strategy?

a) To what extent do you think it is important that citizens are involved in developing food policy? *[cultural / socio-economic diversity? possible blockages?]*

b) If yes: how could citizens be more involved in developing food policy?

c) To what extent do you think citizens are involved in food strategy? *[co-creation]*

7.   Do you think COVID-19 plays a role in the process around the food strategy, and if so, can you explain?

8.   Do you have any other comments?

Demographics

Demographics:

a) Age

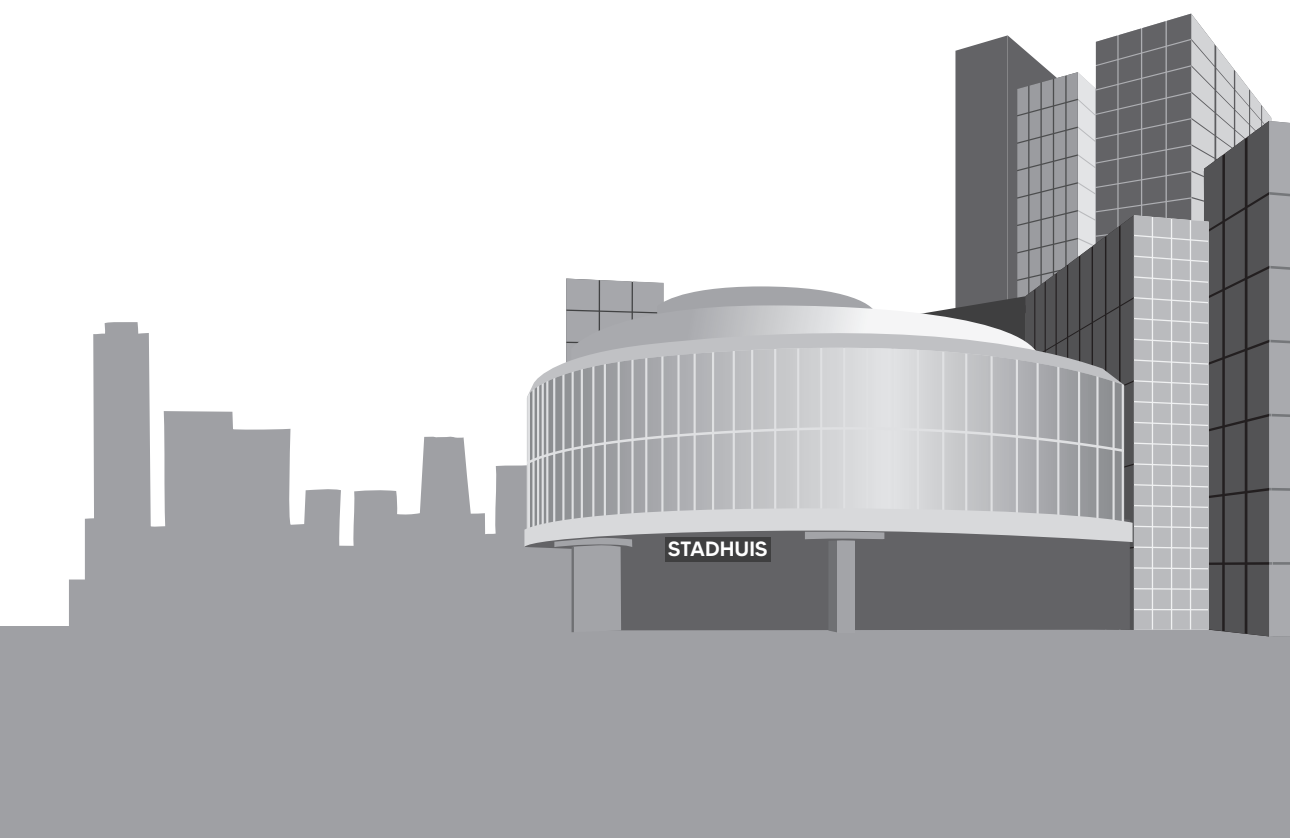b) Gender

c) Nationality

d) Education level

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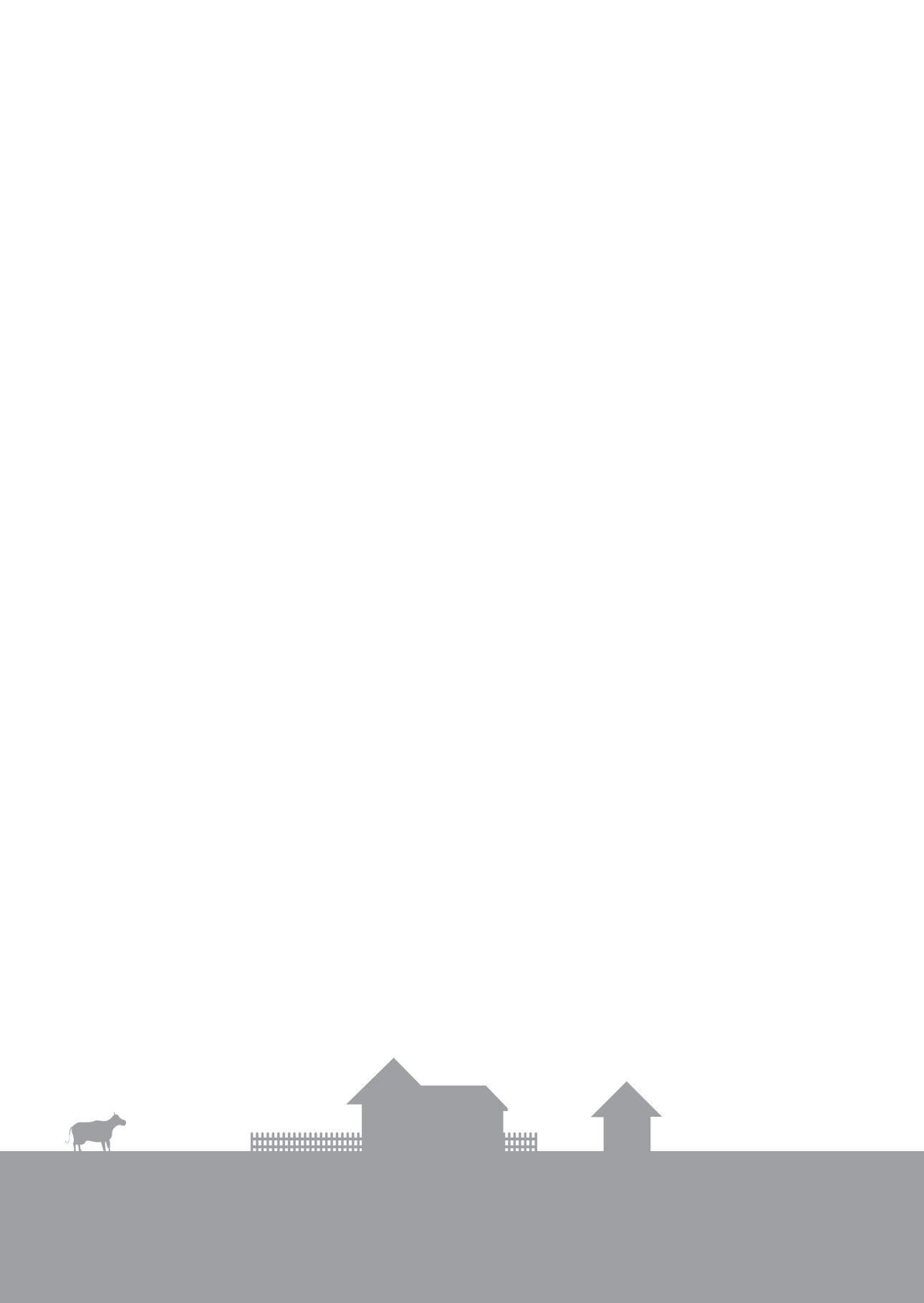
Summary
Samenvatting
WASS Education certificate
Publication list
About the author

Summary

As cities are growing in size and changing in demographic composition, new responsibilities in the field of food and inclusiveness emerge. While their populations get more diverse, urban governments are struggling with their newly emerging governance task around food system transformation towards health and sustainability. With this increasing urban diversity, differences between various socio-economic and cultural urban population groups also grow. Urban residents from lower socio-economic positions and from ethnic minority groups appear to lag in healthy as well as sustainable diets, and are underrepresented in food policy development. These apparent inequalities pose challenges to the food system transformation needed at the urban level, and have led to the call for more inclusiveness in urban food systems.

However, while the attention for more inclusive food systems is growing, precisely what it means to be more inclusive appears not to be very well defined. Existing approaches to understanding and addressing these inclusiveness challenges are problematic in several ways, as they are driven by binary understandings of in- and exclusion and overlook lived experiences. In this thesis, I therefore aim to contribute to this quest around inclusiveness by exploring dynamics of in- and exclusion that occur within and through social practices around food, i.e. food consumption and governance practices. In this thesis, both citizens' daily food consumption practices (Chapters Two and Three) and formal urban food governance processes (Chapter Four) are studied to understand how in- and exclusion is lived in practice. The primary empirical context for studying these questions is the Dutch city of Almere, as this provides an interesting case of a highly diverse city with growing administrative attention for food.

Chapter Two studies the cultural dynamics of inclusiveness in food practices of Syrian migrants, amid a changing food environment and changing lifestyles. The theoretical framework used is based on practice theories and methodologically, in-depth semi-structured life-history interviews are combined with participant observation. This chapter shows that inclusiveness takes different forms as migrants' food practices and the food environment change over time and space. The chapter finds that regarding health and sustainability in food practices, understandings and competences around particularly fresh food changed over time. This applied to both short- and long-term migrants, where making things from scratch with seasonal products was replaced with buying more processed products and out-of-season vegetables and fruits. The chapter concludes that the performances of food practices and their configurations in food environments and lifestyles are dynamic and cannot unequivocally be interpreted as in- or exclusive, but that a more nuanced understanding is required.

Chapter Three studies socio-economic in- and exclusion, by studying what the dynamics of de-and re-routinization of food practices of people with type 2 diabetes look like, and in particular their potential sustainability impact. This chapter departs from the hypothesis that people with type 2 diabetes have been confronted with a physical health issue which has spurred some reflexivity around food consumption. The chapter studies whether this reflexivity indeed occurs, and how this reflexivity subsequently relates to sustainability in food practices, through the process of de- and reroutinization of mundane food practices. Like Chapter Two, it uses a practice-theoretical approach and also takes a similar methodological approach, using in-depth interviews and observations during food shopping and cooking. Chapter Three illustrates a diversity in the extent to which food practices are disrupted after being diagnosed with diabetes. It concludes that reflexivity is not necessarily inspired only by being diagnosed with a major health issue, but that there are more factors determining whether or not lifestyle changes actually take place, such as experiencing bodily discomforts and broader societal attention to lifestyle change. In terms of sustainability, positive environmental effects could be identified 'piggybacking' onto changes in practices that were performed towards a healthier diet, such as diversifying protein intake and eating less processed foods. These effects were often not explicitly considered as sustainable by the participants themselves, and thus can be seen as "inconspicuous sustainability": sustainable elements in food practices that are not labelled as such.

Chapter Four takes a different conceptual focus and looks at governance processes rather than at consumption practices. It examines the governance network around Almere's emerging urban food strategy look like and studies what mechanisms of in- and exclusion can be identified within this process. Theoretically, the chapter uses Manuel Castells' network theory of power and methodologically, a network survey is combined with expert interviews. The chapter illustrates that the municipality is at the centre of the network, trying to balance inclusive versus efficient governance. This highlights the tension of governance through networks, as a network is only responsible for those included in the network, whereas governments are ultimately responsible for all of their citizens, even if they are not directly included in the governance network. This calls for further reflection on the roles of citizens in urban food governance in a network society.

Chapter Five provides a theoretical reflection on what in- and exclusion means from the two theoretical perspectives employed within this thesis. From a practice theoretical perspective, the concept of 'inconspicuous sustainability' as introduced in Chapter Three is elaborated as an operationalization of in- and exclusion. It is embedded in practice theoretical debates on doings and sayings or meanings, and particularly linked to one of practice theories' founding fathers, Bourdieu, and his notion of (mis)recognition. Next, an account of Castells' view on in- and exclusion is provided with a particular focus

on the role of power, after which both theories are compared and contrasted for their understandings of in- and exclusion and potential compatibility.

Finally, the concluding chapter of this thesis reflects on how a common element emerged amidst the different empirical and conceptual ways in which the concept of inclusiveness has been explored within this thesis. This common element has been the central role of framing and the associated lack of recognition and representation of certain sustainable and healthy food practices. By unravelling the complex processes around in- and exclusion, this thesis has challenged the almost default categorization of people into excluded, vulnerable groups based on the dominant frames of culture and socio-economic status. Instead, it has highlighted the variety of urban food consumption practices and the somewhat hidden sustainable and healthy elements within them.

As this variety of food practices and their potential for healthier and more sustainable food consumption are not always recognized in current governance practices, opportunities are missed to actually advance more diverse transition pathways to healthy and sustainable food practices. When citizens' diverse understandings and practices around healthy and sustainable food are not taken seriously, neither are their needs and preferences to further advance these healthy and sustainable elements, which might result in actual exclusion. This creates a kind of paradox: although inclusiveness is dynamic and elusive, at the same time practices can actually be excluded from governance processes when a static and normative frame of in- and exclusion is applied.

This thesis therefore argues that inclusiveness is elusive. It demonstrates that what constitutes in- and exclusion is nuanced and dynamic as it is negotiated in a variety of everyday food practices. Instead of looking at the in- and exclusion of certain people or urban groups or individuals, it is therefore essential to also recognize this diversity of urban food practices in policy and governance. To realize more effective urban food governance, it is therefore essential to observe more closely what is happening in the diverse urban food consumption practices across all citizen groups, to ultimately indicate multiple pathways of transition to a healthier and more sustainable food system. It is necessary to make an effort to include a broader variety of stakeholders in current formal governance practices, but also to look for alternatives to the formalized food governance practices that better align with the variety of current and future food consumption practices.

Samenvatting

Naarmate steden groeien en de demografische samenstelling verandert, ontstaan er nieuwe verantwoordelijkheden voor steden op het gebied van voedsel en inclusiviteit. Met de toenemende stedelijke diversiteit groeien ook de verschillen tussen diverse sociaaleconomische en etnische stedelijke bevolkingsgroepen in de stad. Stedelingen uit lagere sociaaleconomische posities en uit etnische minderheidsgroepen lijken achter te blijven op het gebied van zowel gezonde als duurzame voedsel, en zijn ondervertegenwoordigd in de ontwikkeling van voedselbeleid. Deze ongelijkheden vormen een uitdaging voor de transformatie van het voedselsysteem die nodig is op stedelijk niveau, en leiden tot de roep om meer inclusiviteit in stedelijke voedselsystemen.

Terwijl de aandacht voor meer inclusieve voedselsystemen dus toeneemt, lijkt echter niet goed te zijn gedefinieerd wat meer inclusiviteit precies inhoudt. Bestaande benaderingen om deze uitdagingen op het gebied van inclusiviteit te begrijpen en aan te pakken zijn problematisch op verschillende aspecten, o.a. omdat ze gedreven worden door binaire opvattingen van in- en uitsluiting, en voorbijgaan aan dagelijkse ervaringen. In deze dissertatie wil ik daarom een bijdrage leveren aan de zoektocht naar wat inclusiviteit in stedelijke voedselpraktijken betekent, door de dynamieken van in- en uitsluiting te onderzoeken binnen sociale praktijken rondom voedsel, namelijk in voedselconsumptie- (hoofdstuk 2 en 3) en bestuurspraktijken (hoofdstuk 4). Het merendeel van het onderzoek naar deze vragen heeft plaatsgevonden in de stad Almere, omdat dit een interessante casus is van een zeer diverse stad met een groeiende bestuurlijke aandacht voor voedsel.

Hoofdstuk twee onderzoekt de culturele dynamieken rondom inclusiviteit in de voedselpraktijken van Syrische migranten, in een veranderende voedselomgeving en veranderende leefstijlen. Het gebruikte theoretische kader is gebaseerd op praktijktheorieën. Methodologisch worden diepte-interviews over de levensgeschiedenis gecombineerd met participerende observatie. Dit hoofdstuk laat zien dat inclusiviteit verschillende vormen aanneemt, naarmate de voedselpraktijken van migranten en de voedselomgeving veranderen in tijd en ruimte. Het hoofdstuk stelt vast dat met betrekking tot gezondheid en duurzaamheid in voedselpraktijken, inzichten en competenties rond met name vers voedsel in de loop der tijd veranderden. Dit gold zowel voor korte- als lange termijn-migranten, waarbij het zelf maken van dingen met seizoensproducten werd vervangen door het kopen van meer bewerkte producten en groenten en fruit buiten het seizoen. Het hoofdstuk concludeert dat voedselpraktijken en hun voedselomgevingen en leefstijlen dynamisch zijn en niet eenduidig kunnen worden geïnterpreteerd als ofwel in- ofwel exclusief, maar dat een meer genuanceerd beeld nodig is van wat inclusiviteit inhoudt in deze context.

Hoofdstuk drie onderzoekt sociaaleconomische in- en exclusie, door te kijken naar de dynamieken rondom de heroriëntatie van voedselpraktijken van mensen met diabetes type 2, en in het bijzonder naar de potentiële duurzaamheidsimpact van dit proces. In dit hoofdstuk wordt uitgegaan van de hypothese dat mensen met diabetes type 2 geconfronteerd zijn met een lichamelijk gezondheidsprobleem, en dat dit een zekere reflexiviteit rondom voedselconsumptie heeft aangewakkerd. Het hoofdstuk onderzoekt of deze reflexiviteit er inderdaad is en hoe die zich verhoudt tot duurzaamheid in voedselpraktijken. Net als in hoofdstuk twee wordt in dit hoofdstuk een praktijktheoretische benadering gehanteerd en wordt een vergelijkbare methodologische aanpak gehanteerd, waarbij gebruik wordt gemaakt van diepte-interviews en observaties tijdens het boodschappen doen en koken. Hoofdstuk drie laat een diversiteit zien van de mate waarin voedselpraktijken veranderen nadat de diagnose diabetes is gesteld. Reflexiviteit wordt dus niet noodzakelijkerwijs alleen ingegeven door de diagnose van een gezondheidsprobleem, maar er zijn meer factoren zijn die bepalen of leefstijlveranderingen daadwerkelijk plaatsvinden. Voorbeelden hiervan zijn het ervaren van lichamelijke ongemakken en een bredere maatschappelijke aandacht voor leefstijlverandering. Wat duurzaamheid betreft, konden positieve milieueffecten worden vastgesteld die "meeliftten" op veranderingen in de alledaagse voedselpraktijken die werden uitgevoerd uit gezondheidsoogpunt, zoals het diversifiëren van de eiwitinname en het eten van minder verwerkt voedsel. Deze effecten werden door de deelnemers zelf vaak niet als duurzaam benoemd, en kunnen dus gezien worden als 'onopvallende duurzaamheid': duurzame elementen in voedselpraktijken die niet als zodanig gelabeld worden.

In hoofdstuk vier verschuift de focus naar bestuurlijke processen rondom voedsel. Dit hoofdstuk onderzoekt hoe het bestuurlijke netwerk rond de eerste stedelijke voedselstrategie van Almere eruit ziet en onderzoekt welke mechanismen van in- en uitsluiting binnen dit proces kunnen worden geïdentificeerd. Theoretisch maakt het hoofdstuk gebruik van Manuel Castells' netwerktheorie van macht. Methodologisch wordt een netwerkonderzoek gecombineerd met interviews met deskundigen. Het hoofdstuk toont aan dat de gemeente in het centrum van het netwerk staat en een evenwicht probeert te vinden tussen inclusief en efficiënt bestuur. Dit benadrukt de spanning van bestuur via netwerken, aangezien een netwerk alleen verantwoordelijk is voor degenen die in het netwerk zijn opgenomen, terwijl overheden uiteindelijk verantwoordelijk zijn voor al hun burgers – zelfs als ze niet direct in het bestuurlijke netwerk zijn opgenomen. Dit vraagt om verdere reflectie over de rol van burgers in stedelijk voedselbestuur in een netwerksamenleving.

Hoofdstuk vijf biedt een theoretische reflectie op wat in- en uitsluiting betekent vanuit de twee theoretische perspectieven die in deze dissertatie worden gehanteerd. Vanuit

een praktijktheoretisch perspectief wordt het concept van 'onopvallende duurzaamheid', zoals geïntroduceerd in hoofdstuk drie, uitgewerkt als een operationalisering van in- en uitsluiting. Dit concept wordt ingebed in praktijktheoretische debatten over de positie van betekenissen of waarden, en in het bijzonder verbonden met een van de grondleggers van praktijktheorie, Bourdieu, en zijn ideeën over (mis)erkenning. Vervolgens wordt een uiteenzetting gegeven over Castells' visie op in- en uitsluiting, met bijzondere aandacht voor de rol van macht, waarna beide theorieën worden vergeleken en gecontrasteerd voor wat betreft hun opvattingen over in- en uitsluiting.

Ten slotte wordt in het slothoofdstuk van dit proefschrift geconcludeerd hoe een gemeenschappelijk element naar voren is gekomen uit de verschillende empirische en conceptuele manieren waarop het concept van inclusiviteit in dit proefschrift is onderzocht. Dit gemeenschappelijke element is de centrale rol van framing, en het daarmee samenhangende gebrek aan erkenning en vertegenwoordiging van bepaalde duurzame en gezonde voedselpraktijken in voedselbeleid. Door de complexe processen rond in- en uitsluiting te ontrafelen geeft deze dissertatie een kritische reflectie op de bijna automatische categorisering van mensen in uitgesloten, kwetsbare groepen op basis van de dominante kaders van culturele achtergrond en sociaaleconomische status. In plaats daarvan is er aandacht voor de verscheidenheid aan stedelijke voedselconsumptiepraktijken en de enigszins verborgen duurzame en gezonde elementen daarin.

Omdat deze verscheidenheid aan voedselpraktijken en hun potentieel voor gezondere en duurzamere voedselconsumptie niet altijd worden erkend in de huidige bestuurspraktijken, worden kansen gemist om daadwerkelijk meer diverse transitiepaden naar gezonde en duurzame voedselpraktijken te bevorderen. Wanneer de verschillende opvattingen en praktijken van burgers met betrekking tot gezond en duurzaam voedsel niet serieus worden genomen, worden hun behoeften en voorkeuren om deze gezonde en duurzame elementen verder te bevorderen evenmin serieus genomen, wat kan leiden tot daadwerkelijke uitsluiting. Dit creëert een soort paradox: hoewel inclusiviteit dynamisch en ongrijpbaar is, kunnen tegelijkertijd bepaalde praktijken daadwerkelijk worden uitgesloten van bestuursprocessen, wanneer een statisch en normatief kader van in- en uitsluiting wordt gehanteerd.

Deze dissertatie stelt daarom dat inclusiviteit ongrijpbaar is. Wat in- en uitsluiting precies betekent ligt genuanceerd en is dynamisch, omdat het wordt geleefd en gereproduceerd in een verscheidenheid aan alledaagse voedselpraktijken. Het is dan ook essentieel om deze diversiteit van stedelijke voedselpraktijken in beleid en bestuur te erkennen, in plaats van te kijken naar de in- en uitsluiting van bepaalde mensen of stedelijke groepen of individuen. Om een effectiever stedelijk voedselbeleid te realiseren is het essentieel om

beter te observeren wat er gebeurt in de diverse stedelijke voedselconsumptiepraktijken in alle verschillende groepen van de samenleving, om uiteindelijk meerdere transitiepaden naar een gezonder en duurzamer voedselsysteem uit te stippelen. Het is van belang om te proberen een grotere verscheidenheid aan belanghebbenden te betrekken bij de huidige formele bestuurspraktijken, maar ook om te zoeken naar alternatieven voor deze formele praktijken die beter aansluiten bij de verscheidenheid aan huidige en toekomstige voedselconsumptiepraktijken.

WASS Education certificate

Anne Jose Brons
Wageningen School of Social Sciences (WASS)
Completed Training and Supervision Plan

Name of the learning activity	Department/Institute	Year	ECTS
A) Project related competences			
A1. Managing a research project			
WASS Introduction Programme	WASS	2017	1
Writing the research proposal	WASS	2017-2018	6
"Inclusiveness in accessing healthy and sustainable food: Food practices of urban migrants"	Politecnico di Torino, AESOP PhD workshop Turin	2018	1
"Sustainable diets in a multicultural context"	BCFN International Forum on Food and Nutrition , Barilla Center for Food and Nutrition	2018	1
"Feeding the melting pot: inclusiveness in accessing healthy and sustainable food in multicultural cities"	Lancaster Intellectual Party/Summer Conference, Lancaster University	2019	1
"Feeding the melting pot: inclusiveness in accessing healthy and sustainable food in multicultural cities"	European Sociological Association Conference, Manchester Metropolitan University; University of Manchester; University of Salford	2019	1
Paper review Agriculture & Human Values	n.a.	2020	1
A2. Integrating research in the corresponding discipline			
Practice Based Approaches & Environmental Governance	WASS	2018	0.5
Giddens Group (reading group social theory)	n.a.	2018 - 2021	3
Practical Introduction to Ethnographic Fieldwork	ECPR Summerschool	2018	3
Methodologies for sociology and political science of environmental transformations	ENP – WUR	2019	1.5
Healthy and sustainable diets: synergies and trade-offs	VLAG	2019	0.8
Masterclass Food environments and public health	KNAW	2019	1
Summer School on Practice Based Theories	Warwick University	2020	1
Masterclass Priming	WASS	2020	0.5
Transformative and participatory qualitative research approaches and methods	WASS	2021	4
B) General research related competences			
B1. Placing research in a broader scientific context			
PhD trip to China – theme: 'Sustainable governance of the urban nexus'	ENP + various Chinese universities	2018	4
Visual Research methods	WASS	2018	2
Research visit to University of Bristol – School of Sociology, Politics and international Studies	SPAIS, University of Bristol	2020	2

B2. Placing research in a societal context			
Co-organising Flows of Food conference	Flevocampus	2017	1
Blog for FCRN	FCRN	2018	1
Co-organising AESOP SFP PhD &YP Workshop	Aeres University of Applied Sciences Almere	2019	2
C) Career related competences			
C1. Employing transferable skills in different domains/careers			
Presentation training	Speechen.nl	2018	2
Teaching and supervision of student research projects in Almere and Wageningen	Aeres UAS Almere / Wageningen UR	2017-2021	3
Reviewing a scientific paper	WASS	2019	0.1
Supervising BSc & MSc thesis students	WASS	2019	0.6
Total			**45**

*One credit according to ECTS is on average equivalent to 28 hours of study load

Publication list

Peer-reviewed publications

Brons, A. & Oosterveer, P. & Wertheim-Heck, S. (2022) In- and exclusion in urban food governance: exploring networks and power in the city of Almere. Journal of Environmental Policy & Planning, online first.

Brons, A., Gaast, K. van der, Awuh, H., Jansma, J.E., Segreto, C. & Wertheim-Heck, S. (2022). A tale of two labs: Rethinking urban living labs for advancing citizen engagement in food system transformations. *Cities*, 123, 103552.

Brons, A. & Oosterveer, P. & Wertheim-Heck, S. (2020b). Inconspicuous sustainability in the food practices of Dutch consumers with type 2 diabetes. *Environmental Sociology, 7*(1), 25-39.

Brons, A. & Oosterveer, P. & Wertheim-Heck, S. (2020a). "Feeding the melting pot: inclusive strategies for the multi-ethnic city", *Agriculture & Human Values, 37, 1027–1040.*

Brons, A. & Oosterveer, P. (2017). "Making sense of sustainability: A practice theories approach to buying sustainable food", *Sustainability 9*(3), Special Issue "Sustainable Consumer Behavior".

Book chapters

Oosterveer, P. & **Brons, A.** (2020). "Food systems: how are food systems organised in a globalised economy?". In: Behrens, P, Bosker, T. & Ehrhard, D., (eds.), *Food and Sustainability.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hospes, O. & **Brons, A.** (2016) "Food system governance: A systematic literature review". In: Kennedy, A. & Liljeblad, J. (ed.), *Food Systems Governance: Challenges for justice, equality and human rights.* London: Routledge, pp.14-42.

Other non-scientific publications

Wertheim-Heck, S. & **A. Brons** (2020). "Support Your Locals: Over internationale solidariteit in een weerbaar en duurzaam voedselsysteem". In: *Veerkracht als opdracht*, J. Lanjouw (red.), p.93-108.

Jansma, J.E., **Brons, A.**, & Van der Gaast, K. (2020). "Ondernemend eten: Hoe de Almeerse burger de transitie naar duurzaam voedsel vormgeeft". Aeres Hogeschool Almere *[report on PhD research projects of the lectorate Food and Healthy Living].*

Ten Brug, L., Wertheim-Heck, S. & **Brons, A.** (2018) "Almeerse Voedselstromen". Aeres Hogeschool Almere *[research report on Flows of Food in Almere, from producers and retailers].*

Brons, A. (2018, Nov. 27th). "Feeding the melting pot: Inclusive sustainable diets in the multi-ethnic city", Food and Climate Research Network *[blog post]*

About the author

Anke Brons was born in 1993 in Utrecht, the Netherlands. Although born in the city, her roots belong in the countryside of the Veluwe, where her parents come from and where she feels most at home. After a happy childhood, she moved to the small town of Middelburg in the south of the Netherlands for her undergraduate studies. Here, she gained a bachelor's degree in Liberal Arts and Sciences, majoring in anthropology and law, with a minor in linguistics. This college with its strong focus on academic skills made her curious to continue with research, choosing a research master's in International Development Studies at Wageningen University and Research next. Here, her love for sociology started to bloom, kick-started by a wonderful Advanced Social Theory course with close-reading of original sociological work. Through two master's theses, her sociological focus slowly started to move to food as a very exciting and constantly developing field of study. This inspired her to apply to a position as Junior Researcher with the Environmental Policy chairgroup in Wageningen, where she was able to develop a PhD proposal. When a PhD position in Almere, the most exciting city in the Netherlands, at Aeres University of Applied Sciences opened up, she applied – and the rest is history. As of February 2022, Anke is employed as a post-doctoral researcher in the inter- and transdisciplinary research project Transition to a sustainable food system funded by the Dutch Science Agenda.

TE KOOP