



# Habitus in alternative food practice: Exploring the role of cultural capital in two contrasting case studies in Glasgow

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## Abstract

This study is dedicated to the exploration of the role of Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital on the formation of habitus within alternative food initiatives (AFIs) among two contrasting case studies in the urban post-industrial landscape of Glasgow. This research will additionally demonstrate the role of cultural capital in the reproduction of inequality on a micro-level. Moreover, this investigation aims to point out, compare and contrast two distinct sets of habitus in those groups engaging in alternative food practice. A portion of the observed AFIs are situated in an area in proximity to the University of Glasgow in the West End of the city. The other community groups are located in an area with shipbuilding industry heritage, now dismantled, in Govan, in the south west of Glasgow. In both areas alternative food practices have developed substantially during the last decade. Via participant observation and in-depth interviews with a selection of individuals engaged in AFIs in the two areas, this study will juxtapose the cultural habitus of each community. This research explores to what extent, if at all, the subjectivities and practices in the two field sites differ from each other, whilst bearing in mind their starkly contrasting socio-economic contexts. The results indicate that the habitus at work in the West End is concerned rather with promoting healthy and sustainable life-styles, while the habitus in the Govan area is guided more towards the satisfaction of basic needs of existence. The findings also suggest that access to resources could be primarily dependent upon conforming to and adopting a bureaucratic mind-set.

## Introduction

During the past three decades there has been a notable interest in food systems analysis. Various research (Lappé, 1991; Weis, 2007; Roberts, 2008; Patel, 2009) indicates that the world food crisis is in fact a problem of the unequal distribution of an abundance of food, and is not, as is widely assumed, caused by an inadequate production of food. World hunger may thus not be caused by a lack of food but rather by the inability of hungry people to gain access to the world's abundance of food or food-producing resources, as they simply do not have the means to pay (Lappé, n.d., cited in Small, 2013). This suggests that in the contemporary world, mass poverty may be significantly related to the rising total global

wealth of over 241 trillion USD as of 2013 (Selwyn, 2014). Mass poverty is thus not a consequence of the poor's exclusion to globalised production networks but rather their required subordination to the objectives of capital accumulation, which plays a key role in the reproduction of their poverty in order to sustain profitability in the first place (Selwyn, 2014). For instance, the latest dramatic increase in food prices in 2011 was an important factor sparking the subsequent social upheavals that came to be known as the Arab Spring. Furthermore, access is restricted not only by rising prices, but also by the tendency of the globalised system to create massive heaps of food waste (Gustavsson et al., 2011). Modern industrial

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food provisioning is also dominated by a minority of increasingly powerful corporations that are interested in gaining control over ever greater parts of the food chain (Patel, 2009). Its organisation into refined global production and distribution networks contributes to about 75% of the ecological destruction of soil, water, and biodiversity, and is responsible for 50% of the carbon emissions accelerating anthropogenic climate change (Lappé, 2010; Shiva, 2015). Conventional carbon-intensive food producing industries are moreover linked to health-related phenomena such as the growing obesity epidemic: for the first time in human history, the 800-900 million hungry are outnumbered by the one billion on this planet who are overweight or obese and, as such, are especially vulnerable to heart disease and diabetes (Patel, 2009).

The impact of the aforementioned global disparities and defects of industrial food networks on food-related subjectivities and experiences along the food chain in Scotland is the major concern and socio-cultural context of this paper. According to a health survey on obesity, "Scotland has one of the worst obesity records in the developed world, and one of the highest rates of all OECD and European countries. [...] In 2010, 65% of adults aged 16 and over were overweight or obese" (The Scottish Government, 2011a, p. 6). At the other end of the scale, attention has been given to potential 'food deserts' (Cummins & MacIntyre, 2002). The issue has been discussed by nutrition and health researchers such as Cummins et al. (2005), whose study indicates a positive correlation between the level of neighbourhood deprivation and the likelihood of exposure to outlets from one global fast food company. MacDonald et al. (2007), in a similar vein, found evidence of a concentration effect that appears to link environmental risk factors for obesity with more deprived areas. There have been many more inquiries of this nature by the Scottish Government (2010; 2011a; 2011b; 2012); hence, it is not surprising that Scotland has been one of the first regions in the world to develop a national food and drink policy (2009). Further insights into food accessibility throughout Scotland are provided by the Food Standards Agency (2008). With regards to the aforementioned growing power and dominance of a minority of corporations in the business of food provisioning, a total of just over 8,000 supermarkets account for about 97% of total grocery sales in the United Kingdom (UK) (Small, 2013).

Since the Great Recession of 2008, the proclaimed austerity measures by the UK Government have pushed thousands of individuals and families to seek the help of food banks in order to meet their most basic needs for nourishment and well-being. In 2012 and 2013, the

charity operating the UK's largest network of food banks, the Trussell Trust, helped a total of 14,318 people with its 42 outlets in Scotland alone (Duffy, 2014). While roughly one-third of edible food produced for human consumption, i.e. 1.3 billion tonnes annually, gets lost or wasted globally (Gustavsson et al., 2011), Scottish households throw away between 566,000 and 630,000 tonnes of food and drink every year which is equivalent to £1 billion, or £430 per household (Zero Waste Scotland, 2013; Love Food Hate Waste Scotland, 2014). This illustrates the peculiar interrelation of welfare and poverty: nearly all the world's hungry people could be provided with an adequate nutritious diet using less than a quarter of the food that is wasted in the United States (US), the UK and Europe combined (Stuart, 2009).

In light of the increased environmental stress caused by conventional food networks, more attention is being given to organic food and farming methods by the Scottish Government (2011b), who established the Climate Challenge Fund (CCF) in 2008, which supports more than 635 projects across Scotland to help "reduce carbon footprint and make community improvements" by granting them more than £54.7 million in funding (CCF, 2014). Around half of these projects have focused partly or wholly on food sustainability (Small, 2013). Scotland's most successful food-related project is the alternative food network (AFN) known as The Fife Diet. Established in 2007 and with over 5,000 members currently, this network published a dedicated and quick-witted new food manifesto (Fife Diet, 2012). The organisation plays an active role in promoting AFIs as part of policy developments in the Scottish Parliament in order to facilitate the dissemination of AFNs in the rest of Scotland.

In contextualising this study in this relatively broad field of modern food provisioning the attempt was made to point out major dysfunctions in the world food economy and to reflect upon the empirical state of affairs in Scotland. Alternative food practice is usually considered to develop in response to the shortcomings of the globalised food provisioning network as here outlined.

### **Alternative food practice as a reaction to conventional food provisioning**

The main literature dealing with alternative food practice is rooted in the analysis of social movements directed at establishing AFIs in relation to one another in a certain locality or region, which are commonly conceptualised as AFNs. In order to understand the emergence of AFNs, one first needs to locate the object of analysis in its historical, spatial and relational context. The relevant



literature can be summarised as follows.

Drawing from reviews by Wilkinson (2006), Goodman (2003) and Murdoch (2000), Tregear (2011) proposes three main sets of perspectives. In the political economy perspective, AFNs are conceptualised on a macro-level as in a constant struggle opposing the threatening forces of economic globalisation, dealing with issues such as inequality, social injustice, and food insecurity (Allen et al., 1991; Allen, 1999; Allen et al., 2003; DuPuis & Goodman, 2005; Allen & Guthman, 2006; Abrahams, 2006; DuPuis et al., 2006; Allen & Sachs, 2007; Allen, 2008; Lima, 2008; Allen, 2010). Scholars of rural development and sociology appeal frequently to micro-level conceptualisations such as embeddedness, trust, quality and care (Murdoch et al., 2000; Ilbery & Kneafsey, 2000; Hinrichs, 2000; Sage, 2003; Renting et al., 2003; Winter, 2003; Kirwan, 2004; Kirwan, 2006; Watts et al., 2005; Sonnino & Marsden, 2006; Higgins et al., 2008; Morris & Kirwan, 2011) as well as “sustainable consumption” and “ecological citizenship” (Seyfang, 2006; Seyfang, 2008; Evans, 2011). Others in this strand have analysed the dynamics of AFNs in terms of shortening food supply chains and the repercussions for rural development (Ilbery et al., 2004; Ilbery & Maye, 2005; Ilbery & Maye, 2006; Maye & Ilbery, 2006). Finally, the modes of governance and network theory perspective contributes through its preoccupation with institutions and regulation at the meso-level, by explaining the reasons why seemingly similar actors, with similar goals and agendas, end up pursuing differing strategies (DuPuis & Block, 2008) or why some actors’ agendas end up dominating others (Stassart & Jamar, 2008; Brunori & Rossi, 2007), providing fresh insights into familiar concepts such as trust, reciprocity and solidarity, which are co-produced and manipulated by contesting actors through vehicles of certification and regulation.

In the literature, considerable differences emerge between North American and European studies concerned with AFNs (Guthman, 2008). The former sees AFNs rather in oppositional and much more political terms, as in Allen et al.’s “oppositional activism” (2003), seemingly giving rise to a dichotomy between alternative and conventional food systems (Allen, 1999) and focused significantly on AFNs’ capacity to wrest control from corporate agribusiness (Guthman, 2008). The latter is however entrenched in wide-ranging public debates on food safety (Guthman, 2008) and is concerned mainly with the potential of AFNs to contribute to the survival of rural businesses and the different processes of adding additional value to products (Marsden et al., 2000; Marsden et al., 2001; Marsden et al., 2002; Marsden & Smith, 2005). AFNs are rather seen as policy-driven, especially with regards to the EU Common Agriculture Policy (Goodman,

2004), and are considered useful means to “revitalise rural areas” (Sonnino & Marsden, 2006, p. 181). AFNs seem to emerge in accordance to conventional food systems, inhabiting niche markets for quality and more diverse products as farmers cannot solely support themselves by providing only to alternative distribution networks (Brown & Miller, 2008). An exception to this dichotomy is provided by Smeds (2015), who analysed two AFNs in Cluj-Napoca, Romania, that “contribute to a sustainable food paradigm by promoting agroecology, by reclaiming socio-cultural factors of food provisioning and by being part of a (re)-peasantisation process” (p. 48). Despite these overall contradictory views, it is, however, worth synthesising the main points of each sphere, so as to acknowledge AFNs as hybrid forms accommodating both more alternative, radical notions as well as more moderate, entrepreneurial types of organisations. However, there is a potential for “neoliberalization from the ground-up” (Allen & Guthman, 2006). It is thus worth paying “closer attention to the micro-politics that shape various initiatives” by being conscious of the trend of romanticising the “local as resistance” (Guthman, 2008, p. 1171). Rosol (2010) adds to this discussion by giving empirical evidence to the changing nature of the local state from adversely opposing public participation to its active encouragement, due to the continuing retreat from its traditional welfarist functions in order to cost-effectively outsource the maintenance of public green space by shifting the responsibility down to its volunteering citizens. Moreover this new outsourcing strategy of “neoliberal urban restructuring” aids the local authorities in saving maintenance costs and even simultaneously advancing the “beautification” and “ennobling” of its urban landscapes by transforming ugly, hazardous, neglected wastelands with the help of “unpaid labour of local residents” into aesthetically pleasing public green spaces (Rosol, 2012, p. 245). This development has been elsewhere analysed as a “municipal sustainability fix” (Temenos & McCann, 2012) or “austerity urbanism” (Tonkiss, 2013).

Holloway et al. (2007) propose a heuristic analytical framework in order to grasp the diversity and particularities in renegotiating the relations of power over how food production and consumption should be arranged in a society. This can range from “diffuse, often localised, struggles over modes of social ordering [...] to more formal alliances between producers and consumers,” in which both arenas of struggle deserve analytical attention, as “each has the ability to influence the other” (Goodman & Dupuis, 2002, p. 17). Despite attempts to devalue organic food consumption as a middle-class privilege and a practice of a “class diet,” such “reflexive consumption” is nevertheless an expression of agency,



and should be seen as a new type of political action. Though this kind of “consumer activism” may never overturn the capitalist system, it does, however, “wield power to shape the food system” (Goodman & Dupuis, 2002, p. 13).

Recent critical accounts of this “consumption turn” in food system analysis argue that it is unlikely that “sustainable forms of consumption can be normalised and integrated into everyday lives” (Evans, 2011, p. 109). Such an analysis fails to include “those who are food insecure, and those without the necessary resources (time, labor, skill and expertise) to engage in local food provisioning” (McIntyre & Roneau, 2011, p. 1), pointing thus inexplicitly at the role of cultural capital in disguising underlying economic conditions. Goss (2004) also puts forth his skepticism and warns that “ethical consumerism” risks falling back into the trap of commodity fetishism by failing to recognise underlying causes such as alienating conditions of labour. Instead of celebrating alternative consumption, one should not lose sight of reaffirming the dialectical relationship between production and consumption (Goss, 2004). Bryant & Goodman (2003) moreover critique the underpinning “alternative” consumption practices in the commodity cultures so symptomatic of the Global North, which expresses itself eventually in a weakened form of social and political “caring at a distance,” because of “an uncritical acceptance of consumption as the primary basis of action” (p. 344).

### **Studying food (in)security in urban geographies within the core**

The last critiques outlined above led Abrahams (2006) to accuse scholars in the Global North and their theories of AFNs as too “Euro/Americo-centric,” and stating that these scholars engage in exclusionary and elitist academic practices, as they tend to ignore the realities of AFNs emerging in the Global South. AFNs in the core (the Global North) exhibit a cultural habitus that is more consumerist and life-stylist – emphasising ‘the right thing to do’ – whereas in the periphery AFNs are much more survivalist by nature and culturally diverse (Abrahams, 2006). This is why AFNs developing in the south still remain outside the increasing terrain of conventional food systems, because the latter do not cater to the poor, who have less means to pay. Moreover, conventional food systems fail to offer foodstuffs produced by culturally sound means. In the Global South (the periphery) there exist two kinds of AFNs: the cultural and religious food networks as well as accessible food networks for the poor. This is in stark contrast to the northern AFNs, yet Abrahams (2006) points to the existence of food insecurity within the developed countries and proposes that it is increasingly necessary for alternative food studies to

engage with the inequality of access to nutritious foods in areas of rural and urban poverty, which are increasing across the whole globe. That being so, food insecurity is also applicable to the post-industrial context within the urban area of Glasgow. That is why this study explores if and to what extent a diverging habitus can be observed within an urban geography of the global economy’s core. Concretely, this investigation will examine Bourdieu’s notion of habitus of groups engaging in alternative food practice in two contrasting case studies varying significantly in their socio-economic contextual settings. Thus, this study investigates the role of cultural capital in maintaining patterns of thought and action relevant in the reproduction of inequalities. This may prove a viable contribution to enhance understanding of the modes of sustaining inequalities under contemporary capitalism. The role of cultural capital in this case seems to be, as of yet, rather underdeveloped and underexplored. Since different social circumstances are likely to evoke different kinds of habitus (Bourdieu, 1979/1984), the cultural dimension in this respect is not to be underestimated.

This study articulates distinct modes of habitus operating in the developed core and towards the developing periphery. It will dissect how distinct dispositions, i.e. different levels and forms of capital resources, and processes of their application and utilisation function on a micro-level. Crucial for understanding the proposed argument is the concept of capital. Capital must be understood as accumulated reified labour time with an inherent claim to future resources. Bourdieu (1979/1984) was the first to extend the concept of capital beyond the economic sphere to include social, cultural and symbolic forms. Cultural capital includes thus not only an embodied state, but an objectified as well as institutionalised state (Bourdieu, 1986). The objectified form presents itself in material cultural goods (e.g., books, paintings, instruments) that can be consumed in two ways, materially presupposing economic capital and symbolically necessitating embodied cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986). The institutionalised form denotes cultural capital to its bearer in an institutional, thereby official, recognition of its quality, as is the case with academic certifications. However, embodied cultural capital tends to function additionally as symbolic capital since it masquerades the social conditions in which it was transmitted and acquired, presenting itself as recognised and legitimate competence, dissipating “an effect of (mis)recognition” (Bourdieu, 1986). In the latter instance, it disguises the fact that not all agents and groups possess the means to prolong the length of time of the acquisition process, since not everyone is given the opportunity to be provided by one’s kith and kin with the free time necessary, that is “time free from economic necessity,” for the initial accumulation in the first place (Bourdieu, 1986).



This study is also interested in the ways inequalities are maintained and how the likelihood of challenging them, wherefore one is led to introduce Bourdieu's other important concept of the habitus as a useful analytical tool to apply to this problem. The concept of habitus needs to be understood in relation to the social space individuals inhabit and the varying compositions and levels of capital that have been accumulated over time and are accessible to them. Habitus is a system of lasting and transposable dispositions: it is the practical, prereflexive and embodied, ongoing and active mode of being and acting according to one's social position in society (Swartz, 1997; Wacquant, 2008). Therefore, habitus sets structural constraints for action while at the same time encompassing opportunities for social agents who, by finding themselves situated within such a societal edifice, nevertheless have the capacity to evolve their perceptions, aspirations, and practices corresponsive to their formative socialisation in the past (Swartz, 1997).

### Methodological Framework

Regarding the progression of the research, methodology involved the collection of qualitative information via participant observation for around ten months between May 2013 and March 2014 in two neighbourhoods in relative proximity to each other, namely Govan and the West End, both within the City of Glasgow. This was complemented with twelve formally consented semi-structured interviews carried out in July and August 2013 (subsequently quoted as 1-12). An attempt was made to explore the motivations, challenges and objectives of those participating in AFIs, in order to be able to juxtapose these subjectivities in relation to their geographical and socio-economic contexts. A noteworthy ethical

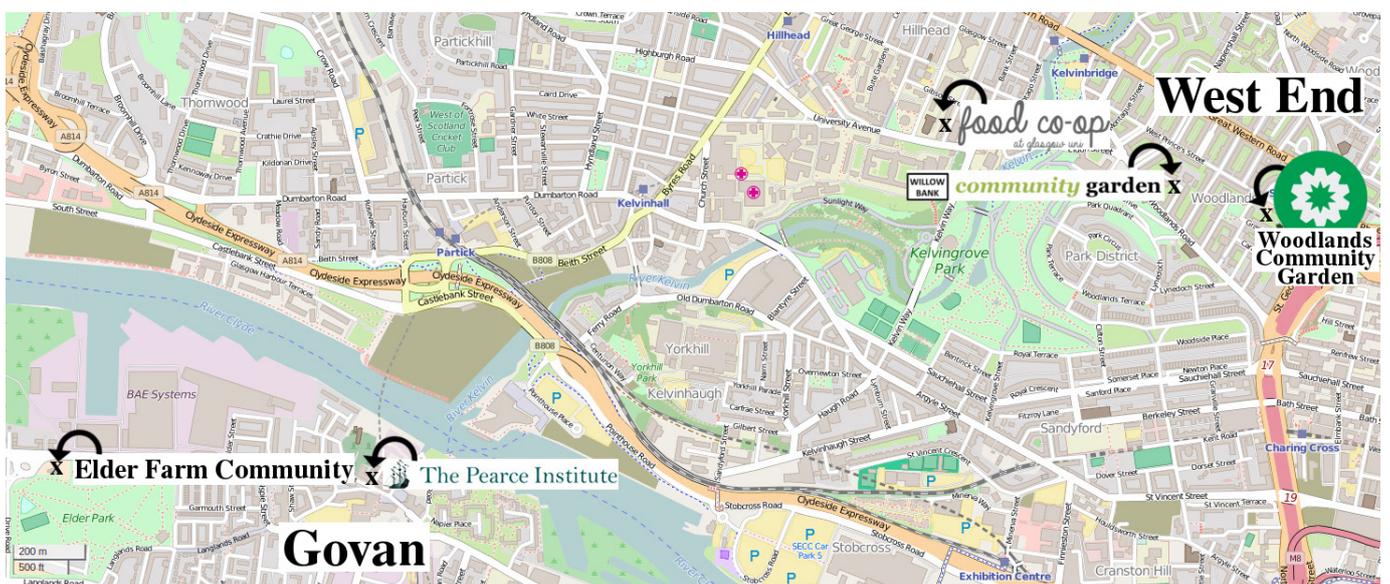
consideration is the recognition that this research may in itself be a contributing factor to the fostering of social inequality, as it was part of an educational degree that could potentially serve the social advancement of the researcher. This contradiction is therefore acknowledged and it was the aim of this research to expose such social tensions inherent in contemporary societies and their socially unique individuals.

### Discussion

#### Contrasting AFIs in Govan with those in the West End of Glasgow

The socio-historical trajectories of the two field sites developed quite contrarily. While three AFIs emerged in an area in close proximity to the University of Glasgow in the West End, which distinguishes itself as an ethnically diverse neighbourhood known for its bohemian ambience and a high proliferation of students, the two other AFIs attempted to establish themselves in the district and former burgh of Govan situated south-west of the city and south of the river Clyde (Figure 1).

Govan is illustrative of the economic restructuring that has taken place in the UK during the latter decades of the 20th century. For most of its modern history Govan has been part of the industrial district of Clydeside shipbuilding. In 1950 the region produced around 20% of the world's ships (Foster, 2003). Govan's rise to become one of the world's prominent centres for shipbuilding was accompanied with a massive influx of Highland and Irish migrants, its population swelling from just over 2,000 in 1830 to over 92,000 by the year 1912 (McQuade, 2011). Nevertheless the reorganisation of the crisis-rid-



**Figure 1:** Location of the five investigated AFIs  
Source: Map is adapted from openstreetmap.org; author's own depiction



**Table 1:** Juxtaposition of the five AFIs in the West End and Govan

AFIs located in the West End	AFIs located in Govan
<p><b>Woodlands Community Garden</b>  <u>Location:</u> West End (G4 9BY)  <u>AFI est.:</u> 2010 as a project by the Woodlands Community Development Trust (est. 1985)  <u>Online presence:</u> woodlandscommunitygarden.org.uk; twitter.com/wcdtgarden/  <u>Funding:</u> Scottish Government's CCF; Big Lottery, others  <u>Organisation:</u> 1 full-time and 6 part-time employees and 45-50 volunteers  <u>Features:</u> A third of its space is dedicated to raised beds allowing individual local residents to grow their own vegetables. The rest is shared by the local community with a meeting hub made from wooden pallets including an outdoor stage designed to accommodate social, cultural and environmental activities.</p>	<p><b>Elder Farm Community Garden</b>  <u>Location:</u> Elder Park in Govan (G51 4AA)  <u>AFI est.:</u> 2009 by local residents of Govan  <u>Online presence:</u> elderfarm.jimdo.com  <u>Funding:</u> none  <u>Organisation:</u> 10-30 volunteers  <u>Features:</u> Derelict space including a damaged old farm house. There is interest by the Elder Farm Community Group (made up of local residents) to revitalise the building since it causes public health and safety issues which the group must resolve before they are allowed to utilise the surrounding space. Despite the challenge to find ways to renovate the farm house, the surrounding area has been transformed into a lively community garden.</p>
<p><b>Willowbank Community Garden</b>  <u>Location:</u> West End (G3 6LF)  <u>AFI est.:</u> 2012 by students of Glasgow University  <u>Online presence:</u> guwillowbankgarden.blogspot.com  <u>Funding:</u> Student Representative Council (SRC)  <u>Organisation:</u> approx. 15 volunteers  <u>Features:</u> Fulfils first and foremost social and educational functions.</p>	<p><b>Govan Gatherings   "Tuesday dinner nights"</b>  <u>Location:</u> Pearce Institute (P.I.) in Govan (G51 3UU)  <u>AFI est.:</u> 2011 as part of the 'Govan Together' project initiated by the Centre of Human Ecology (CHE)  <u>Online presence:</u> none  <u>Funding:</u> Scottish Government's CCF and participants  <u>Organisation:</u> 5-20 volunteers  <u>Features:</u> The project was initiated by CHE with CCF from Nov. 2011 until March 2012. With discontinuation of CCF, local residents decided to carry on even without funding. Weekly dinners remain self-sufficient through participants' donations. Part of its ethos is mutuality meaning that each member of the community learns to take responsibility for the project. A major issue since the end of 'Govan Together' is the acquisition of a regular meeting space within the P.I.</p>
<p><b>Glasgow University Food Co-op</b>  <u>Location:</u> West End (G12 8QQ)  <u>AFI est.:</u> 2011 by students of Glasgow University  <u>Online presence:</u> glasgowunifoodcoop.co.uk; facebook.com/groups/glasgowunifoodcoop/  <u>Funding:</u> Glasgow University and participating students  <u>Organisation:</u> approx. 15 key volunteers as "active" members, 35-45 "passive" members ordering food and up to 828 supporters in its Facebook group (as of October 2017)  <u>Features:</u> Aims to promote sustainable consumption of appropriately sourced organic food and house-hold items from a variety of ethically sound suppliers. Other functions include social events such as film nights, stalls, and pot lucks to promote its values and to extent outreach.</p>	

den post-war shipbuilding industry was not found worthy of British capital investment and the UK Government eventually declared the industry a relic of the past. A series of political and economic agendas then externally made Clydeside shipbuilding defunct, and in so doing ruined the entire industrial district of Clydeside. According to the Scottish Census (National Records of Scotland, 2011), the population of Govan (G51 postcode area) declined significantly to only around 21,500 in 2011. One in two Govanites is income deprived, which is double the Glasgow average (Govan Community Council, 2004). There are hence key differences in the environments

which the selected AFIs must navigate (**Table 1**). A major observation is that the West End projects were conceived of predominantly by students, and are preoccupied with the promotion of sustainable living. The AFIs in Govan, however, seem to bind a collective desire to socialise around weekly dinners and to seek some sense of self-determination in being able to eat self-grown food at local gardens. Alternative food practitioners in the West End face relatively different opportunities and constraints compared to their counterparts in the Govan area. The locally specific histories and memories of individuals in each of the settings have produced distinct



dispositions they may or may not be aware of, but which are likely to result in certain distinguishable subjectivities, actions, strategies and behaviours.

The next section will attempt to show in what ways a distinct habitus in each of the field sites can be acknowledged in relation to the nature of activities the participants are engaged in, their take on open public space, and their position to funding with regards to the organisational structures effectively in place and their associated ramifications.

### Results and Analysis: Exploring habitus and the role of cultural Capital in the two field sites

To begin with, it should be noted that all AFIs in both localities function as “places of prosumption” (Shaw et al., 2016) and generally aim for the same outcomes: to advance their neighbourhood in terms of extending the degree of sustainable self-sufficiency, food sovereignty and awareness of the environment. Yet there is unequal emphasis on each of these goals. **Table 2** provides an overview of the composition of cultural capital by juxtaposing the varying modes of habitus within AFIs active in the West End and Govan.

#### The nature of activities

In the West End, one interviewee stressed their satisfaction with working outside and producing and eating one’s own food (7.1). This seems to suggest that the involvement in a community garden is a conscious choice, an alternative to sourcing food from rather unaccountable supermarkets, which is nevertheless “satisfying” and even “empowering.” It may, moreover, be simply a well-reflected lifestyle choice. These narratives emerge frequently in the data set, especially in the West End. In Govan the motivations for being involved in such projects stem predominantly from the need to be more cautious with one’s everyday expenses and overall living costs (2.1 and 5.1). Gardening tends thus to be experienced as “a good kind of therapy” (4.1). What is more concerning is the fact that this widespread structural employment deficit as touched upon in the previous section, carries other serious implications such as higher than average experiences of premature death (5.2). In fact, during the author’s own involvement in the area of Govan for three years, the author has personally known, or was told of, three individuals passing away before the age of fifty. Each of them had been very friendly and active members or participants of various community projects in the neighbourhood. Such sudden losses characterise the social reality and life experience of fellow members of the Govan community. Premature deaths are not uncommon in Scotland as a whole whose excess mortality patterns seem to resemble those witnessed in

Eastern Europe (McCartney et al., 2011).

These immediate experiences of regular demise seem more or less absent in the West End. However, these events and broader developments do not remain unnoticed. For example, Woodlands Community Garden applied for funding provided by the Big Lottery for more marginalised groups from 2013 until the middle of 2015 (10.1). One function of cultural capital exemplified here is a certain reflexive self-awareness of one’s position of privilege, which may be compensated by what Bourdieu (1979/1984) described as performing “cultural goodwill” (p. 318). This can be witnessed when an interviewee expressed concerns with regards to the UK Government’s move towards food banks in order to discipline job seekers for inadequate compliance with its rules and means tests (12.1). In speaking for the less well-off and by kick-starting projects to ideally counteract such a “draconian system of sanctions,” (12.2) participants may experience the activity of providing relief to the poor as a way to feel better about themselves and to subconsciously legitimise their own status by ignoring their own role in the very system that creates poverty in the first place. It also illustrates the hidden circumstances that made the performance of cultural capital possible. Participants in the West End are able to devote their time to charitable projects mainly deriving from their position of privilege in the social space and enabled by their “distance from necessity” (Bourdieu, 1979/1984). Yet this cultural goodwill seems not to identify with acts of vandalism which are subject to much condemnation (7.2). The element of classism shining through elucidates the misrecognition of the symbolic power of the effects of cultural capital. In Govan, by contrast, the issue of vandalism gets treated less sensationally, as illustrated by statements as “kids burn things down all the time” (4.2) or “if you draw on the vandalism [...] you’d be defeated immediately [...] but, well, you just go and have a rest for a couple of days and then come back vital and feel stronger” (5.3 and 2.2). Broadly speaking, two subjectivities seem to resemble the composition of cultural capital in each area. Whereas the individuals active in the West End legitimise their engagement in alternative food practice based on ethically well-reflected idealist principles, as well as having the necessary time at hand to engage in philosophising about the right way to live one’s life, their counterparts based around Govan are guided more or less solely by practical imperatives that allow for a small positive advancement of their own situation. As shown previously, Govanites have completely different access to economic as well as cultural resources. They are more troubled with getting by in everyday life. There seems to be also more of an understanding of troublesome kids. They seem to be more used to experiences of failure and loss, of not fitting into a society based on merit.



**Table 2:** Juxtaposing modes of habitus and the composition of cultural capital within AFIs in the West End and Govan

West End	Govan
<b>Nature of activities</b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>conscious, well-reflected lifestyle choice</li> <li>reflexive self-awareness of position of privilege: performance of “cultural goodwill” (Bourdieu, 1979/1984)</li> <li>classism as misrecognition of symbolic power of effects of cultural capital</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>need to be cautious with everyday expenses</li> <li>higher than average experience of multiple deprivation and premature death</li> <li>gardening as a kind of therapy</li> <li>better understanding of troublesome children</li> </ul>
<b>Relation to open public space</b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>involvement in community gardens offers variety to everyday-life and raises awareness</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>appreciation of freely accessible, non-commercial space</li> </ul>
<b>Position to funding</b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>more attuned to adopting a bureaucratic mind-set despite awareness of the tediousness of funding processes: benefits of financial support</li> <li>economic security through ownership makes possible the dissemination of cultural capital</li> <li>AFIs more prone to time-inconsistency due to fluctuation of students’ commitment</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>critical attitude towards funding due to past collective experience of urban regeneration/community development strategies</li> <li>‘do it ourselves’ attitude and habitus of the more practical kind guided by “choice of the necessary” (Bourdieu, 1979/1984)</li> <li>interested in skill and wage transfers into area</li> </ul>

**Relation to open public space**

A further regularly emerging theme worth discussing is that of open public space. Respondents in Govan often highlighted the importance of spaces that are accessible to anyone (8a.1). It seems very important to be able to go to spaces that are non-commercial and freely accessible, just as most community gardens aspire to be. Yet the irony is that the community garden in Govan is only open to the public as long as one key holder is present in the garden itself. But as the same interviewee went on to say, the reward of gaining access to such spaces may be achieved mainly through commitment (8a.2).

Certain individuals in Govan are aware that “there’s a lot of community centers now where you are having to pay commercial rents and people don’t like what you do in them, and what you don’t do and what you can do, and what time you can do in different things like that,” so at the end of the day, “open space is never gonna be bad investment” (4.3). Conversely, the West Enders perceive open public spaces as places offering a certain variety to everyday life that can also be used to raise awareness of environmental issues (7.3 and 10.2). The non-commercial aspect was completely absent in all interviews with participants engaged in the West End area, so seems to be not as important as it is south of the Clyde in Govan, for instance. However, one West End interviewee stressed

the joy of “growing stuff, and seeing familiar people” and stated that “it is a really nice space in the city, which I feel a degree of ownership over” (11.3), reflecting a more sensitised point of view on the benefits of an “active sense of place” that allow for individual and collective empowerment as community gardens “become generative spaces for creating more collective and solidaristic forms of work” and “foster new collective and egalitarian ways of working with food” (Cumbers et al., 2017). At this point, it makes sense to mention once again that two community gardens in the West End are open at all times to the public. The AFIs in Govan are struggling to make their space regularly accessible, but are also confronted with rather different circumstances, as they needed to negotiate the sensible use of the right spaces for holding their community dinners in the P.I., for instance. This leads to the final point of this discussion: the ways of organising AFIs and their position in relation to funding.

**Position to funding**

Willowbank Community Garden and the Glasgow University Food Co-op were initially started by the passionate work of student volunteers and received little to no funding at all. Woodlands Community Garden, however, was successful in allocating funds from the CCF and was so able to pay a small team of part-time workers organising the development of the garden itself. It seems



relevant to highlight the specific role the acquisition of cultural capital plays with regards to managing funds. The participants of Woodlands Community Garden are more attuned to the bureaucratic work that it entails, but are also keen to justify the benefits financial support can bring (10.3).

The acquisition of cultural capital finds its immediate expression and conversion into economic rewards through the ability to adopt a bureaucratic mindset. In this example, it also presupposes that Woodlands Community Garden, i.e. the Woodlands Community Development Trust, actually owns the space it resides on. The economic security of ownership makes it possible for this AFI to develop and disseminate cultural capital with hindsight. Additionally, the sense of ownership may root in the fact that there have been organisational changes that were themselves the outcome of persistent struggle over decision-making processes, for instance (10.4). With funding comes, more often than not, a set of restrictions and obligations, which again limit the freedom of AFIs as they need to comply with certain targets set by the funder (7.4).

The other two AFIs, which are mostly student-driven, are characterised by a general fragility and fluctuation of students' commitment (11.2). The aim of the food co-op is therefore to do some justice to its aspiration of continuity by being based in the SRC in order to get "as many people as possible involved" (11.3). Three years onwards, the Food Co-op experiences actual difficulties in maintaining its organisation exemplified by the fact that it no longer has a running bank account to accept further orders.

A more critical or at least skeptical attitude towards the issue of funding is persistent in Govan's case, most likely due to their collective experience with the urban regeneration/community development strategies employed by the Glasgow City Council (Feeney & Collins, 2015). A common response within the community is to 'do it ourselves' or similar ethos such as "problems in the community can be fixed by the community" (4.4). The DIY attitude within the dinners group particularly "appealed" to one group member (8b.3). The aforementioned vulnerability of alternative food practices to neoliberal cooptation is contrasted here with the opening up of "other socio-political subjectivities", i.e. the formation of "DIY citizenship" as an "effective political practice" (Crossan et al., 2016). Such openings in AFN practices have also been conceptualised as supporting "a politics of the possible" (Harris, 2008).

The lack of sound organisational structure in Govanite

AFIs may remind one of the habitus of the more practical kind (8a.4). The structure superimposed on people's lives, dominated by the disciplinary measures applied to them only to get their basic means of sustenance, may indeed lead those with low incomes to cultivate a habitus more antagonistic to the more complicit groups of society, those who implicitly seem to be able to live quite comfortably despite subjecting themselves to the more bureaucratically governed spheres of life. As previously discussed, such subjection implicates moreover to collude in the advancing processes of "beautification" of urban landscapes (Rosol, 2012) so as to heighten their perceived value for global place marketing, including "trajectories of displacement, transformation, commodification, resistance, or, disappearance" (Colomb, 2012, p. 131).

This is not to say that the Govanites never discussed funding possibilities. They are, in some way, practically predisposed to getting things done without having to care about the rigmarole of filling in funding applications and the like (and all that this entails), which may be framed under a habitus guided towards the "choice of the necessary" (Bourdieu, 1979/1984, p. 372). There are tensions within the community regarding this issue, and it seems that, for example, in order to transform Elder Park farm house back into a usable building and community space, the group moves towards the direction of attempting to guarantee funding under the condition that local residents have opportunities to be trained in the crafts necessary to regenerate the building. The overall aim seems to be to direct skill and wage transfers back into the area in order to genuinely regenerate the Govan economy. With every second person left unemployed, the potential to re-empower the area is enormous.

## Conclusions and Recommendations

This paper sought to investigate the impact of habitus on alternative food practice and, in particular, intended to highlight the significance of cultural capital in reproducing inequalities of access and development in AFIs. The main hypothesis is that macroeconomic contradictions of the world food system express themselves also on the micro- or regional level. There are at least two very contrasting practices within AFNs in the more affluent core and the less affluent periphery within the world food system. Whereas alternative food practice in the core is primarily centered around challenging the more dominant actors in the food system, the periphery is primarily concerned with accessing, first and foremost, their culture-bound means to basic sustenance. The core accepts particular logics of legitimation that are rather in contrast to its more peripheral counterpart. The former



may be rooted in either a more radicalised life-stylist or a more modest consumerist mode of rationalisation, but still finds itself in a privileged position of choice. The latter's rationale, however, is concentrated around the few possible and still rather limited choices that are available, revealing more culturally diverse and survivalist approaches.

The concern of this research has been to exemplify two parallel collective subjectivities emerging within cities of the world system's core. It is no coincidence that these macro-scale developments can be observed and are indeed reflected in the numerous microcosms that produce these systemic contradictions in their everyday practice. Within the boundaries of Glasgow there are significant differences in quality of life. The two selected field sites of the more affluent West End, and the rather income-deprived area of Govan have provided this study with the necessary background to enable investigation as to whether there truly are two kinds of habitus presenting themselves in the respective communities.

This study has been conducted under the assumption that the differing socio-historical contexts the members of the two communities inherit should result in distinguishable formations of habitus, i.e. diverging motivations, approaches and strategies being pursued to overcome their community-specific challenges and obstacles to satisfy their diverse needs and desired objectives.

The habitus of participants active in the West End's AFIs tends to array towards a bourgeois idyll of urban living (often sybaritic would be more apt), resulting in their relative distance from necessity and preoccupation with education and raising awareness of environmental issues. The volume of their cultural capital additionally marks a certain level of self-awareness of their role in relation to other less-privileged groups, which can manifest itself in a feeling of uneasiness, and a realisation of privilege that may have hitherto been unchallenged. This can result in a defensive, cynical distance or reserve, which seems to be compensated by engaging with the latter in projects of poor relief, doing justice to their "cultural goodwill" (Bourdieu, 1979/1984). Their relation to open space is experienced in a more aesthetic way, being outdoors, in wild places. Although there are signs of wariness towards the bureaucratic apparatus, the AFIs do succeed rather readily in securing external sources of funding, demonstrating their natural, docile dispositions and endowment with the necessary cultural capital to cooperate with systematic rules and regulations. However those engaged in AFIs in Govan express a more practical habitus oriented towards the "choice of the necessary" (Bourdieu, 1979/1984). Their main preoccu-

pation is finding meaningful ways to escape the effects of the continuous humiliation of long-term income-deprivation. Periods of existential crises are momentarily dismissed while experiencing therapeutic benefits from alternative food practices, by socialising in food growing projects or weekly dinners. Concerning their encounter with open public space, individuals value predominantly the non-commercial aspect, of being able to associate with others on freely accessible lands. It might appear that, whereas the AFIs in the West End seem rather more consensual and conformist in their practice, predisposed to be docile and more readily adopting a bureaucratic mind-set, those in Govan tend to be slightly conflictual with each other regarding funding issues and are naturally much more suspicious towards outsiders, be it City Council officials or funded community workers, due to an influential and lively memory of past encounters.

This study has thereby demonstrated the existence of such differing modes of habitus in relatively close urban geographies. These sets of dispositions nevertheless translate into wider social distance with regards to the actual position of each in the social space differentiated not only in economic but, at least equally importantly, in cultural terms.

Last but not least, this paper will point out recommendations for future research. At the beginning of this project, the intention was to explore the evolution of the Glasgow Local Food Network. It would seem worthwhile to undertake such a future investigation with regards to its internal interconnectivity, as well as its encounters of (re)negotiating land use with the Glasgow City Council, for instance, in order to increase the designated green area available for and conducive to setting up new food growing initiatives. Another task would be the development of a food map, gathering the amounts and types of food outlets and AFIs per area per inhabitant, thus allowing empirical judgements about the diversity and general nature of food accessibility in Glasgow. This could be complemented with quantitative survey-based research to correspond socio-economic status with the private food habits of its residents. Finally, an investigation of potentially differing habits with regards to the handling of food waste within close urban geographies is recommended.

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### Conflict of Interests

The author hereby declares that there is no conflict of interests.

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