

**Enduring Gardens:  
Woven by Friends into the Fabric of the Urban Community**

by  
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## **Author's Declaration**

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

I understand that my thesis may be made electronically available to the public.

## **Abstract**

For the most part, academic literature neglects the psychological impact of public gardens and the landscape on human well-being. Literature about botanical gardening and urban landscape design provide the foundation of contemporary public gardening practices. Largely overlooked, however, is a discussion of the relevance of such gardens to visitors. Public gardens, however, can play an important role in fostering a sense of place in communities, in both historical and contemporary contexts. In this study, the impacts of such gardens are considered through Canadian experiences using perceptual lenses offered by diverse writers whose work can be found in bodies of literature related to history, geography, non-fiction, and poetry. Concepts such as ‘place-making’ which can foster ‘home-making’, for example, are intriguing and worthwhile areas of inquiry in understanding the role of public gardens in the urban landscape.

This research explores the importance of ‘home’ in gardens. It also considers the importance of gardens to an individual’s internal (psychological) and external (social) home, particularly for those currently involved as volunteers at public gardens. The concept is related to stewardship and how being a steward of the garden home is key to being a steward of one’s internal home. The animating question here concerns the role that cultivated gardens might play in an individual’s connection to landscape. This topic is explored through an examination of volunteer programs (popularly known as Friends of the Garden programs) using grounded theory to explore the perceptions and perspectives of volunteers who work in three public gardens in Ottawa, Kitchener, and Toronto, Ontario. The subject of gardens and their interrelationship to people lends itself

to an interdisciplinary methodological approach encompassing studies in landscape ecology, geography, history, planning, design, and psychology, among others. The qualitative methods approach used in this thesis involves an in-depth examination of secondary literature, as well as field work involving semi-structured interviews, and narrative methods. Further, this research explores the role these gardens play with respect to the unique Canadian sense of place and well-being found within urban public gardens.

The findings of the research reveal differing perspectives of volunteers with respect to “sense-making” and the ways in which they engage with each other and with the urban public gardens where they work. In addition, the findings revealed the crucial role played by the volunteer as stewards of the garden. The volunteers see these gardens as sanctuaries and view their own role as serving the greater good of their communities for reasons that go beyond political and economic considerations; they are based on intrinsic sets of values. The research revealed that volunteers frequently possessed strong connections to childhood experiences spent in natural settings with their families. These experiences helped to stimulate a shared belief amongst gardeners that the very act of gardening is itself a valued and valuable “way of life”. Furthermore, volunteers are often retired and older; as such, they volunteer in the gardens as a way to contribute to the world to make it more beautiful and meaningful for others and to pass those gardens down to future generations. Gardens are seen as ways to re-create home from one’s childhood past; volunteers often link their present experience in the garden with a sense of connection and belonging in similar terms used to describe their home (as a country, a house, or a valued place).

These findings demonstrate that there is a strong sense of place that is both acquired and fostered through engagement with urban public gardens. The findings also raise the possibility that public gardens play an important role in fostering sense of place in visitors. This, in turn, can contribute to a sense of home or belonging, and stewardship of communities and natural surroundings. This research contributes to an understanding of the role that public gardens play as valuable places that make important contributions to social and ecological well-being.

**Key words: Public Gardens; Volunteers; Home; Sense of Place; Ethnosphere; Aesthetics; Stewardship**

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faith in my ability – and plenty of shared pots of tea. There are a few other people whose influence, unbeknownst to them, has been decisive. This dissertation grows out of my experience in the library as well as the gardens, and I would not have gotten very far had I never encountered the work of Barry Lopez, Wade Davis, Deborah Tall, Michael Pollan, Wallace Stegner, Henry David Thoreau, Mary Oliver, William Cronon, and J.B. Jackson. Different as these writers are, they are all pioneers on the frontier of nature and culture, and that makes them superb, if perhaps unwitting, guides to the garden.

## Dedication

*This dissertation is dedicated to the Friends of the Gardens. With these friends I have shared cups of tea, pruned peonies, and photographed gardens. I feel tremendous humility to be able to speak with the diligent workers of these gardens, the ones who never receive credit, the ones who wheelbarrow manure, prick seedlings, hold vigil over these gardens. Gardeners are the most humble of sorts: each saying they are “just” labourers in the garden. This is anything but a matter of “just”. They occupy a niche in society most would not dare venture into. They are the graceful elves of the gardens, coming in quietly, doing their work, and leaving without pausing to admire their work. They travel, often significant distances, to work the soil. They don’t need to be there, most have their own gardens at home, no doubt gorgeous and complicated in their own right. They come for the people, for the rare thank you a visitor might offer up in passing, unaware of the significance it might hold. They are special people, with lives of great adventure and passion and activity, who have chosen to pause in these gardens, not physically, but perhaps emotionally, for but a moment. They number in the many, those with the wide-brimmed hats, muddy knees, and dirty hands, and the gardens reap their efforts. In the cities, these gardens shine with a magnificence created in part by those volunteers, the ones who add a special touch to the landscape, who do it for reasons other than monetarily, who do it because they can, and they see what a crucial role they play in the grand scheme of things.*

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*When I grow up, I would be honoured to be considered a gardener of this highest quality: knowledgeable, selfless, and with dirt on my knees, and a smile on my face and it is to these people that I dedicate this dissertation. I can think of no greater honour than to capture your stories within my own work.*

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# Chapter One: Preparing the Groundwork

## 1.1 Groundwork

Gardens are found in the most manufactured of worlds: we bring plants inside shopping malls situated under skylights in order to make us feel as though we are actually outside. We bring cut flowers into our kitchens to make our homes feel warm. We seek green in an urban world of concrete. We, as humans, are attracted to the world of plants and the feelings they evoke. From the beginning of time, humans cultivated gardens; these places have been used to foster a sense of home and place. We connect to a landscape, both peopled and otherwise. When we are in gardens we develop our senses of attachment and belonging, which contribute to the development of our individual health and the collective psyches of our communities. This study, then, investigates how volunteers engage in public gardens and how that relationship between person and place affects the larger community.

The importance of ‘home’ in gardens and the ways in which such gardens have endured through human time and consciousness are both explored in this thesis. *Home* is not the physical location, but the feeling of place and well-being one might experience when comfortable and “at home”. The main themes of aesthetics, enthosphere, and home contribute to our examination of the relationship between people and place. The importance of gardens to a community is well-discussed in literature (Alaino et al., 2010; Francis & Hester, 1990; Gerlach-Spriggs, 1998; Richardson, 2008). Often neglected, however, is the applicability of gardens to the psyche of individuals, and the attendant implications for social and ecological well-being. This thesis attempts to bridge this gap

through a comparative examination of the secondary literature with data collected from interviews with public gardens volunteers. As elaborated upon below, the goal is to explore the relationship between gardens and how concepts of ‘home’ and ‘sense of place’ are understood, contemplated, and valued by Friends of the gardens.

## **1.2 Questions and Purpose Statement**

“To be rooted is perhaps the most important and least recognized need of the human soul. ... A human being has roots by virtue of [her/] his real, active, and natural participation in the life of a community, which preserves in living shape certain particular treasures of the past and certain particular expectations for the future” (Weil, 1971, p.43).

With this statement, Weil articulates how important the concept of sense of place is to ‘self’, and how ‘roots’, both figurative and otherwise, allow individuals to grow into themselves.

Little academic work has focused on the psychological aspects of public gardens and the landscape itself; the main tenets of current garden practices stem from literature that relates to botanical gardening and urban landscape design (American Public Gardens Association, 2012; Garden History Society, 2012; Von Baeyer & Crawford, 1995).

Public gardens, however, play an important role in fostering a sense of place in both a historical and a contemporary context. In this thesis, the impacts of such gardens are considered through Canadian experiences using perceptual lenses offered by writers of work related to history, geography, non-fiction, and poetry. Place-making and home-making are both concepts worthy of consideration in understanding the role of public gardens in the Canadian landscape and this research explores the importance of the

concept of ‘home’ in gardens. It also considers the importance of gardens to an individual’s internal (psychological) and external (social) home, particularly for those currently involved as volunteers at public gardens, as well as the role that cultivated gardens might play in an individual’s connection to landscape. This topic is explored through an examination of volunteer programs (commonly known as Friends of the Garden programs). Further, this thesis explores the role these gardens play with respect to the sense of place and well-being found within urban public gardens. The primary questions considered here are as follows:

*What are the social and ecological values offered by experiences with public gardens? What might be discovered about those values through an exploration of why people volunteer their time supporting Canadian public gardens (as Friends)? Specifically, is there a connection between a sense of place and the re-creation of ‘home’ in those who frequent the gardens?*

These questions are investigated through an exploration of the motivations of those who have a notably strong attachment to the public gardens; namely volunteers of public gardens. Of interest here are the factors that encourage connections to the gardens and whether those connections affect the volunteer’s sense of place. That sense of place, in turn, may foster connections to feelings that an individual is ‘at home’ and grounded within the landscape and by extension her/his own identity. Moreover, it is important when considering such ideas, to address *how* the possible sense of place acquired from gardens might impact one’s life and how the sense can be acquired, fostered, and modified. Furthermore, in identifying key psychological, social, and philosophical components of ‘home’ and its re-creation elsewhere, one can perhaps anticipate how the

various gardens that have been developed to re-create home adopted to other aspects of society. Both sense of place and home in the context of the public garden are influenced by many factors including history, environmental psychology, human geography, and landscape architecture. Public gardens endured throughout much of human history; they have been attended to and cared for as valued elements of large settlements, villages, and cities without having any tangible utilitarian purpose. They are valued for what they offer the human psyche that speaks to an intrinsic worth (Pollan 1991; Richardson, 2008; Tuan, 2005; Von Baeyer & Crawford, 1995). It is this crucial aspect of them – their endurance – that becomes important when examining the parallel endurance of volunteer participation in the garden.

Practical and economic public benefits can be gained from the institution of such gardens in urban centres. The focus of this thesis, however, is more on the intrinsic value of gardens and exploring what they have to offer that has allowed them to endure throughout the ages carefully maintained by generations of gardeners. As such, emphasis here is placed on the stewards of the gardens, those volunteers who create and maintain them for reasons that have little to do with economic worth. This focus is of value for a number of reasons. Most importantly, such an exploration can reveal much about place attachment because, unlike in other settings, the reward for volunteers is not one of immediate economic self-interest. There are also other benefits of such an exploration. As Lewicka (2005) and Alaimo et al. (2010) note, volunteerism advances social capital, civic engagement, and the cultural health of community: “Community gardening and beautification activities created opportunities for the development of bonding, bridging,

and linking social capital” (Alaimo et al., 2010, p.499), all of which can contribute to sense of place within a community.

How these volunteers value and promote gardens in terms of aesthetics, ethnosphere, and home, is the focus of this thesis – as well as how all three themes influence the relationships between people and gardens. These three elements of place, derived from the secondary literature, are important to consider in relation to gardens because combined they encompass concepts of time, space, beauty, and story, all of which are frequently discussed with regards to gardens, but rarely discussed in combination. The thesis addresses a gap in the literature that has yet to consider the importance of home and place attachment in the context of public gardens in Canadian cities.

### **1.3 Rationale/Contributions to Literature**

The results of this thesis occupy a niche in academia that synthesizes theory and concepts from many diverse fields in order to arrive at an understanding of how “home” is understood and related through sense of place in urban public gardens. This thesis offers many contributions – conceptual, theoretical, and methodological – at several scales. The practical research contribution is based on an exploration of the dynamic relationship between the nexus of urban public gardens and sense of place in community engagement, particularly in the urban landscape. Through grounded theory, interviews are used to investigate if and how the concepts of ‘home’ and ‘sense of place’ are understood and contemplated by the Friends of the gardens. For the purpose of this thesis, therefore,

‘home’ is considered a component of sense of place, as are aesthetics, ethnosphere, and stewardship.

Additional contributions include the further development of grounded research methodologies: ethnographic research, ground-truthing, and participant-employed photography. Perhaps less obvious a contribution is the retelling of stories provided by volunteers in the gardens; these voices are not often heard in this context and yet the volunteers play an important role as stewards in the urban public garden.

## 1.4 Objectives

Table 1.1 presents general and specific objectives:

Table 1.1 - General and Specific Objectives

General Objectives	Specific Objectives
1. What are the social and ecological values offered by experiences with public gardens?	a. Explore how social and ecological values have influenced various ways of understanding the natural world around us in the context of gardens.
2. What might be discovered about those values (listed above) through an exploration of why people volunteer their time supporting Canadian public gardens (as Friends)?	a. Understand influence of gardens on human populations with respect to the larger human landscape: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>i. Research the historical, and continuing, rationale for gardens; specifically public gardens; and</li> <li>ii. Explore human connections and commitments to gardens to discover why they exist; i.e. why they are valued and endure.</li> </ul>
3. Specifically, is there a connection between a sense of place and the re-creation of ‘home’ in those who frequent the gardens?	a. Understand sense of place: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>i. Explore what influence sense of place in the context of gardens has on a participant’s life.</li> </ul> b. Understand home as it relates to gardens.

This thesis examines various theories and concepts of sense of place, home, public gardens, belonging and identity, environmental psychology, and ethnosphere as well as the ways in which Friends programs in public gardens contribute to this work.

Gardens appear to play a valuable role in fostering a unique Canadian sense of place and well-being, as both the gardens and the related Canadian identity are distinct to this country (Von Baeyer & Crawford, 1995). An exploration as to how this is the case is primarily explored through interviews with Friends of selected gardens across Ontario, Canada, and secondly through the consideration of perceptual lenses offered by diverse writers whose work can be found in bodies of literature related to history, geography, non-fiction, and poetry.

This work is an exploration of the importance of the connection between a sense of place and the re-creation of home in those who frequent, and work in, gardens. This is achieved through a close examination of both literature and grounded theory through field work, including semi-structured interviews, site visits, and narratives. These findings are then applied to a consideration of the broader ways in which the general public implements the social and ecological values.

I visited three gardens to conduct grounded research, and it was during this time that additional insight was gained into the complex relationships that exist between those landscapes and the people who pass through it. Such a grounded approach is imperative when one looks at the concepts of home and place as they pertain to Canadian public gardens, for authentic reflections of what happens in such gardens are told through the

voices of the people who experience them on a regular basis – namely the Friends of the gardens.

This thesis examines three gardens: Maplelawn Historic Garden, Rockway Gardens, and Spadina Museum Gardens. Maplelawn is located in Ottawa, Ontario, and its Friends program began in 1993 when a group of local residents rallied to preserve the overgrown gardens. Rockway is located in Kitchener, Ontario, and expresses a business-like civic approach to community building. Spadina is located in Toronto, Ontario, and has a variety of plantings – from vegetables to annuals, perennials, orchard trees, grapevines, and a greenhouse, all on 5.7 acres in the heart of Canada’s busiest city.

As renowned British gardener and writer Gertrude Jekyll wrote in 1899,

[...] the lesson I have thoroughly learnt, and wish to pass on to others, is to know the enduring happiness that the love of a garden gives. I rejoice when I see any one, and especially children, inquiring about flowers, and wanting gardens of their own, and carefully working in them. For the love of gardening is a seed that once sown never dies, but always grows and grows to an enduring and ever-increasing source of happiness.

This thesis considers the value of such sentiments and the feelings evoked by public gardens, which then extends to the ways in which individuals engage with place, aesthetics, and ethnosphere. Such value and its impacts are discussed in Chapter Two.

## **1.5 Thesis Structure**

This thesis is structured into seven chapters. Chapter Two introduces the core concepts of aesthetics, ethnosphere, and home, and how they are integral to a sense of place. A case is



made both for the study of public gardens and the value of investigating the relationship that people (specifically Friends) have with the natural landscape.

Chapter Three describes the evolution and associated role of gardens in history and considers the different types of gardens. The chapter also offers rationale for the choice of Canadian public gardens in this work. The chapter also explores possible motivations behind the long endurance of gardens (which is followed up through the field research).

Chapter Four explains and justifies the research methodology used for the primary field research. The initial sections introduce the theoretical and applied framework, and its main elements and assumptions. The chapter then discusses the case study sites and discusses the primary research interview approach.

Chapter Five relays the findings of the research with an exploration of both themes unique to each garden and reoccurring themes across the three gardens. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the limitations and contributions of the findings.

Chapter Six analyses those primary field work findings and then compares the findings from the literature with those of the field work to see if there are any commonalities. As a result of this exercise, a fourth main theme is added to aesthetics, ethnosphere, and home-that of stewardship. Additionally, the volunteer culture is identified as crucial to the endurance of urban public gardens.

Chapter Seven summarizes the findings and highlights the academic contributions. This chapter explores the role of the volunteer in the public garden and addresses the contribution of the research in terms of each objective initially laid out in Chapter One. It concludes with directions for future research.

## **Chapter Two: Elements of Place Attachment: Aesthetics, Ethnosphere, and Home**

Place attachment does not happen as a result of a single occurrence in life but rather over time as an individual acquires experiences related to notions such as *aesthetics*, *ethnosphere*, and *home* (Cresswell, 2004; Cross, 2001). Definitions are based on concepts from environmental psychology, anthropology, and landscape architecture. For the purposes of this thesis, home is defined as a space within which one feels connected and grounded. Aesthetics is defined as the visual beauty recognizable within the landscape. Ethnosphere is defined as the story of humanity within a location (encompassing the history, present day, and future of not an individual but collective humankind). Without home, there is nothing to centre one's experience in the world, without aesthetics, there is no beauty to admire, and without ethnosphere, there is no story with which to engage – all of which are crucial to the well-being of an individual. This chapter explores all three components of place attachment in the literature in order to consider how this central idea of place is integral to the human spirit and how that, in turn, helps to explain attachment to gardens. Furthermore, this thesis considers aspects of the human spirit, sense of place, belonging and identity, and the relationship between behaviour and experience. Each of these elements of the thesis is important to consider as they each connect the three core concepts of aesthetics, ethnosphere, and home to daily life and one's experience in an urban environment.

For many years, environmentalists rationalized the need for the protection of green spaces. They have done so by pointing out the latter's intrinsic value in order to counter arguments in favour of the exploitation of environmental 'goods and services' where the

anthropocentric value can be readily quantified (Cronon, 1999; Jackson, 1984; Kunstler, 1996; Pollan, 1991). This thesis explores the intrinsic value of such green space through an examination of the voluntary engagement of people with public gardens.

In order to explain the connection between people and their environments, public gardens are used to explore the ways in which people engage with the physical world. Volunteers within those gardens constitute the focus of this study, because they are the individuals who best encapsulate the concept of place attachment through home, aesthetics, and ethnosphere; they give freely of their time for the intrinsic value gained from doing so.

Economic theories for valuing a good or service do not readily explain the longevity of public gardens. Such gardens themselves may not have reason to endure on purely economic or pragmatic grounds. They have little quantifiable value; they occupy prime real estate in urban centres; and they require considerable maintenance throughout the year. And yet they endure. Through an examination of the three elements of aesthetics, ethnosphere, and home, this chapter offers insight into each core concept as well as suggestions on how a combination of the three elements contributes to the enduring quality of gardens in our lives.

The concepts of aesthetics, ethnosphere, and home are unique and cannot be collapsed into the others. As seen in Chapter 2.2.1, there are many types of place attachment (e.g., biographical, spiritual, ideological, narrative, commodified, and dependent), but not all types of attachment outlined by Cross (2001) consider the intrinsic value of place.

Various authors have explored sense of place with respect to private gardens. For example, Bhatti & Church (2000, 2001, 2004) have written extensively on the connection

between house, home, and private garden. The literature on public gardens, specifically in Canada, is notably sparse.

Even sparser is the public garden literature that exists with relation to more than a single aspect of place attachment. Sense of place, as seen in Chapter 2.2.1, is the emotion connected with a place: “A place comes into existence when humans give meaning to a part of the larger, undifferentiated space” (Tuan, 1977, p.176). The connection between sense of place and gardens is important in understanding what role gardens play in fostering individuals’ connections to gardens and what role that relationship plays in the larger urban environment.

## **2.1 Core Concepts**

Aesthetics, ethnosphere, and home are all interrelated concepts that can serve as useful tools for understanding and fostering place attachment and the role it plays in nurturing an individual’s sense of identity and belonging. Like gardens, the three themes of aesthetics, ethnosphere, and home have endured over time. These are elements of place that can provide insight into what connections may exist between volunteers and urban public gardens.

### **2.1.1 Aesthetics**

The term *aesthetics* is from the Greek word *aisthetikos* and was originally coined by Alexander Baumgarten in 1735. This concept is related to perception and can be further strengthened by Immanuel Kant's statement that "beauty is something that pleases everyone regardless of their opinions" (Routio, 2005). Aesthetic discussion is traditionally associated with art appreciation. This concept does not ignore the continuity between everyday life and the arts first emphasized by John Dewey. As discussed below, it ignores the importance of aesthetic value in the parts of our lives not devoted to art (Leddy, 2012).

Scholars in such disciplines as geography, philosophy, and psychology see aesthetics as imperative in personal well-being, and must extend beyond the individual to the community, while serving as a foundation for life (Leddy, 2012; O'Donohue, 2004; Richardson, 2008; Tuan, 2005). Geographer Yi-Fu Tuan asserts that, "The more attuned we are to the beauties of the world, the more we come to like and take joy in it" (Tuan, 2005, p.1). With content individuals comes a level of overall happiness within a community and this extends to the larger environ. Furthermore, aesthetics scholar Sasaki (2011) offers the idea that "aesthetics holds new and real possibilities for the philosophy of beauty" (n.p.). He suggests that aesthetics is a way to confront urgent problems and managing the world:

"Recognize the goodness of the world in its beauty" was the claim of the early modern aesthetics. With conditions of civilization being reduced to *tabula rasa*, people had to construct a new good world from zero. Philosophers believed that under such a situation, they had no other means than beauty to recognize the goodness of the new world. If our time is one of renovation, equivalent to the early modern times, the goodness of our new world should be recognized by beauty. As mere human beings, we have to adjust the plan according to the beauty of the result. Of course, it is important is to create a

beautiful world to live in, rather than a beautiful work for appreciation. (2011, n.p.)

The concept is important to consider in the larger world and not merely as an aspect of art. Far from uni-disciplinary, the concept of aesthetics is strongest “not only when it is internally connected (however various and mutually antipathetic its constituents), and when it is connected with other fields of philosophy, but also with other areas of enquiry and professional practice, notably [...] the critical disciplines of the human sciences” (Gaskell, 2005, n.p.). Both psychology and philosophy literature emphasize the importance of the aesthetic experience and the ways in which people impact, and are impacted by, their surroundings, and correspondingly, how they engage within that landscape (Dutton, 2006; Tuan, 2005; Tall, 1993; Visvader, 1985). Tuan, for example, suggests, “the most intense aesthetic experiences of nature are likely to take one by surprise” (2005, p.94). The visual enjoyment of nature varies in kind and intensity and may be no more than the acceptance of a social convention. Tuan offers that much of modern sightseeing seems to be motivated by the desire, for example, to collect as many National Park stickers as possible. “Such brushes with nature clearly fall short of the authentic” (Tuan, 2005, p.95). The appreciation of landscape is more personal and longer lasting when it is mixed with the memory of experiences, such as tending to a similar garden as a child. Tuan suggests this also endures when aesthetic pleasure is combined with scientific curiosity (2005, p.95). Gardens are spaces that can offer a combination of familiarity and discovery, linking the aesthetic experience with the landscape.

Aesthetics, though largely conceptual, affect every aspect of one’s life and the sensual experience of being is imperative for individuals to be well both internally and externally.

Despite recognition of the importance of aesthetics in design, “The biggest challenge is yet to come.... Now there is beauty on the outside; how do we come back and build the infrastructure within the human soul?” (Coles in Murphy, 2006, pp.160-161). In other words, the challenge that exists today is to connect external aesthetics and internal well-being.

Beauty, well-being, and place attachment are intrinsically-bound. Philosopher O’Donohue observes that “The human soul is hungry for beauty; we seek it everywhere [...]. No one would desire not to be beautiful. When we experience the Beautiful, there is a sense of homecoming. Some of our most wonderful memories are of beautiful places where we feel immediately at home” (2004, p.2). When individuals feel at home with beauty more than purely as an attribute for the visual landscape, the aesthetic quality of one’s surroundings impacts the nourishment of one’s soul:

We feel most alive in the presence of the Beautiful for it meets the needs of our soul. [...] In the experience of beauty we awaken and surrender in the same act. Beauty brings a sense of completion and sureness. Without any of the usual calculation, we can slip in into the Beautiful with the same ease as we slip into the seamless embrace of water; something ancient within us already trusts that this embrace will hold us. (O’Donohue, 2004, p.2)

Tuan offers some reinforcement to O’Donohue’s argument when he notes that simple acceptance of wonder of the world appears to be inherent in children:

By virtue of their immense natural vitality, children are [...] more likely than adults to possess an acute sense of wonder, an intense openness to the world. This capacity presupposes a distance between the self and the nonself – recognition of the strange and marvelous other. Children do not yet feel quite at home in the world. They have not yet had time to establish the routines or embrace the interpretive schemata that can make the world seem predictable, familiar, even gray. (Tuan, 2005, p.23)

Aesthetics have a far-reaching influence over time and space, and within generations, affecting every action and reaction individuals have within the landscape: As one observer notes,

In recent years aesthetics has grown into a rich and varied discipline. Its scope has widened to embrace ethical, social, religious, environmental, and cultural concerns. As international communication increases through more frequent congresses and electronic communication, varied traditions have joined with its historically interdisciplinary character, making aesthetics a focal centre of diverse and multiple interests (Gaskell, 2005, n.p.).

Aesthetics, then, is an important element to human-nature interaction even though critics of the importance of beauty may view aesthetics as superficial – useful only in relation to something individuals like to have in their surroundings when more basic needs are met (Tuan, 2005, p.1). The pervasive role of the aesthetic is suggested, however, by its root meaning of *feeling* – not just any kind of feeling, but *shaped* feeling and sensitive perception, and therefore is a basic need in the human condition (Dutton, 2006; Porteous, 1982; Tuan, 2005). There may, therefore, be some difficulty in arguing the importance of sensual experiences in one's surroundings and one's occupied space in that landscape. By virtue of creating a sense of home and rightness with the world, beauty centres one's being in the universe without requiring reciprocation beyond that of protection. "The animation of the Beautiful is so immediate and fulfilling that we simply enjoy it for itself; it never occurs to us to ask what purpose it serves. Our joy in the Beautiful is as native to us as our breath, a lyrical act where we surrender but to awaken" (O'Donohue, 2004, p.8). When a person can experience the joy in beauty, s/he can feel a connection to the aesthetic of the landscape.



As people become more at ease within the landscape, the sense of beauty might lessen, as suggested by philosopher O'Donohue. Blaise Pascal, a French philosopher, suggested, "in difficult times you should always carry something beautiful in your mind" (O'Donohue, 2004, p.17), and that in such times people ought to stay close to one simple thing in nature (Rilke in O'Donohue, 2004, p.17). This beauty is directly connected to the well-being of a community and its individuals (see Section 2.2.1). "Beneath the frenetic streams of thought, the quieter, elemental nature of the self takes over and calms our presence. Rather than taking us out of ourselves, nature "coaxes us deeper inwards, teaches us to rest in the serenity of our elemental nature"" (O'Donohue, 2004, p.17). The beauty of nature is what can bring people to their places of identity and belonging, and therefore their sense of place. It is away from the stresses of our lives and into the beauty of nature that we are afforded a 'breath of fresh air' and pause.

It has been argued by theorists including Pascal (in Donohue, 2004), Tuan (1977), Petts (2008), and Leddy (2008) that beauty and everyday aesthetics do not, however, stand as unique events. Tom Leddy (2008) offers that perhaps the division between beauty and everyday aesthetics is simply a dualistic argument. Jeffrey Petts (2008) reviewed the first anthology on everyday aesthetics and found the distinction between familiar and strange unnecessary and incoherent. Leddy (2008) calls it dualism to separate the ordinary from the extraordinary; for Leddy there is no opposition but a dialectical relationship.

Extraordinary exists as a possibility within the ordinary and each moment in everyday life is uniquely precious, although some might argue that aesthetics may lessen this impact.

One might reject the dualism of ordinary and extraordinary and propose a dynamic or dialectical relationship between the two. It is still often pointed out that the ordinary in everyday life has received less interest than the extraordinary in everyday life, and yet neither is truly recognized as unique or of great importance to the experience of an individual (Petts, 2008). If this is indeed the case, then people are blind to both, truly unaware of either. As is often the case with subjective perceptions what is extra-ordinary to one person may be commonplace to another.

Humans require connection to people, community, and place for a sense of purpose, happiness, and also for intrinsic well-being. Biologist E.O. Wilson (1984) wrote that a longing for sense of place is embedded within the human psyche, but is rarely realized by people. This may be even more challenging in the context of the modern mobile urban lifestyle where placelessness has been identified as a worrisome trend in today's society (Kunstler, 1996; Relph, 1976). The desire to connect to nature is a direct result of centuries of evolution of humans and their relationships with their natural environment. Urbanization and suburbanization are stages in this evolution. People need contact with nature – actual deep-seated connection to the natural landscape – because it is crucial to human well-being and emotional health. Noting this desire, anthropologist Wade Davis (2009) suggested a new term 'ethnosphere' to capture this need of people to be situated within a setting that captures a broader sense of time and place and their place in history and the natural environment.

### 2.1.2 Ethnosphere

A holistic concept that incorporates aspects of human geography, landscape architecture, literature, philosophy, and psychology is the *ethnosphere*. Popularized by ethnographer Wade Davis, ethnosphere is described as

[t]he sum total of all thoughts and dreams, myths, ideas, inspirations, intuitions brought into being by the human imagination since the dawn of consciousness. The ethnosphere is humanity's great legacy. It's a symbol of all we are and all we can be as an astonishingly inquisitive species. (2009, p.2)

If the ethnosphere is the sum total of the human imagination, then certainly this closely aligns with notions of aesthetics, home, and the large sense of place, as they foster those imaginations and allow them to flourish. Ethnosphere, by definition, encompasses notions of each of the three themes above, but looks at them from a more esoteric perspective, which connects one's experience with the world through time and space.

Furthermore, Davis suggests that the ethnosphere is just as important to the earth's health and well-being as the global natural ecosystem academics refer to as the *biosphere*, but he claims the former is degrading far more quickly than the latter. Therefore, in order to combine the notions of place provided by various disciplines, and to also relate it to green spaces, ethnosphere can impart a wisdom of those whose senses of place are most affected by the presence of green spaces. Ecologists have long proposed the idea of a biosphere to capture the web of organic interactions that comprise life on earth, which was followed by the term 'ecosphere' to capture more complex relations of both organic and inorganic systems (Denton, 2011). While both terms incorporate human life, neither reflects the web of cultural and social interactions that make us 'human'. However, the term ethnosphere, as Davis describes it, does capture a larger and more inclusive

definition (Denton, 2011, p.216). Historian Peter Denton suggests that the term is useful when considering the sociology of knowledge given that there is an “impossibility of this consciousness without its embodiment in some form of practice. [... T]he ethnosphere becomes the totality of human motivations toward personal, social and cultural activities and the interpretation of what they mean” (2011, p.217).

*Our kinship with Earth must be maintained; otherwise we will find ourselves trapped in the centre of our own paved-over souls with no way out (Williams, 2009).*

Wade Davis’s work with respect to his ideas about ethnosphere has not been heavily critiqued due to its relatively recent introduction in 2009. Nevertheless, his research has been the subject of more than 900 media reports and interviews in Europe, North and South America, and the Far East (National Geographic, 2012). For the most part, critics have emphasized the value of Davis’s work and its contributions in raising public awareness of the relationship between the human story and an individual’s relationship with their environment and fellow beings (National Geographic, 2012). Ethnosphere, as a concept, appears to have been used more often in popular culture than in academic circles. For example, it has been used by Davis (2009) to bring awareness to the assimilation of indigenous cultures and language and this has sparked the interest of anthropologists and conservationists around the world (National Geographic, 2012). The term, however new, appears to encapsulate a number of perspectives in a holistic manner that other terms such as human ecology or ecosphere have failed to address in the same scope. *Nöosphere* is the closest comparator and has been defined by Vernadsky as the “sphere of wisdom” (Oldfield, 2001; Oldfield & Shaw, 2002), which emphasizes scientific thought as the

basis for addressing the relationship between humans and their environment. Ethnosphere encompasses the concept of nöosphere but goes further and also considers more esoteric approaches to the experience of person in place (both spatially and temporally), making it more suitable for the purposes of this thesis. The application of the term ethnosphere in the context of this thesis might also be considered a worthwhile contribution to the literature in that it helps to articulate the intrinsic human connections to gardens and nature in a holistic way that is not readily captured by other concepts.

The ethnosphere cannot be meaningfully studied without considering individual and, by extension, community well-being. Likewise, notions of well-being cannot be examined without considering the impact of the ethnosphere on one's self and collective identity. Furthermore, home and ethnosphere cannot be fully-discussed without considering the impacts of place.

### **2.1.3 Home**

Concepts of home are found in many genres including historical diaries of settlement, immigration documents, travel brochures, and other relics attempting to capture a place in a time. "Home" can be conceptualized on many scales, from household to village, to region, to nation, and yet on all scales "home" is the space where one resides, whether physically or otherwise (Davis, 2009; Pollan, 1991; Sobel, 2012; Tuan, 2005). From place-based education (Gruenewald, 2003a, 2003b; Sobel, 2012), to landscape architecture (Beatley, 2004; Liu, 2008), to social geography (Buttimer, 1993; Cresswell, 2004), concepts of home have also been discussed in academic literature.

From a Canadian perspective, some human geographers have argued that people of European-origin are often lured to this country from their homes ('place') and with the movement, there have been shifts in the immigrant's perceptions of what constitutes wilderness versus urban landscapes (Relph, 1976; Tuan, 2005; Vitek, 1996). In the 1800s, for example, European immigrants were lured west by the land and the opportunity to own real estate, which did not come easily in the East (or in their birth countries) due to economic, political, land scarcity, or social standing constraints. In 1862, Henry David Thoreau suggested that as European colonizers "We go eastward to realize history and study the works of art and literature, retracing the steps of the race; we go westward as into the future, with a spirit of enterprise and adventure" (1993, p.57). The lure of possibility has always tempted people, and often individuals have succumbed and gone in search of opportunities that they might perceive as not otherwise being available to them. Conquering landscapes – transforming them from the unknown and possibly dangerous, to those that are somewhat tamed and understood – has been happening for hundreds of years, and is indeed frequently mentioned in literature about *home-making* (Moodie, 1989; Traill, 2006).

Historian Frederick Jackson Turner controversially suggested that the frontier and the boundary between perceived savagery and civilization, wilderness and cultivation disappeared around 1890 (Lippard, 1997). If this date, and Turner's essay, have merit, then people of European descent have been disconnected from the originally largely-unknown frontier – and correspondingly the 'wilderness' – for more than 100 years, a period of time that has served to displace people from their histories and their storied landscapes. When there was no more frontier to 'conquer' "[n]ational movements became

more frenetically random – here and there, back and forth between coasts, following elusive fortune and driven by economic necessity, inventing new frontiers to replace the vanished ones” (Lippard, 1997, p.40).

Interestingly, in order to create any connection to the landscape, displacement ultimately created places and senses of place. In the European settlement of Canada, people were able to connect to their landscapes and neighbourhoods through shared history and hope for growth and wealth. For example, the Halifax Public Gardens were established in 1867 and modeled after the Victorian gardens so familiar to the English settlers. Other gardens included the Rideau Hall Gardens, a 79-acre estate established in 1838 to incorporate a composition of classic English and modern garden styles, again so familiar to immigrants of that time (Governor General of Canada, 2009). In doing so, however, other populations such as First Nations were displaced and forced to search for new roots as the Europeans created and imposed their own sense of home (Lopez, 1991). During this upheaval, First Nations individuals were only able to gain a sense of cohesion within the community through experience and a mutually-desired future in that particular landscape (Buttimer, 1993; Cross, 2001). But it is not only the sense of place and home that is important in place attachment, but also the ways in which that place engages the person’s senses.

The importance of understanding place as ‘home’ for the purpose of this thesis is that it helps people to describe and understand place attachment. The feelings experienced by people in both place and home are similar, but it is often easier for people to describe what makes them feel ‘at home’ than ‘in place’. Moreover, the notion of place is

comprised of more than just an element of home. Therefore, throughout the thesis the three elements of place attachment are referred to as aesthetics, ethnosphere, and home.

When notions of aesthetics, ethnosphere, and home are considered together, the human spirit can be nurtured and this may lead to a strong sense of place, important in the ways in which people feel connected to the world around them and ultimately to themselves as well.

#### **2.1.4 Exploring Concepts of Aesthetics, Ethnosphere, and Home**

The three key concepts of aesthetics, ethnosphere, and home as related to sense of place have key identifying features that enable one to discern them from other, perhaps similar, concepts. Given these three concepts, Table 2.1 shows essential qualities or attributes that could be used to further define them. The terms and their criteria will be compared against findings from primary field work to see if the essential qualities determined through literature do exist. Gardens provide a useful way to explore these terms.

Table 2.1 Essential Qualities/Attributes for Defining Key Concepts

Term	Essential qualities/Attributes
Aesthetics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>aesthetic integrity: “coherence/harmony over time between positive sensual qualities and cultural, historical, and biological features that contribute to aesthetic evaluation of a place” (Robinson &amp; Elliot, 2011, pp.177-178)</li> <li>visual qualities of the landscape (environmental aesthetics) (Porteus, 1982)</li> <li>concerned with surface, with appearance (Porteus, 1982; Tuan, 2005)</li> <li>direct pleasure: valued as a source of immediate experiential pleasure in itself, and not primarily for its utility in producing something else that is either useful or pleasurable (Dutton, 2006, p.369; Porteous, 1982; Tuan, 2005)</li> </ul>



	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• representation: represent real and imaginary experiences of the world (Dutton, 2006)</li> <li>• emotional saturation (Dutton, 2006)</li> <li>• imaginative experience (Dutton, 2006)</li> <li>• continuum: from the pretty to the beautiful and finally to the sublime (Leddy, 2010)</li> </ul>
Ethnosphere	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “the sum total of all thoughts and dreams, myths, ideas, inspirations, intuitions brought into being by the human imagination since the dawn of consciousness” (Davis, 2009)</li> <li>• intercommunication between human cultures (Allen, 2003)</li> <li>• character and symbolism of human institutions (Allen, 2003; Malinowski, 1944)</li> <li>• symbolic meaning to place attachment (Jorgensen &amp; Stedman, 2006)</li> </ul>
Home	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• act of dwelling and engaging within a space (Heidegger, 1962; Kunstler, 1996; Tuan, 1997; Tuan, 2005)</li> <li>• sense of belonging and empowerment (Beatley, 2004)</li> <li>• the space where one resides, whether physically, emotionally, or otherwise (Davis, 2009; Pollan, 1991; Sobel, 2012; Tuan, 2005)</li> </ul>
Sense of Place	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• beliefs, emotions, and behavioural commitments to a space (Beatley, 2004; Jorgensen &amp; Stedman, 2006; Vitek &amp; Jackson, 1996)</li> <li>• helps to overcome anonymity, enables engagement with the space (Beatley, 2004)</li> <li>• differentiation between ‘thick’ and ‘thin’ places; “<i>thick places</i> are contrived in the imbrications of affect, habit, and practice, presenting opportunities for personal enrichment and a deepening of affective experiences” (Casey in Duff, 2010)</li> <li>• humanly-defined by its buildings, customs, and culture, but also firmly attached to and in part defined by the piece of earth on which it sits (Cresswell, 2004; Cross, 2001)</li> </ul>

The key elements of place as outlined above will be considered more thoroughly in

Chapter Six: Analysis.

## 2.2 Aspects of the Human Spirit

*What does it mean to be a human in this world? To have a psyche, and innate connection to that which is beyond you? To be connected yet disjointed? To feel that you are one with the world; or that you are, perhaps, very much alone in that same world? It is these and so many other questions that can perhaps be considered through the lens of place: when we know who we are and where we fit, we can create identities upon the landscape and dwell within worlds that make sense to us. Gardens allow us the opportunity to consider ourselves outside of ourselves: they challenge us to engage on a different level with something beyond our own identities. They don't care whether we are wealthy, if we have a home, and if we know the Latin genus of the plants. They are there for us to enjoy. And we do. (Author's Reflections)*

### 2.2.1 Sense of Place<sup>2</sup>

Humans require connection to people, community, and place for a sense of purpose, happiness, and also for our intrinsic well-being. E.O. Wilson (1984) suggests a longing for sense of place is embedded within the human psyche, although this is realized by few of us. The desire to connect to nature is a direct result of centuries of evolution of humans and our relationships with our natural environment. The acquisition of sense of place is one way for people to connect to nature. Urbanization and suburbanization are stages in this evolution. It has been argued that people require contact with nature, actual deep-seated connection to the natural landscape (Bhatti & Church, 2001, 2004; Brook, 2003; Doolittle, 2004; Hooykaas, 2008; Louv, 2011; Minter, 1993; Tall, 1993; Tuan, 2005; Wilson, 1984). In other words, many analysts from ecopsychologists to philosophers to geographers maintain that nature is crucial to humans' well-being and emotional health and to the deep sense of who they are as individuals (Jellicoe, 1995; Louv, 2011; Minter, 1993; Tall, 1993; Tuan, 2005; Wilson, 1984).

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<sup>2</sup> This section is based on my 2008 M.Phil. thesis entitled "The Study of Placelessness: Toward a Conceptual Framework" but has been considerably modified and adapted to suit this dissertation.

Today in addition to having clear identities, humans also need to feel empowerment and have a sense of ownership over their lives in an increasingly disconnected world. This sense of control can be felt in the connections people make to meaningful places, indeed even considering those places their ‘homes’. “Much of our frustration today [in lacking identity and empowerment] is a function of our feelings of having little or no control over the events and dynamics that shape and affect us,” which can lead to an alienation of person from place (Beatley, 2004, p.7). Commitments to place foster a sense of empowerment over one's life while at the same time allowing an individual to seek to connect to others.

For a person, a sense of place, broadly defined to include a connection to community and both the built and natural landscapes, is crucial to development as an individual and growth both within a community and within a landscape. “Considerable research [...] demonstrates that cognitive health and happiness require [...] social participation and engagement” (Beatley, 2004, p.6). Individuals who are not invested in, and connected to, places are less apt to feel happiness and cognitive health (Albrecht, 2005). What some have called a ‘sense of embeddedness,’ or feeling a part of a community or social network – a feeling akin to a sense of place – appears to extend longevity in older people (Greene, 2000). The very connection to something beyond oneself, and the recognition of the importance to one’s wellness of having that connection, is a key to mental health and social well-being, and could arguably be the essence of Davis’ concept of the ethnosphere. When one has connections to the world outside of oneself, then it is possible, only then, to become a steward of one’s place, something that in turn provides a great many benefits to one’s life.

Landscape historians Geoffrey and Susan Jellicoe suggest that “Modern man is aware only of the visible tangible world; that at all times except for the present man has sought to experience for his enrichment the invisible intangibles [...]. It is the purpose of landscape design to retain a balance between these two worlds of the mind” (1995, p.371). It is not only the balance between the aesthetics experience of two minds that is of utmost importance, but with that, the associated sense of place. Place has been generally regarded as “a combination of setting, landscape, ritual, and routine in the context of other places” (Xu, 1995). Places, themselves, are difficult to identify and discuss without drawing comparisons. Place is defined through humanistic geography as a physical location where a person spends their most important and valuable time (Tuan, 2005). A person need not have physical connections to a place either currently or historically in order to be connected to it, though living within a place enables a stronger sense of stewardship. A place may be humanly-defined by its buildings, customs, and culture, but is also firmly attached to and in part defined by the piece of earth on which it sits (Cresswell, 2004; Cross, 2001; Tuan, 2005).

Everyone’s relationship to place is subjective, thereby making each connection to a landscape unique unto itself; individuals choose to express stewardship for a particular place. The school of thought associated with the work of Yi-Fu Tuan argues that if a landscape is solely a space, lacking in personal attachment, then stewardship and identity within one’s surroundings are not possible (Tuan, 1995; Vitek & Jackson, 1996). Sociologist Jennifer Cross has identified variances within place attachment and perception of place, as seen below:

- *Biographical (historical, familial)*: Being born and living in a place, develops over time;
- *Spiritual (emotional, intangible)*: Feeling a sense of belonging, simply felt rather than created;
- *Ideological (moral, ethical)*: Living according to moral guidelines for human responsibility to place — guidelines may be religious or secular;
- *Narrative (mythical)*: Learning about a place through stories, including: creation myths, family histories, political accounts, and fictional accounts;
- *Commodified (cognitive, based on choice and desirability)*: Choosing place based on a list of desirable traits and lifestyle preferences, comparison of actual places with ideal; and
- *Dependent (material)*: Constrained by lack of choice, dependency on another place, or economic activity (2001).

Cross suggests that each of the above relationships, however intimate or tangible, connects an individual to her/his surroundings and creates a steward of that individual. A sense of place is dependent upon circumstances and cannot be acquired should it be necessary for an individual to move from a place (Tuan, 2005; Relph, 1976).

Yi-Fu Tuan says: “If we think of space as that which allows movement, then place is pause; each pause in movement makes it possible for location to be transformed into place” (1977, p.6).

Timothy Beatley suggests that “Place helps overcome anonymity. Real places, real communities where people know each other and have deep connections to and understanding of each other are, in turn, much more likely to be caring places” (2004, p.6). The ways that most of us live today enable us to disassociate from one another through virtual communication, online purchasing, and other action that eliminates

human contact. It is increasingly easy to remain separate in today's world and have no onus from others to protect one's own surroundings. As discussed in anthropology and sociology, when connected to the larger community, a person is a part of something larger, involved in a reciprocal relationship in which the individual has both an obligation to give back to as well as to receive from the community (Albrecht, 2005; Alaimo et al., 2010; Altman & Werner, 1985; Cohen, 1985).

Being a participant in one's community requires consciousness of the act: "Choosing to become a member of a placed community [...] [whether human, natural, or a combination of the two] is a moral necessity that we ought to choose but are free to reject. This moral necessity springs from [...] the good [including psychologically, socially, spiritually, and otherwise] that can be achieved for oneself as well by practicing virtue in a community setting" (Vitek, 1996, p.182). Real communities, as with actual physical places, "offer the great promise of nurturing an ethic of care and responsibility" (Beatley, 2004, p.6). As with natural landscapes, when people recognize needs that face their communities, they can ignore neither the needs nor the larger communities if they feel connected and therefore obligated to react.

Placing oneself within a community has its advantages, but many observers are suggesting that people are losing the ability to know *how* to become placed and often remain in spaces simply as visitors (Heidegger, 1972; May, 1958). It has been asserted by Deborah Tall that the process of becoming placed within a community and a landscape requires risk and vulnerability; an individual must become dependent on others and cannot remain solely in their cocoon if they are to live a fulfilling and engaging life. When comparing various perspectives of space and connection to place within a

community, the visitor and native focuses are very different:

In a stable and traditional society, visitors and transients form a small part of the total population; their views on the environment are perhaps of no great significance. In our mobile society the fleeting impressions of people passing through cannot be neglected. Generally speaking, we may say that only the visitor (and particularly the tourist) has a viewpoint; his perception is often a matter of using his eyes to compose pictures. The native, by contrast, has a complex attitude derived from his immersion in the totality of his environment. The visitor's viewpoint, being simple, is easily stated. (Tuan, 2005, p.63).

The differences in perspectives between visitor and native extend to how individuals and communities perceive stewardship and preservation of the history and stories of the landscape. When one cannot fathom the past in a way that relates directly to oneself and one's community (as in the case of the visitor), then there is a relatively simple and singular viewpoint. On the other hand, the viewpoints of those deeply involved with, and attached, to a community and its landscape differ greatly leading to an awareness in which the decisions made for the landscape affect the individual and community at the same time (Hanes, 2007; Orr, 1992; Tuan, 2005; Wilson, 1984).

The more a person understands about the beginnings and evolution of a landscape naturally, historically, socially, and culturally, the greater the importance that space will play in her/his life because they will be aware of what came before them. Because people are embedded in the natural world, the histories of nature and humans are largely entwined. People need such natural and historical connections in order to acquire groundedness; both the connections and groundedness are requisite elements in building commitments to places (Beatley, 2004; Hooykaas, 2008; Relph, 1976). Thoreau once said, "In Wildness is the preservation of the world" (1993, p.61). Additionally, in place is the preservation of wildness. Individuals require the natural landscape and, in today's society,

the natural landscape requires placed individuals to be its stewards. Though we may not have the ability to inhabit the areas that are our natural landscapes for long periods of time, they are a part of us (Davis, 2009). We become familiar with such landscapes and they become crucial in maintaining our health and well-being as well as that of our communities and indeed our landscapes themselves.

Yi-Fu Tuan suggests that “Familiarity breeds affection when it does not breed contempt. [...] A man’s belongings are an extension of his personality; to be deprived of them is to diminish, in his own estimation, his worth as a human being” (2005, p.99). Ownership does not, however, necessitate a sense of place within the owned space and vice versa. One who is placeless within a landscape has a diminished sense of worth, psychologically, as a human being when compared to a placed person, though the former may not realize it if that person has never actually been placed (Hooykaas, 2008).

It is not only the connection between an individual and her/his community and landscape that are important to the stewardship of place, but also the way in which humans fill perceived niches within their landscapes. Stewardship can be defined as the way in which humans interact with their surroundings while establishing their own well-being as well as that of nature (Visvader, 1985). Many of us believe, perhaps egocentrically, that we are integral to the functioning of our landscapes, although if we were removed from our landscapes, they would continue to function without us. Human ecologist Gerald Young argues that, “[i]f a place is provided by which the individual can fit into the whole, then that individual becomes, functionally, a contributor to the whole, interacts with other members in an orderly fashion and by established channels” (1989, p.56). It is doubtful that we have ever functioned well and in such a fashion, as placed and as stewards of our



landscapes, for humans have always instigated war, strife, and destruction (Young, 1989). Today, however, it is not the grand dysfunctionality of our society that affects our tendency towards placelessness but instead individuals have become “non-functional, not participating in or contributing to the operation of the system in any effective way, or dysfunctional, becoming an element of chaos rather than of order in that system” (Young, 1989, p.56). Placelessness is part of the chaos our society has created in our system; today humans individually and collectively are frequently burdens to our landscapes, destructive to our spaces without recognizing them as places in our lives (Hooykaas, 2008).

Natural landscapes are familiar and comfortable places for only a few, though crucial to the well-being of everyone, both physically and emotionally. Frank Herbert, author of science fiction novel *Dune*, suggests that place is intrinsic to that well-being: “Humans live best when each has his own place, when each knows where he belongs in the scheme of things. Destroy the place and destroy the person” (1983, p.150). Today many of our social and environmental issues are connected to the destruction of our spaces, and consequently, our own well-being as well. If we are not stewards of our spaces, we cannot fully live in recognition of our places and our importance within them, nor at home within ourselves.

The necessity of place for not only the individual but also for communities and natural landscapes must be considered by developers, planners, sociologists, ethnographers, individuals, and communities, as placelessness increases and we become disengaged from any sense of place and therefore well-being. Destinations only truly become places when they stop being destinations and the possibility of creating home exists.

The concept of place attachment achieved through aspects of aesthetics, ethnosphere, and home are not new, yet, when considered, they have always had the potential to result in feelings of belonging and identity.

### **2.2.2 Belonging and Identity**

As noted above, sense of place includes a connection to one's community, and both their built and natural landscapes. The very connection to something beyond oneself, and the recognition of the importance to one's wellness of having that connection, is a key to mental health and social well-being. Those who *dwell* in the sense discussed by Heidegger, as being inextricably entrenched within their surroundings, are increasingly rare in urban society, though opportunity to reconnect with communities continues to be feasible though ideas such as those first inspired by Ebenezer Howard's early 19<sup>th</sup> Century Garden City movement (developed further by Thomas Adams in Canada) (Meyers, 1998). Dwelling is an innate human need and people create spaces in order to satisfy that need, but rarely are they able to connect and actually dwell in places. Urban public gardens, arguably, do not offer a sense of place and thereby a sense of community well-being for everyone: hours may be limited, access may be gated, and admission may be charged. Aspects of an individual's health may be influenced by the accessibility of the gardens (Von Baeyer & Crawford, 1995). Belonging and identity are rooted in place attachment, but this extends to the very ways in which humans are psychologically constructed.

### 2.2.3 The Relationship between Behaviour and Experience

Environmental psychology investigates the relationships between behaviour and experience within natural and built environments (Bell et al., 2001, p.12). Although, it is now considered part of psychology, the *environmental* aspect of this field is derived from several disciplines (including sociology, psychology, and anthropology). It considers both individual and community well-being.

*Place attachment*, as noted by environmental psychologist Paul Bell and others (2001), is “The psychological bonding to a place.” It is important for meaning and identity within an individual’s life (p.401; p.511). Such attachment, a central theme in this thesis, is also a central idea to environmental psychology. The notion originated in the 1970’s, in part, with the concepts of ‘insideness’ and ‘outsideness’, which helped to categorize relationships between people and places (Appleyard & Relph in Altman & Werner, 1985, p.37). Like stewardship and fostering a sense of place, home requires an experience of complete *insideness*, that is a feeling of enmeshment (Appleyard & Relph in Altman & Werner, 1985, p.37). Such a state can only be achieved through time and commitment, although it appears haphazard to spectators on the outside of a place who are only occupying space. Today this is evident when one examines the tension that often occurs between locals (insiders who might, in fact, be placed – inextricably connected to the landscape), and developers (those who are on the outside and without place in that space). There is substantial evidence that destruction of place attachment is a *significant life experience*, which often awakens people’s environmental concern and awareness (Tanner, 1998; Chawla, 2001).

Another important concept in environmental psychology is *Territoriality*. This term

refers to community notions which have been defined as “a pattern of behaviour and attitudes held by an individual or group that is based on perceived, attempted, or actual control of a definable physical space, object, or idea that may involve habitual occupation, defense, personalization, and marking of it” (Gifford, 1997, p.120). Clearly, it is through territoriality that place is created. As Julian Edney suggests, without having a “physical space, possession, defense, exclusiveness of use, markers, personalization, and identity,” there can be no stewardship (Cited in Gifford, 1997, p.119). Irwin Altman and others recommend that there are three distinct levels of ownership that people feel connected to through territoriality (Altman & Werner, 1985). These are, in order of highest to lowest degree of perceived ownership (which translates into stewardship): primary territory (e.g. home), secondary territory (e.g. classroom), and public territory (e.g. area of beach) (Altman in Bell et al., 2001, p.277). Residences become territories and people are protective of them, for what happens to them affects the individual as well.

The concept of territoriality is not without its challengers. By creating boundaries to delineate property, territoriality has been the foundation of world wars, resource management, and community strife. Senses of place within these territories become difficult to decipher when the territories of people (and therefore stewardship of those spaces) overlap as people conflict in decision-making and perceived ownership over the same spaces.

Human action reflects the destruction that occurs in the natural landscape: “Rarely is environmental change regarded as a possible contributing factor, yet landscape degradation, manifesting as soil erosion, river or wetland degradation, or increasing

salinity on previously productive land, may underlie or exacerbate any of these contributing factors” (Horowitz, Lindsay, & O’Connor, 2001, p.255). Regardless of where people reside, humans are inextricably tied to the landscape and their places (or lack thereof) within it, and when it is sick, so too are they. Engagement with gardens is one way in which people foster place attachment and the related aspects of aesthetics, ethnosphere, and home.

### **2.3 Chapter Two Summary**

This chapter focused on the core concepts of aesthetics, ethnosphere, and home, all of which are central to the exploration of sense of place in this thesis. These themes were derived from work related to philosophy, psychology, art, geography, and urban design, amongst other disciplines. Sense of place was then further examined in theory, form, and application to determine what role it plays in a person’s lived experience, particularly with relation to belonging and identity within the landscape. Chapter Three: The Role of the Garden builds upon this framework to discuss the history of gardens, common types of gardens found today, and why public gardens are a suitable venue for exploring notions of place. Additionally, the reasons for the endurance of gardens through time are considered as they relate to sense of place through time.

## Chapter Three: The Role of Gardens

*These gardens have had a lot to teach me, and not only, as it turned out, about gardening. For I soon came to the realization that I would not learn to garden very well before I'd also learned about a few other things: about my proper place in nature [...]; about the somewhat particular attitudes toward the land that an American is born with [...]; about the troubled borders between nature and culture; and about the experience of place, the moral implications of landscape design, and several other questions [...]. It may be my nature to complicate matters unduly, to search for large meaning in small things, but it did seem that there was a lot more going on in the garden than I'd expected to find. (Pollan, 1991, p.2)*

The Genesis creation narrative suggests that people were created in a garden and, for thousands of years, have continued to find themselves drawn to gardens. Humans have engaged in, and treasured, gardens as invaluable relics, from the temple gardens of Ancient Egypt to the healing gardens of today. Gardens endure through wars, famine, urbanization, and other social and ecological maladies, they remain present in our lives. There is something about gardens that cannot be disregarded; they are often part of an individual's personal history as well as those of a particular community or city. Public gardens add another aspect to this position of garden in the lived experience as people rarely have direct contact with them but they are kept as sanctuaries for us to retreat to.

This chapter describes the evolution of gardens through time and space, different roles that gardens play in society, and how public gardens, in particular, are integrated into the urban landscape. Considering the evolution of gardens is important in this work as an ethnospheric approach to the landscape is incomplete without a discussion of the relationship between people and the landscape through time. As the gardens have evolved, so too have the human relationships to them.

### **3.1 Role of Gardens in History**

“Consult the Genius of the Place in all,” advises 18<sup>th</sup> century English poet Alexander Pope. Pope was addressing landscape designers, and his sentiments continue to resound today. The act of combining notions of place and gardens is not novel. In fact, it extends far back in history, to the creation of the first gardens. It is believed that people were enclosing outdoor spaces as early as 10,000 BCE, likely first formed by an ancestor who, living in a cave, had put up a barrier to protect her/his family from danger (Turner, 2005), although the beginning of actual gardens is unknown. Agriculture, settlement, and garden-making began in West Asia, where the first cities developed. From this point on, as populations spread through Greece, Italy, Spain, France, Germany, Holland, Scandanavia, Britain, and the Americas, so too did gardens (Minter, 1993; Moore, et al., 1995; Turner, 2005). For 4000 years, this path of garden evolution travelled northward and westward. When it reached North America, eastern and western traditions began to merge, as did the social, artistic, and philosophical structures, which govern the development of gardens (Doolittle, 2004; Turner, 2005).

#### **3.1.1 Early Gardens: pre-1690**

Botanical gardens were first conceived in the ancient Egyptian temple gardens at least 1000 years BCE where known medicinal plants were grown, later identified as physic gardens (Minter, 1993, p.16). In the fifteenth century, designers from the Italian Renaissance added their own interpretation to the secret garden or *giardino segreto*. Such

gardens appeared private from the public gaze. They were intended for relaxation and privacy (Minter, 1993, p.124).

During the sixteenth century, the garden steadily emerged from the mediaeval *hortus conclusis* – the protected enclosures where productivity and visual beauty combined, although the practice of enclosing gardens as private areas has continued right up until the present day. There is an interesting clash of values between these two traditions.

When considering the idea of protected enclosures and private gardens, one can examine the North American taboo against fences. Fences may offend national ideas about democracy, limitlessness, and the landscape's sanctity, but perhaps people need to consider the possibility that their absence offends some peoples' ideas of a garden. For most of human history, people have made gardens and most of their gardens have been walled or fenced. The word *garden* derives from the old German word for enclosure, and the *Oxford English Dictionary's* definition begins, "An enclosed piece of ground...".

George Washington Cable pointed out that a "gard, yard, garth, garden, used to mean an enclosure, a close and implied privacy to its owner superior to any he enjoyed outside of it" (Cited in Pollan, 1991, p.60).

At the very beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, two decisive influences on British gardens emerged: the Renaissance and the lure of new varieties of plants imported from overseas (Plumtre, 1993, p.11), both products of colonial expansion. Each style holds true to the idea of a protected enclosure private from the outside world. For those involved in the Renaissance, the movement expanded gardening into an art form, as architectural, ornamental, and horticultural gardens. Gardens now not only stood to represent the elegance of the day (a formal approach to garden aesthetics that would come and go



through the proliferation of gardens in the future), but also the power and fashionable taste of their owners as individuals and representations of wealth, most of whom brought in gardeners from France and Italy to create gardens inspired by continental Europe (Plumptre, 1993, p.12).

Stylistically, gardens of this era were influenced largely by the Renaissance principle that they should be both physically and decoratively harmonious with the adjacent house in order to be aesthetically-pleasing. They were visually available, however, only to those residing within their walls, and there were rarely public spaces to view such landscapes in a way that was available to those beyond the garden walls (Plumptre, 1993, p.12). In the late seventeenth century, gardener John Evelyn began to build public relationships between garden and estate. He was one of the first people to identify the intrinsic value of the link between a house and its gardens, and the surrounding woodlands and estate, thereby laying the practical foundations of an ethos of landscape. This connection between house and estate (home and garden) dominated English garden thinking for over a century and had dramatic and wide-reaching influence in other countries (Plumptre, 1995, pp.13-14). Today examples of this connection are seen in the estates of Maplelawn Historic Garden in Ottawa, and Spadina Museum Gardens in Toronto.

In the seventeenth century, physic gardens grew in popularity. ‘Physic’ meant pertaining to things natural as distinct from the metaphysical. Today the New Oxford English Dictionary defines the term as ‘medicinal drugs’ and as ‘the art of healing’ (Chelsea Physic Garden, 2011). Chelsea Physic Gardens, established in 1673 by the Worshipful Society of Apothecaries of London is the most famous and oldest continuous physic garden. This garden became one of the most important centres of botany and plant

exchange in the world and was created for its apprentices to study the medicinal qualities of plants (Chelsea Physic Garden, 2011).

Across the ocean, in what was once known as New France, a very different garden scene was unfolding. The plants being discovered by early travellers to the New World fascinated European gardeners not only for the medicinal properties found in plants but also because of their novelty. Native plants found in North America were gathered first by the Jesuit missionaries who were encouraged to observe and collect them, and to test them in “holding gardens” (an approach connected to the popularity of fencing enclosures) until they could be sent back to France (Martin, 2001).

By the end of this period, England had absorbed influences from Italy, France, and Holland and yet retained clear measures of independence from them all – partially due to the legacy of the Civil War and an acute awareness of the dichotomy between nations. Concurrently, England and the United States had established contact between gardening enthusiasts, a shared passion which began to expand rapidly and produce a flow of ideas and plants across the ocean (Plumptre, 1993, p.15).

The exploration of the Canadian botanical landscape became one of much pride in Europe and many of the plants collected by the Jesuits ended up in the *Jardin du Roi*. For many years, this ‘King’s garden’ was the most important garden in France resulting in the appellation of “canadensis” or “canadense” as botanical species names for many North American wildflowers. Most of the early explorers took artists along on their travels; artists such as George Back and Robert Hood made detailed botanical drawings of the plants they saw on their journeys (Martin, 2001).

In Europe, “gardens had become fashionable, socially and philosophically important, a growing element of the national identity and way of life” (Plumptre, 1993, p.15), but the development of identity by way of garden design was emerging in North America. This sentiment continued into the English-style gardens of the late seventeenth century and is also reflected in today’s public gardens as they represent the culture of the peopled landscape.

### **3.1.2 English-Style Gardens: 1690-1740**

During the period of 1690-1740, the emphasis was largely on appearance and what was considered aesthetically-pleasing rather than horticulture. Silviculture – the art and science of controlling forests to meet needs and values of landowners and society – was also incorporated into landscape management during this era and was recognized for both its economic and aesthetic benefits with respect to large-scale landscapes (Evelyn, 1693; Graham & Jain, 2004; Graham et al., 2007). The emergence of this trend reflected a growing understanding of the role certain types of gardening such as silviculture could play in fostering continuity between the past and future (Graham & Jain, 2004).

With the integration of silviculture for the purpose of shelter and forestry came an increased interest in the craftsmanship behind the gardens, including ornamental decorations, sculptures, and fixtures from across Europe (Plumptre, 1993, p.29). Gates, screens, fountains, statues, etc. became more commonplace in enhancing experiences within the gardens while recapturing the landscapes of classical antiquity. This integration of structure and landscape integrates the notions of aesthetics and ethnosphere

in a way that is not unfamiliar in today's public gardens, where gazebos, statues, and fountains share space with heirloom varieties of flowers, experimental versions of trees, and free-formed gardens.

### **3.1.3 Landscape Movement: 1740-1820**

The Landscape Movement of 1740-1820 began to move away from more traditional geometrical plantings and designs bolstered primarily by the work of such people as garden artist Lancelot "Capability" Brown. Brown was inspired by a veritable passion for rooting out what he saw as the "unnatural bad taste" of the old style (Plumptre, 1993). A strong believer in flow, Brown implemented William Hogarth's wavy "line of beauty," which he used in every part of the garden. Even the ground itself had gently-waving contours (Olwig, 2002).

During this time, individual trees were becoming recognized as spectacles unto themselves, stimulating the increased trade of trees across the world for the purpose of enhancing the garden while also seeking plants that were extraordinary. By the mid-1800s, the notion of gardens as components of nature was regarded as a mistake of past generations. Art was now the driving force in garden design. Today art continues to play a role in garden design and is particularly noted in the design of Japanese and Chinese gardens, where this element is as important as history and architecture (Keane & Ohashi, 1996; Keswick, et al., 2003).

### **3.1.4 High-Victorian Era: 1820-1880**

The predominating fashion of the High Victorian Era was the ‘Italianate’ – a mix of historic styles including Italian, French, and Dutch, all of which were introduced with the Victorian passion for overkill. These gardens fulfilled many needs: the owner could show his nouveau wealth by having the latest fashion; the architect could display knowledge of Renaissance architecture; and the gardener could show off his horticultural prowess (Musgrave, 2009). The objective of the Italianate garden was to showcase the wealth and lifestyle of the upper class adorned as it was with terraces, steps, and fountains.

Italianate was not inspired by the Italian Renaissance gardens as one might assume; instead it drew on aspects from every type of past garden design that the gardeners deemed worthy of renewal. So many of nineteenth century Victorian gardens are said to be ‘makeovers’ of the most memorable gardens from the past combined with the developing technological advances (Minter, 1993; Musgrave, 2009; Plumtre, 1993). By this time, the availability of numerous texts referring to the designs and technologies of gardens past and present made it easier for designers to pull inspiration from past traditions and practices

In marked contrast to Italianate, ‘Gardenesque’ was another style that generated gardening interest during the same era. In this style, gardens featured certain plants for their own merit and aesthetic, revealing a preference of prioritizing horticulture over design. The net effect was a chaotic distribution of plants across a landscape. Critics suggested that this ‘picturesque-style’ garden did not have enough to distinguish it from natural growth. This Gardenesque approach involved the creation of small-scale landscapes, dotted with

features and vignettes, to promote beauty of detail, variety and mystery, sometimes to the detriment of coherence.

By this time, growing international influences began to transform the 'traditional' garden yet again. Many garden enthusiasts were interested in creating more exciting gardens with exotic plant matter becoming ever more important in this quest. Many early North American naturalists fed this passion at the cost of considerable physical discomfort and danger, and disappointing losses when plants and seeds were shipped across the ocean and either died or were lost on the voyage (Martin, 2001).

In Canada, a gardening landscape approach unique to this country was unfolding for the early settlers. Catherine Parr Trail and Susanna Moodie, sisters who wrote extensively about their experiences homesteading in the wilds of Canada in the early 1800s, described the necessity of the garden to not only control the wild but to also provide sustenance for the growing population. Their experiences as bush settlers are described in their famous books: Moodie's *Roughing It in the Bush* (1852) and Traill's *The Backwoods of Canada* (1836). The work "bees" they wrote about consisted of burning the fallow, ploughing, harvesting, preparing food, and numerous other realities of the early pioneers' harsh existence – and their writing provides insight into a very different era of gardening in Canada and indeed a very different re-creation of home – one of necessity over notion (Moodie, 1989; Traill, 2006).

Traill's preface in *Canadian Wild Flowers* suggests that there has always been beauty in the forms of nature to be found in the wilds of Canada, but that, during the European immigration of this time, this was often lost to the settler: "The land, with all its rich

vegetable resources, lay as it were an untrodden wilderness for many years, save by those hardy settlers who cared little for the forest flowers that grew in their paths” (1868, p.7). Instead of admiring flowers for the sake of flowers, more immediate necessities demanded attention of the settler, namely survival in the bush. Traill does, however, suggest that the admiration of flowers might still be possible during this time and wishes her readers,

[M]uch pleasure and contentment, and that [my book’s] contents, both artistical and literary, may serve to foster a love for the native plants of Canada, and turn their attention to the floral beauty that is destined sooner or later to be swept away, as the onward march of civilization clears away the primeval forest—reclaims the swamps and bogs, and turns the waste places into a fruitful field. (1868, p.8)

The Canadian settlement landscape was several hundred years behind that of Europe and, therefore, the gardens too were of different importance. Whereas the ‘old country’ was a space of creativity and wealth and expansion, Canada was focused on a different sort of home-making, one of settlement. In the quest for survival, the goal of maintaining ‘home’ in a nostalgic sense to be achieved by re-creating the English landscape in the Canadian wilderness was, of necessity, a secondary consideration at best. Public gardens and such re-creations of home would wait until urban development allowed for such considerations.

### **3.1.5 International Influences on Garden Design: 1880-1920**

The international gardening community reacted negatively to Victorian gardens. Critics asserted that those gardens lacked taste, sense of scale, little or no recognition of the relationship between house and garden, and of having a formality that was only superficially classical or Italianate. As a revolt against Victorian urbanization and

industrialization, people began to yearn for the pastoral life that inevitably influenced garden design (Plumptre, 1993, p.128) in the early-Edwardian period. The garden became a social gathering place, for parties, tea, and other festivities. Edwardians craved a rural idyll to capture the romance of the countryside within the confines of the ever-expanding urban and suburban landscape. It was a period of prosperity and this was reflected in the exuberant gardening styles, which mixed influences from around the world.

In Canada, during the waning decades of the nineteenth century a wide range of social reforms took place as a result of the “social gospel,” a Protestant movement, based on the idea that no personal salvation was possible without social salvation (Martin, 2001). One of the social reforms was a new emphasis on the value of nature and the importance of improving the landscape in and around the cities. This included the importance of reintroducing nature around homes, around institutions such as the railways, and in the schools to instill these values in children (Martin, 2001). This social reform was a predecessor to the City Beautiful Movement of the early twentieth century that aimed to reintroduce green spaces to urban landscapes (American Studies, 2009). Such a focus on beautification during the late nineteenth century led to an increased interest in gardens and their role in the new, socially-responsible Canada.

### **3.1.6 British and American Style: 1920-1950**

The formal profession of landscape architecture emerged during the period following the Edwardian era. The American Society of Landscape Architects was created in 1899 followed by the Institute of Landscape Architecture (UK) thirty years later. During the



war years and the Depression, commissions for private gardens declined leaving many qualified and experienced gardeners to apply their skills to the development of public gardens and parks (Plumptre, 1993, p.169).

As Canada matured as a nation, gardens became a well-established tradition accessible to a wider segment of the population (Martin, 2001). No longer were gardens only for the wealthy and the elite; nor were they simply seen as a source of food for poorer families. By 1930, public gardens became a popular notion. The Canadian Horticultural Council initiated what was described “as a Dominion-wide campaign to beautify Canada by planning and planting public and private grounds with ornamental trees and shrubs and flowering plants”, which integrated influences from Europe into the Canadian landscape (Martin, 2001). It was during this time that public gardens also began to serve a number of policy, environmental, and economic purposes, though they continued to actually be valued for much more in the public psyche (Olmstead, 2009).

### **3.1.7 Contemporary Gardens: 1950-Present**

Today, the idea of a garden as a secret sanctuary still commands a lot of appeal. Perhaps this refers to a strong need for privacy in an overcrowded society. Most gardeners feel that the garden becomes ‘theirs’ in the evening when they are alone in it, as if basic patterns of growth speak to them silently, particularly when the garden is recovering from the heat of the day. These are surely images of regeneration, of recovery, and of healing. (Minter, 1993, p.124)

Gardens are now broadly recognized as having a much wider role than was originally conceived when first developed in North American cities. The American Public Gardens Association for example notes that public gardens are not only a tonic for individuals, but serve a broader community purpose:

They are positive forces in the community, engaging in civic activities that include city beautification programs, historic preservation, arts, educational programs, lectures, flower shows, and a wide assortment of other social, recreational, and cultural activities. More than just pretty places to visit, public gardens are heavily involved in significant scientific research and innovation [...]. Public gardens go beyond their garden gates to promote global environmental and conservation issues; some are involved in providing refuges for rare and endangered plants; others work to preserve the habitats for those endangered plants. (2006, n.p.)

As noted above, such gardens are not only created for scientific endeavours, but also for the pure beauty that they offer visitors and volunteers alike, for an aesthetic experience that might be missing from other aspects of urban life (Bhatti & Church, 2004; Track, 1994).

Across Canada, different gardens reflect different creations of home – the Japanese and Chinese gardens in Vancouver (Japanese Nitobe Memorial Garden and Dr. Sun Yat-Sen Chinese Garden), the Victorian gardens in Halifax (Halifax Public Gardens), and the First Nations garden in Montreal (Montreal Botanical Garden).

In Vancouver, Dr. Sun Yat-Sen's Garden Society (incorporated in 1981), is a “self-sustaining, not-for profit organization with the mandate to maintain and enhance the bridge of understanding between Chinese and Western cultures, promote Chinese culture generally and be an integral part of the local community” (Dr. Sun Yat-Sen Chinese Garden, 2006). The garden is not only a landscape reflecting the cultures of today, but also historically and was built in 1985-1986 using the time-honoured principles and techniques of the original Ming dynasty garden:

Fifty-two master craftsmen from Suzhou, China, working with Canadian counterparts, completed this landscape masterpiece within a year. [...] Based on the principle of collaborative design, the Garden compliments the adjacent

public park; enhancing the view in both places. (Dr. Sun Yat-Sen Chinese Garden, 2006)

The garden serves many purposes in the fabric of Canadian public gardens: it connects cultures, reflects Canada's multiculturalism, re-creates home, and embraces the ethnosphere of the landscape. For example, in Post-World War II, Japanese-Canadian ethnic identity in southern Alberta embodied “utopian idealism intertwined with a great expectation for the end of racial discrimination and the expansion of democracy” (Fujiwara, 2010, p.2). As self-portrayed "refugees," who had lost their homes, they saw Alberta as the land where they could maintain Japanese identity, a sense of place and belonging, and loyalty to their homeland while achieving economic success, without persecution. The most concrete and monumental example of utopian expression for the immigrants was the Nikka Yuko Garden constructed in Lethbridge in 1967 to commemorate Canada's Centennial (Fujiwara, 2010). The Nikka Yuko Garden exemplifies re-creation of home and fostering of multiculturalism and ethnosphere in a new landscape and is described as a symbol of international friendship. Its name was created from the Japanese words *Ni* (from *Nihon* meaning Japan), *ka* from *Kanada* or Canada, and *Yuko*, which translates as "friendship" to mean “Japan-Canada friendship” (Nikka Yuko Japanese Garden, 2007).

The Halifax Public Gardens, on the other hand, have underpinnings of the re-creation of home for some and are considered a rare example of a formal Victorian public garden, surviving intact and relatively unspoiled in the heart of a modern city. In 1872, Richard Power was hired as the garden's first superintendent. During his tenure as superintendent, Power oversaw the introduction of a bandstand, fountains, statues and wrought iron gates – “all fundamental features of the High Victorian Pleasure Garden and all honouring a

milestone in Queen Victoria's reign, a contemporary military event, or an important local personage" (Halifax Regional Municipality, 2012). Power believed the gardens were a work of art rather than a work of nature. That sentiment endures today and, though the gardens were extensively damaged by Hurricane Juan in September 2003, major restoration and fundraising was undertaken and is ongoing to reimagine the garden as art (Friends of the Historic Public Gardens, 2012).

The First Nations Garden of the Montreal Botanical Garden offers a different approach to public gardening, primarily that of ethnosphere and home-making. Opened in 2001, the garden aims to present "the close bonds Amerindians and the Inuit have always had with the plant world" (Montreal Botanical Garden, 2012). It is designed to evoke a natural environment, while serving as a crossroads of cultures:

A place for sharing knowledge, allowing non-Native Quebecers to discover or rediscover the culture of the first inhabitants of North America, while offering an opportunity for the First Nations to share their traditions, wisdom and know-how. (Montreal Botanical Garden, 2012)

The First Nations Garden aims to "avoid stereotypes as a collaborative project between cultures. It is a contemporary garden, one inspired by Amerindian and Inuit cultures" (Montreal Botanical Garden, 2012). In addition to highlighting Native knowledge of plants, the garden also features First Nations activities relating to the plant world, from gathering food and medicinal plants to using wood and trees to make things and build and transport their homes, and growing plants, mainly corn, squash and beans (Montreal Botanical Garden, 2012). In the garden, there are clear linkages to history, combined with acknowledgement of the important role that history plays in today's Canadian society.

Such gardens help to create the colourful fabric of the urban Canadian landscape and though notions of place might not be outwardly present, such cultural gardens capture the stories of other landscapes and weave them into our own.

The main themes of aesthetics, ethnosphere, and sense of place have endured throughout the evolution of gardens. Today gardens exist for not only reasons of science, social engagement, or economics but also for healing, recreation, botanics, community, and culture. It should be noted that such motivations may not be directly tied to sense of place, it could be argued that they all indirectly contribute to health and well-being which are pre-requisites to possessing a sense of place and belonging.

### **3.2 Types of Gardens as Explored in the Academic Literature**

Gardens appear to serve a number of public functions, many of which overlap including the fulfillment of public goals that range from the utilitarian and economic to public health and aesthetics. Interestingly, certain bodies of literature often focus on a particular type of garden. Healing gardens have been the focus of considerable work in the health sector including eco-psychology and there is a fair bit of literature that considers the therapeutic effect of such places (Knopf, 1987; Gerlach-Spriggs et al., 1998; Cooper Marcus & Barnes, 1999). Recreational gardens are often explored as part of city planning (Bale, 1999; Dreijer, 2012; Millward, 2010). The botanical garden often serves scientific purposes – such as botany, as the name implies (Ambrose, 1991; Avery, 1957; Heyd, 2006). Cultural gardens are often a result of an influx of immigrants into a location and allow people to re-create home (Fujiwara, 2010; Von Baeyer & Crawford, 1995).

Arguably, the largest amount of academic literature in recent years pertaining to gardens appears to be related to an exploration of community gardens (Alaimo et al., 2010; Lawson, 2005; Track, 1994; Wakefield et al., 2007). Public gardens have received remarkably little attention in the academic literature, perhaps due to the blurred boundaries between them and the other types of gardens – they often encompass aspects of one or more of those other kinds of gardens identified above and discussed below.

### **3.2.1 Healing Gardens**

If you look into the journals of health, you will see examples of articles on the connections between human contact with the natural landscape and its benefits for people dealing with various ailments – from Alzheimer's, to surgery recovery, to depression, to hospice care (Jarrot, et al., 2002; Gerlach-Spriggs, et al., 1998; Gunnarsson, 1992; Paine, 1997; Paine, 1999; Prest, 1988).

The recognition that good design generates functional efficiency and strengthens and improves health processes has given rise to a new branch of architecture, called Design and Health (Dilani, 2001). This addresses a gap in the literature that recognizes how such considerations as plant colouring, structure and shape, texture, scent, and sound as they contribute to healing/ameliorated moods (Minter, 1993). Medical approaches to healing conventionally have dominated the treatment of most maladies. However, it can also be argued that gardens, in and of themselves, have healing properties (Paine, 1997; Paine, 1999). All over the world and throughout history, gardens have often been depicted as enclosed and safe places where one might take refuge to find shelter, comfort, and relief

from sorrow and pain (Jarrot, et al., 2002; Gerlach-Spriggs, et al., 1998; Gunnarsson, 1992; Prest, 1988).

For hundreds of years, there have been references in medical journals to the effect that a person's health and well-being will be influenced in a positive way by spending time in natural surroundings, wild nature as well as enclosed gardens (Knopf, 1987; Gerlach-Spriggs et al., 1998; Cooper Marcus & Barnes, 1999). Beneficial properties are attributed to daylight, fresh air, and greenery (Stigsdotter and Grahn, 2002). In 1984 the first report was published about the measurable effects of nature's influence on both mental and physical health (Ulrich, 1984).

Today, healing gardens are continuing to be integrated into institutions throughout the world. Examples in Canada include the Homewood Health Centre in Guelph, Ontario, which hosts the largest and longest-running Horticultural Therapy program in Canada. Horticultural Therapy promotes a 'natural' sense of wellness, and is an adjunctive therapy in all treatment programs offered at the healthcare facility. In the words of Mitchell Hewson, who holds his Master of Horticultural Therapy and oversees the Homewood program,

Re-discovering the wonders of nature and the cycles of life can be a profoundly positive, renewing and reaffirming experience. Horticultural Therapy is unique in its use of living material, requiring nurturing and care. The care of plants provides tasks and activities to stimulate thought, exercise the body and encourage an awareness of the living, external environment. (Homewood Health Centre, 2011)

Lawton and Nahemow (1973) further suggest that an environment that provides stimulation, such as found in a garden can, at the same time, minimize sources of stress, thereby contributing to an individual's competence. This aspect of healing is particularly

beneficial to seniors who may be experiencing the onset of dementia and the progressive impairment of functioning, or to those who have other impairments (Jarrot, et al., 2002). For many seniors, horticulture represents a continuity of habits and interests developed earlier in life (Atchley, 1989). Continuity of established structures such as gardening is an adaptive strategy in the aging process and contributes to general well-being.

### **3.2.2 Recreational Gardens**

Recreational gardens will hold more interest for urban planners and those interested in parks and recreation. Literature with respect to these gardens falls within the larger discipline of park planning as a component of public parks. As such, reference to recreational gardens can be found in work related to park and urban planning (Dreijer, 2012; Yuen, 1996), and wildlife viewing in urban landscapes (Cammack, et al., 2011; Rotherham et al., 2004).

Recreational gardens are directed at a broader audience than healing gardens; such contemporary gardens are intended as places in which to relax, play, and socialize and are often maintained by municipal parks and recreation departments. The emphasis is on informality, which can include recreational areas such as fishing ponds, cafes, and children's play structures. Bale (1999) extends this idea of the recreation garden by suggesting that parks and gardens connote certain similar qualities. "A park implies a broader spatial extent than a garden, the latter tending to be enclosed within the former. But both are 'improvements' on nature and both connote – among other things – leisure and playfulness" (Bale, 1999, pp.46-47). Few other references appear to be available that deal directly with the connection between recreation and the gardens themselves in



academic literature (Rotherham et al., 2004). The delineation between a recreational and public garden might be weak as there are often complaints from public garden stewards that the gardens are being used for activities other than those initially designed for and now desired (primarily for recreational activity). Thus, this situation presents challenges to park planning, including how to incorporate green spaces such as recreation gardens into rapidly-urbanizing landscapes (Yuen, 1996). Recreational gardens are often desired as spaces within which to engage, but without the restrictions that are places upon such types as botanical gardens.

### **3.2.3 Botanical Gardens**

Botanical garden literature is found in architectural, horticultural, and agricultural journals and often focuses on the scientific, biological, and ecological, as well as the aesthetic quality of the garden. First introduced as physics gardens, botanical gardens are today what Wade Davis would argue are the very definition of ethnosphere. Initially designed to accumulate a great deal of exotic plants, botanical gardens were built and maintained as “a sort of living warehouse intended to supply the expanding colonial powers, particularly Britain, with productive plants (such as cocoa and tea) for dissemination in the territories they had occupied around the world” (Heyd, 2006, p.199). Today such gardens have been identified as having three purposes: 1) as recreational displays, 2) as sites for plant conservation, and 3) as sites of human-nature interaction (Heyd, 2006, pp.200-203). These identifiers, however, may also be loosely applied to the other types of gardens identified in this chapter.

Those who manage botanical gardens continue to demonstrate trends of the past, enhance their presence through education, and plan for the future (Ambrose, 1991; Avery, 1957; Heyd, 2006). The former Executive Director of the Royal Botanical Gardens in Ontario, Dr. Leslie Laking, describes the unique role that this garden, as well as other botanical gardens, plays in society:

Royal Botanical Gardens puts nature's beauty on display, but it isn't a park system. It teaches but it isn't a school. It protects and preserves forest and marsh, but it isn't a conservation authority. It collects and propagates botanical knowledge and plant life, but it is not a library, museum, or laboratory. It is all those things and more than their sum. (Royal Botanical Gardens' History, 2011)

Botanical gardens, then, are at the crux of not only aesthetics, but also education, stewardship, and legacy. Peter Ashton, former director of Harvard's Arnold Arboretum – the oldest public arboretum in North America asserts that “[t]he immediate role of botanical gardens in the ex situ culture of rare and endangered species lies in research and education rather than in conservation per se. This role is absolutely vital if we are to have knowledge about plant populations on the edge of extinction that provides a sufficient basis for their management” (Cited in Wilson and Peter, 1998, p.276). The focus here is then not how to engage people directly in the gardens, but rather to facilitate the longevity of the botanical aspects of the gardens through public engagement.

The first botanical garden still in existence in Canada was created in 1887 at the Central Experimental Farm in Ottawa, Ontario. Today, the *Directory of Canadian Botanical Gardens and Arboreta* lists nearly 80 of these special gardens, from the Botanical Garden at Oxen Pond in St. John's which focuses on the flora of Newfoundland and Labrador, to the Yukon Botanical Garden in Whitehorse which features native and domestic trees,

shrubs, and a large display of perennials hardy for the Yukon (Martin, 2001). The most important function of the botanical garden is to provide a space of natural beauty where plants can be enjoyed and where learning takes place.

### **3.2.4 Community Gardens**

Community gardens are parcels of land divided into small plots for local residents to grow their own flowers, fruits, and vegetables; such gardens owe their existence to the energy of residents and often serve the landless populations of the neighbourhood (Alaimo et al., 2010; Kimber, 2004; Lawson, 2005; Wakefield et al., 2007).

Community gardens are increasingly part of the urban fabric, both in Canada and around the world. These gardens, often built on underutilized land such as abandoned city lots and former industrial land, are seen by community planners as having a number of positive health benefits, including:

- improved access to food and better nutrition;
- increased physical activity;
- improved mental health;
- improved security and safety in local communities;
- opportunities for community development through education/job skills training;
- increased social capital, through the development of social ties and an increased appreciation of social diversity; and
- improved local ecology and sustainability, which in turn leads to improved long-term health. (Adapted from Wakefield et al., 2007)

Overall, community gardens are thought to provide opportunities for local health improvements and community development (Wakefield et al., 2007). In the journal *Health Promotion International*, Trevor Hancock suggests that community gardens,

another form of urban green spaces, exemplify the ways in which healthy communities, and by extension, community well-being, can be fostered through the promotion of social capital. The Healthy Community approach takes a holistic view of communities, recognizing that “everything is connected to everything” and the “whole is more than the sum of its parts.” Healthy Community initiatives are multi-sectoral collaborations that integrate social, economic, and environmental goals to benefit the greater community and strengthen community capacity to promote and sustain health (Hancock, 2010).

Community gardens are created and managed by the community itself and depend upon a cohesive social network to organize and manage the gardens. Furthermore, community gardens provide an oasis of greenery, flowers and even habitat for various insects and birds, offering nature within an urban landscape. These gardens also provide opportunity for community members to create a sense of place and community within evolving cities (Hancock, 2010; Kimber, 2004; Track, 1994).

Today the trend toward gardening has pragmatic underpinnings and is based largely on community gardening initiatives, which are reintroducing a variety of demographics to the natural landscape (Lawson, 2005). Despite having some elements in common with public gardens (such as a community aspect), community gardens have a utilitarian, economic, and political purpose as well. Public gardens, on the other hand, do not have any immediate direct utilitarian link and the land could be put to more productive economic use. Nevertheless, these gardens persist and that is why they are of particular interest to this thesis.

### 3.2.5 Cultural Gardens

The literature related to cultural gardens has been growing in recent years as many countries become more multicultural in orientation (Dr. Sun Yat-Sen Chinese Garden, 2000; Fujiwara, 2010; Montreal Botanical Garden, 2012; Nikka Yuko Japanese Garden, 2007). Canada, which has widely been viewed as a multicultural society certainly has its share of cultural gardens and there has been some literature that looks at this aspect (See Section 3.1.7: Contemporary Gardens).

Having a deep-rooted connection to one's homeland can be a form of sense of place and an associated sense of community well-being, albeit on a very large scale. Deborah Tall suggests "When the landscapes we find ourselves in are not diffused with *our* meanings, our history or community, it's not easy to attach ourselves to them. It cannot be a natural connection but must be a forged one. It is easier to turn inward from a strange land than to attempt to bridge the gap" (1993, p.105). Designing gardens to represent home, meanings, and history, is precisely what can be seen in cultural gardens across the country, implicit place-making to contradict feelings of homelessness. It is through the examination of Canadian immigrants and their attempts at place-making through gardens representative of 'home', that this theory is demonstrated (Von Baeyer & Crawford, 1995).

In Canada, for example, Japanese gardens have played a very important role for Japanese-Canadians in connecting them to a sense of home. For example, creating the Nikka Yuko Japanese Garden in Lethbridge, Alberta, and the Japanese Nitobe Memorial Garden in Vancouver, British Columbia, has allowed Canadians of Japanese-descent to

connect to both their native home and their new environments (Fujiwara, 2010; Nikka Yuko Japanese Garden, 2007; Seiko, 2009). In the Nitobe Memorial Garden, for example, there was exact detail about plantings, crucial to the design of a Japanese Garden: “Most of the plants used [...] were Canadian species [...] approximately 100 species [were] from Vancouver. [...] Some plants were shipped from Japan and planted to represent Canada-Japan friendship” (Seiko, 2009, p.305). The planting of the species of two nations was not the only purpose of connecting people to the Japanese culture: “Because [the landscape architect] recognized that transmitting proper maintenance techniques is crucial to the design of the Japanese garden, he gave workshops and lectures to the local Japanese-Canadian community” (Seiko, 2009, p.305). Through the establishment of such gardens, Japanese-Canadian immigrants persecuted during the Second World War were able to foster a sense of pride and ownership over their heritage and identity (Seiko, 2009). These gardens, though largely cultural, can also be considered as public gardens, botanical gardens, and perhaps recreational gardens; the line between such gardens is often blurry, but the benefits each offers remain similar.

### **3.2.6 Summary of Garden Types and the Academic literature**

There is a great deal of overlap between the purposes, uses and typologies of gardens.

This is also the case with respect to the academic literature that deals with gardens even though certain types of academic literature are often focused on certain types of gardens.

Gardens can be categorized under any number of purposes: from healing, to recreation, to botanical, to community, to cultural, and yet most often the boundary between one garden

purpose and another is blurred. The purpose of a garden is largely determined by the individual's own experience in the garden. What might be a garden of food cultivation for one person, for example, might be a recreation experience for another, while a healing space for a third. For the purpose of this thesis, the categorization of the garden is not as important as the connections individuals are afforded within the gardens. That said, public gardens are of specific interest here because, as discussed below, they play an important and enduring role in communities. These connections are often directly linked to the three main concepts of sense of place: aesthetics, ethnosphere, and home.

### **3.3 Situating Public Gardens**

Public gardens serve to fill a niche for public engagement in the natural environment. Not everyone has the room, time, or ability to grow their own gardens within owned spaces. Public gardens fill this gap and offer access to those who might otherwise not have an opportunity to experience nature within a built landscape.

Public gardens, then, offer the opportunity for engagement in nature that might otherwise not be possible. Private gardens, on the other hand, are much more varied in form, purpose, and availability. Economics, culture, and experience also play a large role in the ways in which one might create and then tend to a private garden. In contrast, a public garden follows a specific mandate, is overseen by a board of directors, and tended by many more people, of all backgrounds. When examining the ways in which people engage in gardens, it only makes sense to look at the broadest and most available forms of gardens accessible by everyone over a long period of time. By examining public,

rather than private, gardens, it is possible to see the impact that gardens, in general, have in the larger urban community. Each community acknowledges the universally recognized need for gardens if not explicitly stated.

Academic literature on public gardens includes historical journals and, perhaps not surprisingly given their long history of public gardening, the most well-known are British and American. These include *The Public Garden*, a quarterly publication of the American Public Gardens Association (American Public Gardens Association, 2012), and *Garden History*, a British publication of the Garden History Society, which is the oldest society in the world “dedicated to the conservation and study of historic gardens and landscapes” (Garden History Society, 2012). These journals tend to focus on issues related to horticulture and gardening design. While there is a respectable amount of academic literature relating to gardens, there is a paucity of such literature that links public gardens to notions of place attachment.

Public gardens are popularly viewed as entities unto themselves, separate from urban life, and yet so often vital in social and political movements to green communities and arguably increasingly-placed people. Public gardens, for purposes of this thesis, are defined as landscaped and publicly-available green spaces involved in many facets of a community:

They are positive forces in the community, engaging in civic activities that include city beautification programs, historic preservation, arts, educational programs, lectures, flower shows, and a wide assortment of other social, recreational, and cultural activities. (The American Public Gardens Association, 2006)

These public gardens are run by horticultural societies, and, as their name would imply,



public funding is often provided by local governments as well as other organizations and private sector interest. For example, the Assiniboine Park Gardens in Winnipeg, Manitoba, consists of a large sculpture garden, a conservatory, and other features. Established in 2008 as a private/public, not-for-profit, charitable organization, the Assiniboine Park Conservancy has a mandate to develop, govern and manage the overall Park and its amenities. The Conservancy has a 50-year lease with the City of Winnipeg, which owns the property and assets (The Winnipeg Foundation, 2012). Combined, the two entities attract over a million people every year, which makes the venture very successful (Assiniboine Park, 2012).

Public gardens vary considerably in form, mandate and size from place to place depending on the various values and priorities of the key decision-makers. Landscape architects and planners, for example, may see public gardens as reflecting both historic and aesthetic character that represents both the local and the national (Olmstead, 2009). Even though gardens perhaps are viewed as having little value to the economic growth and development of an area, beyond attracting residents as amenity migrants, they are valued and hence maintained for their heritage and with the public aim of preserving certain values for the future. They exemplify the concept of the ethnosphere, capturing a spectrum of time – its relationship between its people and their landscape – in a single location. The processes of growing heritage seeds, the use of time-tested tools and gardening methods, and the application of evolving approaches to garden ecology and design all illustrate many facets of both history and contemporary life found within one landscape. For example, in the Royal Botanical Gardens in Burlington, Ontario, one can find an arboretum, rock garden, and herbarium, plus it maintains 50 collections featuring

plants of wild origin, ornamental plants, and plants of scientific and conservation importance (Royal Botanical Gardens, 2012).

Some authors of garden literature note that the connections between place and well-being and nature and home and gardens are not explicit, yet they are often implied (American Public Gardens Association, 2006; Pollan, 1991; Von Baeyer & Crawford, 1995). For the most part, North American public gardens within urban spaces were created to achieve specific outcomes such as economic and scientific discovery, while still preserving the perceived ecological integrity of the plants in the landscape (American Public Gardens Association, 2006).

The first botanic gardens, as we understand the term, were founded in the rich city-states of northern Italy, around the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and developed out of schools of medicine in the universities that still maintain them to this day. Their function [...] was to grow for study and precise identification those plants that were of importance to medicine. They were established in an age of intense scientific curiosity, in the heartland of enquiring Renaissance thought. Yet the concept was not without ancestry. In the herb gardens of the medieval monasteries, potions for healing had always held place with flavours for the kitchen. As botanic gardens developed elsewhere in Europe, they reflected new concerns of science and economics, and plants were collected from far-off countries. (Paterson in Track, 1994, p.5)

Today, such green spaces remain pillars of social construction with manicured lawns and introduced and cultivated species, but they are beginning to reflect the diversity in Canadian cultures and representations of home from around the world. One example of this can be found in the Montreal Botanical Garden where one of the feature gardens is the First Nations Garden (Montreal Botanical Garden, 2012). As was discussed in Chapter 3.1.7, First Nations, so frequently displaced by European settlers, also have public gardens to represent ‘home’ and their roots in the landscape. These gardens often

feature aspects of that connection that are culturally and historically significant to Canada. Public gardens serve to explain this connection between people and their environment, and in doing so, interpretation is “the various methods and ways in which we communicate the story of the Garden to the people. Interpretation is a critical component for cultivating emotional and intellectual connections with [...] visitors” (Wolff in Vogel, 2010).

Gardens are now largely recognized as having a much broader role than was originally conceived when they were first developed in North American cities. The American Public Gardens Association (2006) for example, notes that public gardens are not only a tonic for individuals, but serve a broader community purpose:

More than just pretty places to visit, public gardens are heavily involved in significant scientific research and innovation [...]. Public gardens go beyond their garden gates to promote global environmental and conservation issues; some are involved in providing refuges for rare and endangered plants; others work to preserve the habitats for those endangered plants.

Public gardens also may serve a number of policy, environmental, or economic purposes but they are actually valued for so much more in the public psyche (Olmstead, 2009). As noted by the American Public Gardens Association, such gardens are valued for their aesthetic contributions to our contemporary landscape. Gardens are not only created for scientific endeavours, but also for the pure beauty that they offer visitors and volunteers alike, for an aesthetic experience that might be missing from other aspects of urban life (Rausse in Leavell, 2010). Public gardens are popularly viewed as entities unto themselves, separate from urban life, and yet so often are vital in social and political movements of green communities, as is seen with the City Beautiful movement at the

turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century to the contemporary Communities in Bloom program (discussed later in this thesis).

Early critics in the field of urban design (an extension of landscape architecture) held alternative conceptions of the city. Lewis Mumford and Thomas Adams are two of the most prominent reformers espousing regionalist principles during the early decades of the twentieth century, Mumford suggested that “Life was actually in danger in this new urban milieu of industrialism and commercialism, and the merest counsel of prudence was to flee—flee with all one’s goods, as Lot and his household had fled from the sultry hell of Sodom and Gomorrah” (1961, p.492).

Adams, for his part, earlier argued that it was necessary to “rationalize, reinterpret, and reinforce the cultural and economic hegemony of New York City as a regional and national centre” (Meyers, 1998, p.291). This was to be achieved by way of zoning specific areas for specific purposes; green spaces and residential areas should remain separate as commercial and industrial zones. Community well-being, therefore, would not be dependent on the unification of all resources in one location, but could be found throughout such landscapes in spaces zoned specifically as green spaces, for example. Beyond these movements, landscape architecture continued to evolve in the ways in which it unified people and the natural landscape, whether together or apart, and today still plays an important role in fostering community well-being.

Furthermore, public gardens reflect the perspectives of those who have created them, helping to re-create the senses of place often left behind in the process of migration across the globe (Albrecht, 2005).

When contextualized in the realm of landscape, the evolution of such understanding has also changed over time reflecting shifting perspectives with respect to the concepts of green space and landscape. The concept of *green space* is an evolving notion that encompasses parkland, wilderness, and open areas, most often it is used in relation to urban development (Kunstler, 1996). *Landscape* might be viewed as a parallel concept. The definition of the term *landscape* itself has been redefined over the centuries. John Stilgoe, landscape scholar, examined the origin of the word (German *landschaft*) and states that it is, “A collection of dwellings and other structures crowded together within a circle of pasture, meadow, and planting fields and surrounded by unimproved forest or marsh” (1982, p.12). Landscape once denoted both the place itself and the inhabitants dwelling within it. It also defined the obligations they had with one another, and with their land. What was known, safe, and comfortable was found within the circle, what lay beyond was unknown.

As people have moved away from rural to urban landscapes, the meaning of landscape has shifted once again. The defining characteristics of such a landscape vary tremendously, including the ability to sustain a particular ecological function (Hansen & DiCasteri, 1992), a heterogeneous land area composed of a cluster of interacting ecosystems that is repeated in similar form throughout (Forman & Gordon, 1986), and the specific area in which one will cultivate plants, usually in a garden (Aben & de Wit, 1999; Canadian Gardening, 2011).

There are broad interpretations of the history of urban culture and the conception of what a city ought to be in the context of its natural surroundings, or perhaps what a natural

landscape ought to be in the context of its city. Place attachment remains an important factor whichever way this topic is approached,

Place attachment does not rely on a single aspect of life but rather a combination of elements. As discussed earlier, these elements might be clustered under the concepts of aesthetics, ethnosphere, and home. One can begin to see how this central idea of place is integral to the human spirit. It is not novel. It is something that humans have been engaging with for thousands of years. Public gardens offer a platform from which to view place attachment in not only a contemporary context but also through time.

### **3.4 Enduring Gardens**

Landscape architects, environmental psychologists, and urban planners have suggested that gardens provide a vital role in developing people's understandings of how to nurture their environments and, in turn, themselves (Minter, 1993; Moore, et al., 1995; Von Baeyer & Crawford, 1995). An important element of a person's relationship with her/his environment relates to considerations of aesthetics and home, Wade Davis has added to these concepts with the idea of 'ethnosphere' (See Chapter Two: Ethnosphere). These concepts might be seen as important elements in fostering a sense of identity in individuals who act as stewards, as is the case of those who participate in Friends of the Garden programs. The very beauty of the landscape (understood through the study of aesthetics) is both an emotion and an experience, developed through the examination of beauty, arts, and literature. Sense of place is imperative to an individual's sense of belonging and identity within a particular landscape. Without that sense, an individual

may be unable to connect to her/his surroundings. The promotion of ethnosphere encourages stewardship of the landscape, both physically and socially. A sense of place is difficult to achieve without stewardship; without a sense of place, aesthetics is unlikely. The strong emotions associated with an aesthetic experience (awe, delight, and wonder, for example) are also those associated with feeling a sense of place.

Today, gardens are beginning to reflect the diversity in Canadian cultures and representations of home. Michael Pollan writes that,

Gardening, [...] is a painstaking exploration of place; everything that happens in my garden – the thriving and dying of particular plants, the maraudings of various insects and other pests, -- teaches me to know this patch of land more intimately, its geology and microclimate, the particular ecology of its local weeds and animals and insects. My garden prospers to the extent I grasp these particularities and adapt to them. (1991, p.75)

It is evident that the ethnosphere is a crucial aspect of the enduring qualities of gardens, both individually, and as collectively. “Our human gardens may appear to us like openings onto paradise in the midst of the fallen world, and yet the fact that we must create, maintain, and care for them is the mark of their postlapsarian provenance. History without gardens would be a wasteland. A garden severed from history would be superfluous” (Harrison, 2008, p.x).

Enduring both spatially and temporally for centuries, gardens are intrinsic to the legacies of society, keeping value in worlds perhaps preoccupied with more immediate gratification.

### 3.5 Creating a Legacy within Canadian Gardens

*In this country you will find that our Canadian garden is as individual as our Canadian spirit – and shaped by many of the same forces that have influenced our national character. (Cited in Von Baeyer & Crawford, 1995).*

Private Canadian gardens often are re-creation of home. Canada's multi-cultural cities reflect diverse traditions in private gardens and design –manifested in a variety of ways through a particularly patriotic colour selection, the growing of traditional plants frequently grown in one's country of origin, or the growing of a favourite food.

Public gardens also reflect a variety of traditions that are maintained through volunteer associations, known as Friends of the Gardens. The dedication of these volunteers to a public pursuit that is primarily valued for its intrinsic worth raises interesting questions about the role these gardens play in sense of place and the re-creation of 'home'.

The stewardship of gardens has been a human phenomenon for hundreds of years--almost as long as people have gathered together in large settlement. The endurance of these human creations points to a connection between peoples' sense of place and their re-creation of home (Francis & Hester, 1992). Gardens are enduring and maintained throughout time as living connections to human history. Their longevity tells us a story of how we, as humans, relate, interpret, and connect with the natural world. Gardens defy logic; they are carefully maintained even when resources are limited, climates are harsh, and urban development initiatives ignore them. Gardens would not exist without human attachment to concepts of ethnosphere, aesthetics, and home.



### **3.6 Chapter Three Summary**

This chapter focused on the role of gardens in society from pre-1690 through to today. Understanding the evolution of gardens is important when one considers the many functions of gardens today and why public gardens, in particular, are suitable for this thesis. Public gardens are an important part of the urban community and offer largely intrinsic benefits, including serenity, exposure to wild spaces, and sanctuary. The endurance of such gardens through time is another important aspect to consider and points to how people value such spaces. Lastly, within this chapter there is also an exploration of the creation of a legacy within Canadian gardens, and how they may contribute to the re-creation of home.

The following chapter, Chapter Four: Methodology, offers insight into the research approaches taken – both theory and application. The Case Study gardens are also introduced and their relevance to this thesis is revealed.

## **Chapter Four: Methodology**

The topic of gardens and their interrelationship with people lends itself to an interdisciplinary methodological approach encompassing considerations of time and space. The qualitative methods approach used in this thesis involves an in-depth examination of secondary literature, as well as field work involving semi-structured interviews, and narrative methods. My understanding of the evolution of the three main concepts of aesthetics, ethnosphere, and home, which provide a conceptual framework for the thesis, is enhanced by a variety of disciplinary literatures. The scope is broad including history, geography, non-fiction, poetry, anthropology, and landscape design. Aesthetics, ethnosphere, and home are all interrelated concepts that can serve as useful tools for understanding and fostering place attachment and the role it plays in creating and maintaining an individual's sense of identity and belonging.

In arriving at the three concepts, many others were considered but did not seem to be as applicable as these. Human ecology, for example, was considered a possibility but ethnosphere is more holistic (Allen, 2003; Davis, 2009; Malinowski, 1944).

Aesthetics is an obvious aspect of the human attraction to gardens and is not captured by any other term and has been defined as “the coherence/harmony over time between positive sensual qualities and cultural, historical, and biological features that contribute to the aesthetic evaluation of a place” (Robinson & Elliot, 2011, pp.177-178). And thirdly, home was chosen because it has been described as the act of dwelling and engaging within a space (Heidegger, 1962; Kunstler, 1996; Tuan, 1997; Tuan, 2005), which is exactly what an individual experiences when volunteering in a garden. These three

concepts are not replaceable by other concepts and rather serve as umbrella concepts for many aspects of place.

For the purpose of this thesis, the literature review and corresponding theory that emerges from it is considered a part of the methodology, as it is one of the methods used to answer the questions. Discussed in many ways in other bodies of literature, these concepts had not yet been examined in conjunction with one another. I discuss my experience with both theory and field work methodology below.

As noted earlier, the questions posed in this thesis are as follows:

*What are the social and ecological values offered by experiences with public gardens? What might be discovered about those values through an exploration of why people volunteer their time supporting Canadian public gardens (as Friends)? Specifically, is there a connection between a sense of place and the re-creation of 'home' in those who frequent the gardens?*

From these questions, the above general objectives were addressed through the following, more specific objectives (Linkages seen in Table 1.1):

- Understand the influence of gardens on human populations with respect to the larger human landscape:
  - Research the historical, and continuing, rationale for gardens; specifically public gardens; and
  - Explore human connections and commitments to gardens to discover why they exist; i.e. why they are valued and endure.
- Understand sense of place:
  - Explore what influence sense of place in the context of gardens has on a participant's life.
- Understand home as it relates to gardens.

Sense of place is a dynamic and broad topic. The key concepts of aesthetics, ethnosphere, and home help organize, articulate, and answer questions about this topic in relation to human-nature relationships, as will be seen in the following sections.

## 4.1 General Approaches

To answer the questions posed in the thesis one must begin with theories on place and home and consider how those are created and persist. An understanding of the connections between sense of place and home can be discerned by drawing on lenses such as human geography, psychology, and anthropology. The key concepts of aesthetics, ethnosphere, and home help organize, articulate, and answer questions posed by the thesis. This is followed by an exploration of the three concepts through the lens of landscape and gardens.

One researcher sees such complex work as follows:

I have likened the world of research to a superhighway (Muncey, 2002). As I reflect on my journey, I note how apt this analogy is. Superhighways are straight and dull to travel on; they have strict rules of behavior and are devoid of those idiosyncrasies that make country roads interesting. Most important, they stride across the country by passing the lived experience of all the small towns and villages, which eventually become ghostlike and neglected by lack of interest. Mainstream research appears to me to be like this, tied up in rules and conventions that make the results appear dull and flat, and ignoring completely the idiosyncrasies of the lived experience of the communities that it bypasses, so that in time, their stories become at best forgotten and at worst untold. (Muncey, 2005, n.p.)

By conducting research devoid of such an element, the very personal experiences that foster the larger superhighway are neglected and without that, such research is both limited and limiting in terms of those individuals it might represent and also benefit. This research avoids the superhighway and takes the road less travelled seeking the lived stories and experiences of people who labour in gardens for reasons that some might dismiss as merely idiosyncratic. Others, however, might see such investigations as crucial to understanding the value of those aspects of life that are not readily quantifiable or immediately tangible such as gardening.

#### 4.1.1 Theory: Literature Review

This thesis began with an in-depth literature review of the current and historic literature related to gardens, aesthetics, ethnosphere, and home grounded in both theory and application. A literature review is:

The selection of available documents (both published and unpublished) on the topic, which contain information, ideas, data, and evidence written from a particular standpoint to fulfill certain aims or express certain views on the nature of the topic and how it is to be investigated, and the effective evaluation of these documents in relation to the research being proposed (Hart, 1998, p.13)

In light of the many types of literature usually required in qualitative research, Race (2006) argues that “the concept of literature review is very much a plural rather than a singular one”. This argument is particularly valid in this piece of research, as a literature review has been incorporated into many elements of the project. The goal of these reviews varies; for instance, in the introduction, literature reviews are mainly situating, contextualizing, and justifying the study (See Table 4.1). In this section, the use of literature is corroborating the appropriateness of selected methods and research strategies and, as such, must be included in any discussion of methodology.

Table 4.1: Summary of Main Characteristics of Literature Reviews

Method	Main Purpose	Sources	Sample	Analysis Criteria
Literature Reviews	Contextualize, justify, & corroborate research objectives, methods, & findings	Written publications	Academic & grey literature from variety of disciplines, sources, & timeframes	Reliability & relevance of published information (based on researcher-developed criteria for selection)

The research draws on several concepts and theories in connection with psychology, geography, landscape architecture, and place studies. Such a pluralistic approach is seen by many as appropriate, if not *sine qua non*, to tackle interdisciplinary phenomena (Bechhofer & Patterson, 2000; Bryman, 2009; Denzin, 2009).

Individual experiences within gardens provide much insight into the multiple aspects of place in relation to public gardens. Such experiences are explored using perceptual lenses offered by diverse writers whose work can be found in bodies of literature related to history, geography, non-fiction, and poetry (Beatley, 2004; Camus, 1970; Cresswell, 2004; Emerson, 2009; Kennedy, 1998). All the bodies of work chosen for this thesis have similar conceptual foundations and/or prescriptions about what impacts green spaces have upon the individual in order to promote a sense of place, home, and identity. In addition, there has been an examination of work related to aesthetics, ethnosphere, and home, which has been drawn from both history and contemporary society, as outlined in Chapter Two. Through this examination, the importance of gardens to an individual's internal (psychological) and external (social) home is considered, particularly for those currently involved as volunteers at public gardens.

“Many complex or practical problems can only be understood by pulling together insights and methodologies from a variety of disciplines” (Nissani, 1997, p.39). This research sheds light on the role that cultivated gardens might play in an individual's connection to landscape by considering the place literature in the context of work holistically referred to as ethnospheric and aesthetic literature. Furthermore, I considered the role these

gardens play with respect to the sense of place and well-being found within urban public gardens through the exploration of diverse types of literature.

It is important to address how the possible sense of place acquired from gardens might impact one's life, specifically, how the sense of place can be acquired, fostered, and modified. Additionally, one can see how the various gardens that have been developed to re-create a notion of home are experienced elsewhere by identifying key psychological, social, and philosophical components of 'home' and its re-creation elsewhere. Both sense of place and home in the context of the garden have been influenced by many factors including history, environmental psychology, human geography, and landscape architecture, with a specific focus on how the Friends of Gardens programs reinforce those connections. This research was relatively novel as few studies have elaborated on home, place, and their connections with gardens, though some have, including: Bhatti & Church (2000, 2001, 2004), Brook (2003), and Francis & Hester (1992). That is a peculiar gap in the literature, given the importance placed on public gardens since humans first began to cluster in sizeable permanent settlements.

The main purpose of this research then, was to address this gap of place attachment in the context of public gardens in an urban context. Thus, a key assumption of the research is that the "Friends" have a vested interest in their gardens and, perhaps, feel some intangible connection to the well-being of the gardens and thus a deeper insight into themselves.

Such connections, however, miss an element of credibility when simply theorized.

Human-nature relationships are largely subjective and based on the sense of place one

experiences within the landscape, which is why this study is also strongly based on findings derived from case study field work.

#### **4.1.2 Application: Field Work**

Case studies represent a research strategy – to be likened to an experiment, a history, or a simulation – which may be considered alternative. Robert Yin suggests that the distinguishing characteristic of the case study as a research strategy is that it attempts to examine:

- a) a contemporary phenomenon in its real-life context, especially when
  - b) the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident.
- (1981, p.59)

In further clarifying the role of the case study in research, Yin notes, “Experiments differ from this in that they deliberately divorce a phenomenon from its context. Histories differ in that they are limited to phenomena of the past, where relevant informants may be unavailable for interview and relevant events unavailable for direct observation” (1981, p.59). The lived experience in this thesis is crucial in understanding the ways in which place and people interact and how volunteers in gardens can provide insight into the roles that aesthetics, ethnosphere, and place have in contemporary society.

The sites selected as case studies are in three Ontario locations and each has an active Friends program. The primary reason for selecting these three sites is that they are the ones with the most clearly demonstrated place attachment among their volunteers through active participation in the daily functioning of the gardens. Further detail on the case study approach and other components of field work will be discussed in *4.2 Case Studies*.



#### ***4.1.2.1 Methods for Field Work***

A grounded research approach was used for the field work. Grounded theory was first discussed in the 1967 book, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*, by its co-originators, Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss as a research methodology that aimed to systematically derive theories of human behaviour from empirical data (Urquhart, 2001). The researcher must take an inductive, rather than a deductive, approach when using this methodology. In other words, the researcher listens to the data rather than imposing preconceived ideas on the data, which makes the entire approach rather complicated (Urquhart, 2001). Grounded research was considered an appropriate choice for this specific research project because it enables the qualitative research to be examined in a detailed and efficient manner while taking an ethnographic approach to the work.

Anthropologist Barbara Tedlock suggests that ethnographic research, involves “An ongoing attempt to place specific encounters, events, and understandings into a fuller, more meaningful context” (Cited in Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p.455). Such an approach “combines research design, field work, and various methods of inquiry to produce historically, politically and personally situated accounts, descriptions, interpretations, and representations of human lives” (Tedlock in Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p.455). The methods chosen are ones typically employed in grounded research. They include the detailed interviews, participant-observation relayed through narratives, participant-employed photography, and narratives as samples of the field sites (the three public gardens), all of which are explained in Table 4.2 below:

Table 4.2: Summary of Main Characteristics of Field Work Methods

Method	Main Purpose	Sources	Sample	Analysis Criteria
Semi-Structured Interviews	Understand perspectives of home & place & how that relates to Canadian public gardens	Individuals	Non-probabilistic, purposive sample of stakeholders involved in Canadian public gardens with cultural significance (primarily Friends, but also historical societies, gardeners, architects, & visitors)	Identification of arguments & themes in the answers given to both pre-defined & open-ended questions
Participant-observation relayed through narratives	Understand & experience the culture of the garden from the perspective of a visitor	Individuals, archives	Self	Gardens pre-selected for ethnospheric, geographic, & cultural significance
Participant-Employed Photography	Provide subjects with the opportunity to self-reflect on gardens	Individuals	Friends of the gardens	

#### 4.1.2.2 *Semi-structured Interviews*

Semi-structured interviews are recommended for investigating complex and subtle phenomena (Denscombe, 2007). During a semi-structured interview, the researcher asks an interviewee questions based on a prepared written list of questions and topics (Bernard, 2002). At the same time, the researcher encourages the interviewee to freely express ideas and provide information that the interviewee thinks is important, thus allowing the interviewee to have some ownership over the conversation. Semi-structured interview techniques allow the researcher to obtain unexpected significant information as well as answers for prepared interview questions.

Some authors note that “Researchers often build interviews into a research design almost automatically [... and that...] inexperienced researchers feel that it is somehow easier and more natural to embark on a semi-structured interview program than, for instance, to conduct and analyze a survey.” (Bechhofer & Paterson, 2000, pp.51-52). The decision to adopt semi-structured interviews in the research was, however, a well-thought-out one.

As discussed earlier, notions of place-making and home are often quite complex and always subjective, which could lead to situations where the concepts and experiences can mean different things to different people. Furthermore, studying the ethnosphere of a situation is very detailed and requires the opportunity for people to respond to some interview questions in a less-rigid manner than would be found in structured interviews. In such contexts, a structured, rigid set of questions surrounding homes, gardens, and places, may yield unreliable results. More flexible, open-ended questions are fundamental to ensure a common understanding of the object of inquiry. Questions that are too open-ended, on the other hand, may impair comparisons among answers.

Individuals invited to participate in the research were both volunteers and garden employees who regularly have contact with those volunteers. Interviewees were members of Friends programs, and were acquired through random sample snowballing, initially located through garden professionals. Once a “community champion” was located in each garden, each was asked to solicit the interest of fellow gardeners in the research project and as potential participants. Community champions are identified as individuals who lead activities and influence the garden and its members in a significant way, both as advocates and representatives (Jones, 2002; Odom & Starns, 2003). Those individuals who were interested in further discussing their garden experiences with me then

contacted me for follow up. Often, once I was in the garden itself, additional interviewees would come forward and offer their time as well.

For the purpose of this research, and as typically understood in the public gardens' context, "Friends" are volunteers who belong to a larger organization that is directly involved with the maintenance of the case study gardens. Though not all volunteer organizations referred to themselves as "Friends" programs, the concept was similar: namely, individuals do not pay to work in the gardens, receive no formal reimbursement for this work, and regularly spend time in the gardens (often volunteering at least several hours a week). Demographically, the Friends are often local individuals (in close proximity to the garden, or have been in the past), retired or close to retirement, and are very engaged with many facets of their communities: whether cultural, educational, environmental, political, historical, or otherwise (See Chapter Five: Analysis).

During the research at all three gardens, 44 individuals were interviewed through in-depth conversations, which were initially to take 35-40 minutes but, very often extended over several hours. In some cases, conversations took place over a period of days and weeks, not dissimilar to what would occur in an ethnographic study. There were nine interviewees at Rockway, nine at Spadina, and twenty-six at Maplelawn consisting of employees and volunteers. Volunteers comprised 31 of these interviews. When the number of employees was eliminated from the larger number, then the total number of volunteers interviewed represents approximately 80% of the volunteer population at each garden. Numbers of volunteers fluctuate through the years gardens have been open and every person who was interviewed has been involved in a significant way in the garden and plans to continue to volunteer there for the foreseeable future. Individual comments

from interviews have been coded to maintain confidentiality but all people interviewed have been recognized by name within the Acknowledgements. Beyond the individual visit and interviews, site visits took place where participant-observation was conducted and relayed through narratives.

#### ***4.1.2.3 Participant-Observation Relayed through Narratives***

The second method of field inquiry is the use of site visits to observe volunteers and visitors within the gardens themselves, which provided context for the literature reviews and the semi-structured interviews. Most significant with respect to this methodology is the extensive use of this grounded research. As has been observed before, “There’s no way to evaluate something that’s just data. You know, you have to go look” (Shapiro cited in Patton, 2002, p.49). When the researcher experiences a garden, additional insight is gained into the complex relationships between that landscape and those who pass through it. Gaining insight into the complex relationships is imperative when one looks at the concepts of home and place as they pertain to public gardens in Canada. Each garden was visited several times over the course of a week or two, at all times of the day, and extensive narrative field notes were written by the researcher during each visit. Such narratives as the one in Box 4.1 were helpful in both clarifying with the interview subjects that the ambience that surrounded them was well-described, and so that I, as the researcher, had a clear basis from which to continue my work.

*Maplelawn Picnic Table*

*Here I sit, my seventh hour in the garden, third day here. And the sun makes all the difference in the world! I have now conducted sixteen of seventeen interviews with the Friends and continue to be impressed by the folks I meet. Eileen identified the volunteers as we pulled into the driveway, “The green Subaru’s David and Johanne’s, and, oh wait... now whose car is that?” And so my day began.*

*The tablecloth was set out, the picnic basket reveals its bounty of grapes and coffee and teas, lemonade and mugs, and soon there arrived muffins and cookies and other such treats. The volunteers disappear into the garden with their tools of the job, pruning shears to deadhead the peonies, shovels to turn the soil, and buckets to collect the compostables. There must be at least twenty volunteers here through the morning, often only visible by the slip of a t-shirt rummaging beneath a rosebush, the sunhat floating over the hydrangeas, or the clicking sounds followed by plants being toppled. Every few minutes someone stands up to admire their work, but mostly they just work, as in driven by something larger than themselves. I have heard from so many how this place makes them feel alive, contributing to a greater good. They talk about the “new” people and remember the old. They fondly recall the passion of founders Ann Faulkner and Nancy Smith who both embraced the heritage and importance of the garden.*

*The volunteers speak to one another around the picnic table, in the toolshed, and occasionally in the garden itself. The ‘Church of Maplelawn’ is alive and well.*

*They partake in a hymn of another kind, an ethereal song that plucks away among the birds, the aster, and the lawn. Each person part of the choir, each person, integral to the song. They sing in unison, and the music is beautiful.*

*They take stock of their work, never enough time, and far too much rain has beaten down some of the plants. They bring bucket upon bucket of cuttings to the compost, diligently working with such fervor that the ominous rainclouds cannot dampen. When asked for them the most special aspect of the garden, many can easily name their favourite plant and often lead me to the best example in bloom, excited that I take a photo. Others grow*

*silent and look around, as though they are trying to capture the whole in a single still photograph and often revert to the suggestion that I take a “vista shot” as they cannot focus on one particular aspect.*

*By the afternoon the volunteers have cleared out, as though little garden faeries. And the visitors come. And come. Some strolling, others cycling to the bike racks, and others still peering over the wall from the sidewalk itself. They take photos, look about, and comment on how beautiful the gardens look. The Friends inherently know how much their work is appreciated. And if they don't, they wouldn't return Sunday after Sunday. This place is special. Enveloped in a passion for harmony, love, and community.*

*When I think back to this secret garden in the city, I won't remember Latin names of plants, where one person's garden plot ends and another begins, nor the combination to the garden shed, but I will remember the Friends, their passion, and the ways in which visitors smile as they enter the garden through the lilacs. I will feel the energy this place invokes in my heart, the ways in which it speaks to so many. They know. It is something special.*

The narratives proved to be very useful in not only creating a literary atmosphere from which to pursue additional interviews, but also for fostering relationships with garden volunteers. Upon completion of the field work, such reflections as seen above were sent to garden volunteers as a way to demonstrate how important their willingness to participate was for my work, as well as my commitment for telling the stories that they wished to share. In addition to these narratives, the researcher shared photographs collected through the modified participant-employed photography approach described below.

#### ***4.1.2.4 Participant-Employed Photography***

Participant-employed photography can access facets of participants' lives that may not be evident or accessible to researchers (Clark-Ibanez, 2007). The method may generate new perspectives of social phenomena that are unexpected and unpredictable while also helping participants to capture the complex realities in which they live. Photographs may provide an additional window or insight into participants' lives than the interviews alone. Furthermore, photography can enable participants to capture aspects of their lives that are not easily defined in concrete terms with particular attention to the more esoteric aspects of the garden. It is with this richness of data that the researcher can best portray the experiences of the Friends. For the purpose of this research, volunteers were asked to either take photographs of the most significant areas to each individual within the gardens (often referred to as "participant-employed photography") or instruct me to do the same on their behalf. Volunteers would often be more comfortable in describing which location a photograph ought to be taken, rather than taking it themselves. In either case, the use of photography helped elucidate thoughts and perspectives that simply would not have occurred without this visual form of communication.

The participant-employed photography did not work as originally intended in this study; namely to have participants take their own photographs. This was the case because a number of participants were not comfortable taking photographs or the weather did not lend itself to the process. The method, however, did elicit engaging responses. The simple process of asking people where they would take a picture to best represent their garden experience achieved the same net results; participants were able to frame a visual representation in their heads of the places that held the most meaning to them. The photos



held less importance than the significance behind them, as is depicted in the photograph below (Image 1.1).

*Image 1.1: A unique aspect of Maplelawn, as identified by one volunteer (Reproduced here with permission of the participants)*



This gardener, for example, was asked to show me a space that made “Maplelawn special” to her. She then led me to a group of volunteers working away and asked me to take a photograph of her friends. She indicated that it was the people that constituted the most special aspect of the garden. The photo might not have been interpreted as being significant in this manner had she not explained this to me.

The methods used were largely effective in creating a diverse and, as volunteers later reflected, an accurate portrayal of their experiences in the gardens (ML #1, 4, 5, 8, 9, RW #4, SM #5).

## **4.2 Case Study Descriptions**

The gardens examined through grounded research in this study are Maplelawn Historic Garden, Ottawa; Rockway Gardens, Kitchener; and Spadina Museum Gardens, Toronto. Each garden was selected because of its proximity to urban populations, and its active volunteer population. Although not geographically dispersed across Canada, the selected gardens represent the type of public gardens in the larger Canadian public garden landscape and are representative of the larger whole. They have different histories, were originally created for diverse purposes, and have relied on various sources of funding and support since their creation. They all have unique organizational structures. One thing that they all have in common is that they are small in size (two to seven acres) and their volunteers are active and dedicated. Gardens with Friends programs are relatively rare. The experiences of volunteers in these three gardens are representative of those of volunteers in urban public gardens across Canada as gardens with such programs.

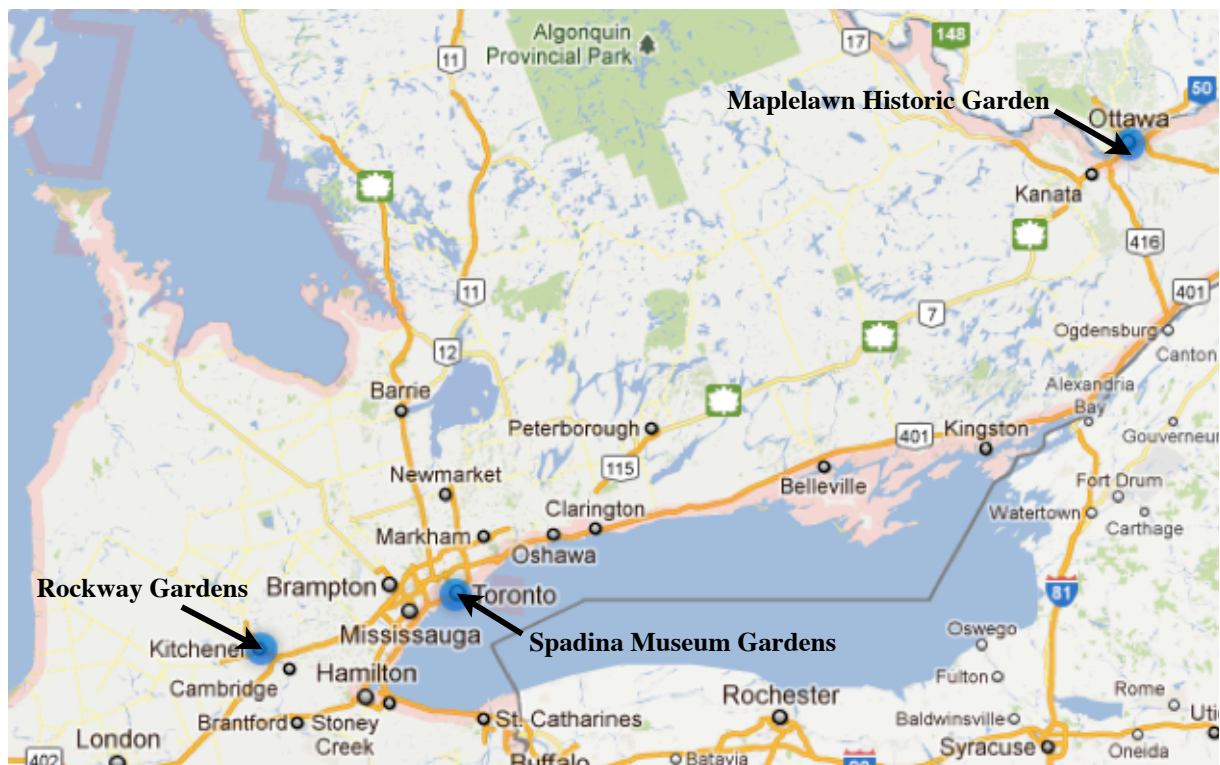
Few public gardens in Canada have active volunteer programs today. This situation posed a significant challenge for the research project with respect to choosing gardens as case studies; most public gardens in Canada do not have volunteer programs, which may relate to a lack of organization, understanding of benefits of such programs, or volunteer champions, among other reasons. This examination of Friends of the gardens reflects how

those stewards who are volunteers may be experiencing notions of place or home and how that extends to the experiences of such people beyond the gardens. The study sites are further introduced in the following sections (4.2.1.1-4.2.1.3).

#### 4.2.1 Study Sites

- Maplelawn Historic Garden, Ottawa, Ontario (visited June 24<sup>th</sup>-27<sup>th</sup>, 2011, referred to as ML in referenced quotations)
- Rockway Gardens, Kitchener, Ontario (visited October 25<sup>th</sup>, 31<sup>st</sup>, December 12<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup>, 2011, referred to as RW in referenced quotations)
- Spadina Museum Gardens, Toronto, Ontario (visited December 5<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup>, 2011, referred to as SM in referenced quotations)

Figure 4.1 Map of Field Research Locations



(Map adapted from Google.com)

#### ***4.2.1.1 Maplelawn Historic Garden, Ottawa, Ontario***

Maplelawn, located in the Canadian capital city of Ottawa, Ontario, is examined in this thesis both because of its historic value as well as the way in which it has developed a Friends program. It is a small garden with a long history. It has a Friends association of over twenty individuals.

Maplelawn was established in 1831 by William Thompson, a Scottish immigrant and is situated along Richmond Road, one of the original roads in the Ottawa area. The property was successively owned by three families: the Thompson, the Coles, and the Rochesters; each family showing considerable interest in the garden and expending much effort to keep it well-cultivated.

The property is identified by the Federal Heritage Buildings Review Office as “one of the oldest surviving residences in the area, providing an important visual reminder of the early history of Ottawa as a farming community” (1983, p.221). Maplelawn is not the only country residence still surviving from the 1830s, but Maplelawn “still retains much of its original interior, exterior, and landscape features represents the best preserved example of this phase of Ottawa’s building history” (1983, p.221).

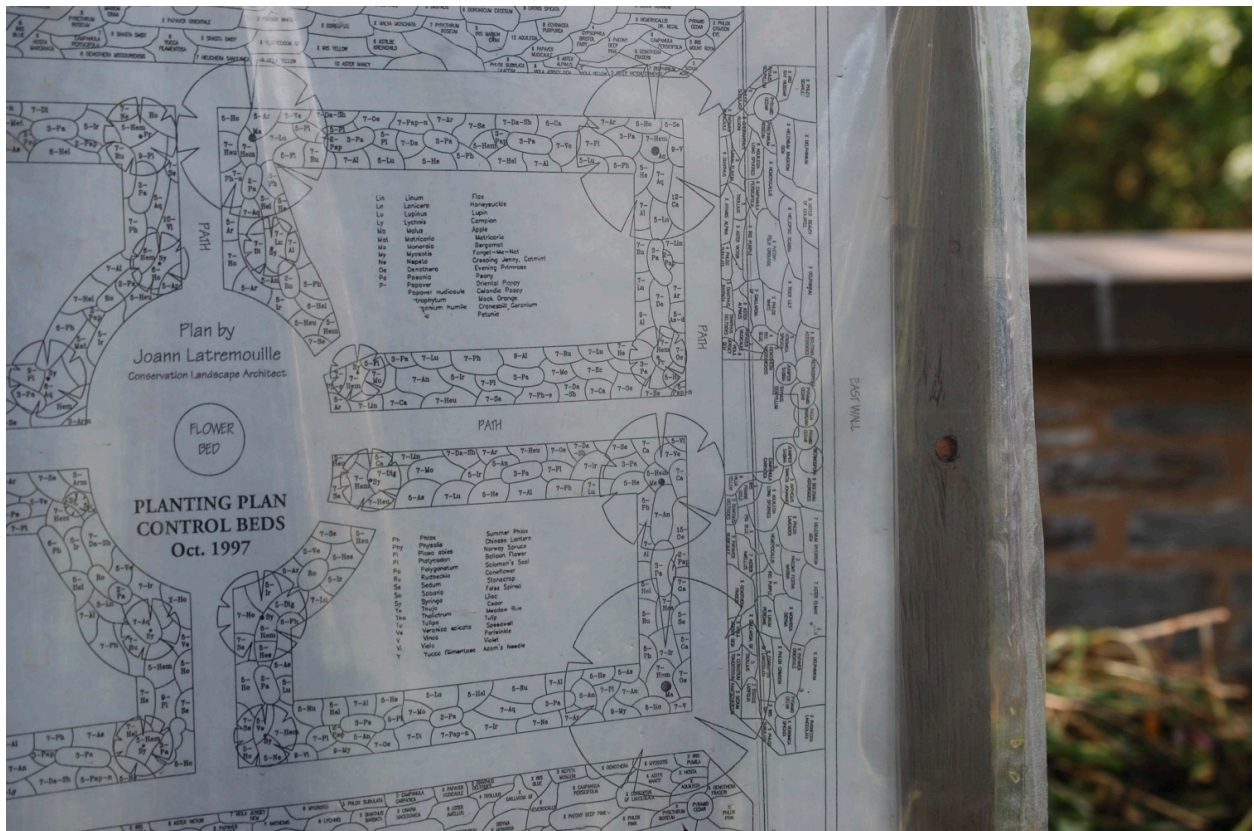
Environmental historian and author Edwinna Von Baeyer observes that, “[t]he walls of Maplelawn are a living treasure. The property’s timeless beauty and repose have survived through the years of financial difficulties, changes of owner, urban encroachment, and the pressures of changing horticultural styles” (1995, n.p.). For 173 years, the owners have continued the legacy of the site, “maintaining its integrity and basic layout, and safeguarding a large amount of herbaceous plant material since 1940, as well as earlier

woodier material” (1995, n.p.). Von Baeyer suggests, “We have very few landscapes in Canada that can claim such a long existence without major changes. Maplelawn is the only example of a pre-Confederation, Canadian walled garden to survive so little changed. Thanks to the continued stewardship of the NCC and the Friends of Maplelawn, this horticultural legacy in all its classical symmetry will continue to delight visitors with its beauty, its air of repose, and its rich historical associations” (1995, n.p.).

The Friends program itself began in 1993 when a group of local residents rallied to preserve the overgrown gardens. They entered into an agreement with the National Capital Commission (NCC) to study, preserve, and rejuvenate the walled garden, making use of the extensive palette of perennials, such as the old peonies for which the garden was once famous, still thriving within its walls (NCC, n.d.) (See Image 4.1 below).



*Image 4.1: Planting Plans for Maplelawn (with wall in background)*



#### 4.2.1.2 Rockway Gardens, Kitchener, Ontario

Roughly 500 kilometres to the southwest of Maplelawn is a garden of like-minded individuals. Unlike Maplelawn, Rockway was created as a public garden from its very inception.

Rockway Garden was planned in the late 1920s as a way to beautify Kitchener and was initially a project of the Kitchener Horticultural Society. Located at the entrance to the city, Rockway was built upon land previously used as a sewage treatment facility (The Landplan Collaborative Ltd., 1995). A formal garden had first been established on the site and was known for some time as the Janzen Horticultural Gardens. These gardens

included two fountains donated by the Janzen family in memory of a former Berlin (Kitchener) mayor and founder of the Berlin Horticultural Society and his wife.

In 1933, the Society contracted W. J. Jarman, a Fellow of the Royal Horticultural Society of Great Britain and a notable English landscape architect, to design and direct the construction of the Rockery (The Landplan Collaborative Ltd., 1995). For the construction of the Rockery, local workers were plentiful due to the high rate of unemployment during the Great Depression, as was the case with other gardens in both Europe and North America (Noted in Chapter 3.1.6) (See Image 4.2). Many homeowners worked on the project several hours a week to receive free meals and offset property taxes, and in this way, were spared losing their homes (The Kitchener Horticultural Society, 2012).

*Image 4.2: “Community Beauty a Civic Duty”*



Today, Rockway Garden consists of seven acres of lawns, gardens, and forest along the main road through Kitchener (See Box 5.4). “It’s pretty much the heart of the city now. When it was first opened it was at the edge of the city – in the country, actually” (RW #1). Today there are about eight volunteers per year, one full-time gardener and three part-time staff. The initial rockery was the primary focal point when the gardens were created. Today, it has expanded to include several architectural features including a bridge, gazebo, arch, and several fountains.



Few records date back to before a garden house fire in the 1950s. It is, therefore, difficult to find much literature detailing the actual experiences of the volunteers prior to present.

#### ***4.2.1.3 Spadina Museum Gardens, Toronto, Ontario***

Like Maplelawn, Spadina Garden was built as a private garden, later made public when the property was sold to heritage preservation interests. Spadina was initially 80 acres in size and the site of a home built by wealthy businessman and financier James Austin in 1866. By the early nineteenth century, the property included the house, a stone garage/chauffeur's quarters, and a greenhouse where the owner could indulge his interest in horticulture. Today, the property is considerably scaled down to 5.7 acres, “[t]he elaborate gardens surrounding Spadina provide more than a beautiful landscape for a stately home. They are a reflection of history in which we can discover everything from household economy to middle class social values and aesthetic preferences” (City of Toronto, 2012).

The formal flowerbeds have been reproduced using archival photographs. Great attention has been paid to the authenticity of the gardens as they might have been in 1905 (when first landscaped). Like Maplelawn, the plants are limited to varieties that were available when the last occupants resided in the house (City of Toronto, 2012). Today the garden features more than 300 varieties of perennials and much original plant material can still be seen on the grounds; the magnificent white oaks, for instance, predate the house.

The homestead was acquired by the City of Toronto in 1982. In the second year the Garden Club of Toronto began to research and rehabilitate the grounds under the tutelage of Wendy Woodworth. The first volunteer arrived in 1986 and since then numbers have increased to approximately 10 regular volunteers throughout the year (See Box 5.5).

### 4.3 Primary Research Interview Approach

Interview questions were asked during the primary research to gain additional insight into the complex relationships between that landscape and those who pass through it.

Understanding these relationships is imperative when one looks at the concept of home and place as they pertain to public gardens in Canada. The questions are listed below.

#### 4.3.1 Interview Questions

The three key concepts of aesthetics, ethnosphere, and home as related to sense of place are a foundation for the interview questions. As can be seen in Table 2.1: Essential Qualities/Attributes, the questions posed seek to elicit conversation on each concept, while providing space for other ideas to also emerge.

Table 4.3: Interview Questions

Purpose	Questions
<b>Gather information on Interviewees that enables a more coherent comparative analysis of responses</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What position do you hold within the garden?</li> <li>• How/when did you first learn about the garden?</li> <li>• How/when did you get involved in the program?</li> <li>• How do you spend the majority of your time? (missing diversity in sense of place)</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Into which age category do you fit? under 25, 25-50, over 50</li> <li>• Are you retired?</li> <li>• Do you volunteer elsewhere? If so, where?</li> </ul>
<b>Understand community outreach/volunteer programs for the purposes of public engagement</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Why are you a Friend of the garden?</li> <li>• When and how did you become interested in gardens?</li> <li>• Do you have your own garden elsewhere?</li> </ul>
<b>Identify key psychological, social, philosophical components of 'home' as it relates to nature</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Can you describe a place that you feel connected to?</li> <li>• Can you describe your home?</li> <li>• Is your home the same space you feel connected to?</li> <li>• Can a garden be a home?</li> <li>• How would you feel if the place to which you felt connected no longer existed?</li> <li>• How would you feel if your home no longer existed?</li> </ul>
<b>Learn about the subjective experiences of volunteers to the gardens in order to consider and compare them in garden friends across Canada</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What is unique/special about this garden?</li> <li>• What role do you think public gardens play in your life? In urban life? In communities? In individuals?</li> <li>• Do gardens foster a sense of place? If so/not, why/how?</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Is there anything else you would like to share about how you feel about this garden?</li> </ul>

The questions in Table 4.3 are useful in understanding how the Friends of the gardens experience and engage with their landscapes: natural, cultivated, and peopled. The origins of their connections to gardens are explored as well. In developing a clear picture of how the gardener experiences places, key psychological, social, and philosophical components of home are explored.

Answers were initially directly-related to the question but these often naturally shifted to address questions I was still planning to ask. This indicates that the volunteers were often

able to delve into issues comfortably and that the questions prepared were directly in line with their experiences. Not all questions directly pertain to the volunteers and the gardens (e.g. “How would you feel if the place to which you felt connected no longer existed?”), but such questions help to create a mindspace from which other questions can be answered (e.g. “What role do you think public gardens play in urban life?”). Often, upon completion of the prepared questions, volunteers would offer additional insight into the topic, and this was often useful in creating a better picture of how the individual relates to her/his experiences as a volunteer in an urban public garden.

This research is strongly rooted in grounded theory. The interview questions both complement the literature review and provoke thinking that could only be done in a guided way through such an approach as this (See Table 4.3).

#### **4.3.2 Ethics**

This research involves human participants through interviews. As such it follows the University of Waterloo Office of Research’s Guidelines for Research with Human Participants. The ethics review provides assurance that participants will follow a prior consent process that is fully informed and voluntary. It also ensures that the risks associated with the research do not outweigh the potential benefits.

Individual confidentiality was maintained through the use of a number system, and each garden identified by a two-letter acronym. These identifiers follow interview responses; when all participants responded in a similar manner, the numbers were not used as the acronyms represented the entirety of the interviewees. Head gardeners at each garden

allowed me to have full authority over direct quotations. Participants did not review transcripts as coding was used and confidentiality was assured.

#### **4.3.3 Data Coding**

Grounded research uses coding to systematically organize and analyze qualitative data.

“Coding in grounded theory entails reviewing transcripts and/or field notes and giving labels (names) to items that share a similar theme, seem to be of potential theoretical significance, and/or appear to be particularly salient within the social worlds of those being studies” (Bryman, 2009, p.253).

In addition to coding, the idea of constant comparison is at the heart of grounded theory as a method,

[It] can be seen as nothing more than an enlightening rule of thumb, which assists researchers to understand the process of analysis. Put simply, constant comparison is the process of constantly comparing instances of data that you have labeled as a particular category with other instances of data, to see if these categories fit and are workable (Urquhart, 2001).

“Theoretical saturation,” is reached when the categories fit and are workable, referred to as a point at which the results are repeated frequently in interviews and little new information is revealed. Guidelines for determining nonprobabilistic sample sizes are virtually nonexistent, although for the purpose of this research a defined number of interviews had to be scheduled ahead of traveling to the garden, itself. Each garden has a different number of Friends and so a specific number to garner from each garden would not be appropriate as it would not be adequately representative of the volunteers who work there. As social researcher Mark Mason points out, “Although the idea of saturation

is helpful at the conceptual level, it provides little practical guidance for estimating sample sizes, prior to data collection, necessary for conducting quality research” (2010). Based on the research data set here, saturation occurred within the first five interviews, although basic elements for meta-themes were present in early as three interviews. This may seem to be a small number of interviews, but when the sample size of some gardens was small, a small saturation point was appropriate.

The data resulting from these interviews was examined by way of a thematic coding scheme. Initially, there were some ideas about what themes might exist, but due to the richness of the data, a lot of time was spent reading through both the interviews and the narratives and a more grounded theory approach was used to extract the themes. A thematic content analysis was used by sorting through narrative experiences: this entailed reading through transcripts, identifying themes, having somebody else take a look at it, and triangulating it with some of the key people who gave interviews (those who were identified as “champions” or leaders within the garden). It became evident that the themes of place, aesthetics, and ethnosphere were present in grounded theory, reflecting themes identified in the literature as well. Those themes will be discussed in turn, in Chapter Five.

I initially processed interview results through “open coding,” in which each transcript was examined for themes that were repeated both in the individual interview and in the larger group of interviews. There were approximately 40 hours of interviews to transcribe and coding was done within several days of the final interview at each garden. These findings were organized in constant comparison and were important in contributing to the

larger understanding of how a volunteer's experience is rather universal when considering the meta-themes of aesthetics, ethnosphere, and home.

A wealth of information acquired in this step offered up a number of secondary themes – including commuting volunteers at Spadina, gardens fostering civics at Rockway, and the emergence and importance of community recognition at Maplelawn. These secondary themes were not dealt with until completion of this first set of coding. Axial coding followed the open coding process. Axial coding is “the stage where categories and relationships between categories are supposed to emerge. It is also at this stage that the open codes are grouped into categories and subcategories, and indeed some open codes become categories in their own right” (Urquhart, 2001, p.8). This was done manually enabling me to continue to code and gather further information (specifically important relationships) from my data.

Findings in the field work were revealed through data triangulation where recurring ideas from three sampling methods – interviews, observation, and modified participant-employed photography – were compiled. Themes were then ranked from common to outliers and grouped according to theme.

A narrative framework was used in the process of writing up this research through the use of field notes. As with such ethnographic approaches, vignettes were used extensively. Quotations were used to illustrate various concepts, as it was often the case that the interviewees could capture an emotion or experience far better than the researcher. Vignettes served as “lived experiences” and could be considered the richest of all data collected (See Boxes 4.1, 5.1, 5.5, and 5.6).

#### **4.4 Chapter Four Summary**

This chapter focused on the methodology used in this thesis. Research methods included the in-depth examination of secondary literature, semi-structured interviews, and narrative methods all of which contributed to the larger ethnographic approach of the research. The three gardens selected as suitable locations for field research were also discussed, as was history of each in its formation as a garden with Friends. Chapter Five: Findings discusses the results obtained through the application of this methodology.



## **Chapter Five: From the Gardener's Perspective: Findings from the Field Work**

What speaks to the connection between a sense of place and the re-creation of home in those who frequent gardens, is the story itself. It is the story that speaks to the themes of attachment, place, and beauty, among many others, mentioned by the Friends of the gardens through the interview process. A primary thread that runs through the findings is the intrinsic value of gardens as expressed by the volunteers who describe the ways in which those feelings manifest in the gardener's relationship with themselves, each other, and their landscape. Most fundamental to this research is how people make sense of their gardens and how that translates to a sense of place.

This is worthwhile because the story of volunteers in gardens can inform us of a connection between a sense of place and the re-creation of 'home' in those who frequent the gardens. As discussed in the previous chapter, the findings of this research were revealed through an initial process of open coding and then axial coding, both of which are methods used to identify themes that emerge from grounded research. In this chapter themes unique to each garden and as well as those held in common are discussed.

### **5.1 Sense-Making the Garden**

Unique combinations of "sense-making" by the volunteers are based on the interrelationships between people and their landscapes (including the public gardens) and amongst the volunteers themselves when interacting within the context of the gardens.

Sense-making enables people to comprehend complexity, diversity, and incompleteness

in a way that uses and applies a central metaphor –

The metaphor of human beings traveling through time-space, coming out of situations with history and partial instruction, arriving at new situations, facing gaps, building bridges across those gaps, evaluating outcomes and moving on. The central foundational concepts of the sense-making methodology are, thus, time, space, movement, gap; step-taking, situation, bridge, outcome. (Dervin, 1998, p.38)

One must make sense of a garden in order to truly dwell within it, as Heidegger might observe (Heidegger, 1972). The experience one might have in a garden is subjective, and is portrayed here through the stories of the gardeners interviewed for this research. All is sense-making--from the way in which volunteers describes their motivations for volunteering in such a setting, to the ways in which they learned to garden, to the actual experience they had while immersed in that environment.

The role of the volunteer leads to the first important theme identified from the field work, namely, *the volunteer is crucial to the functioning of the case gardens*. Every staff gardener interviewed emphasized this point (ML #3, RW #4, 8, 9, SM #1, 9).

Without the volunteers it definitely would not be the same around here. [The garden] wouldn't have the special attention, wouldn't be – just in terms of presence – having someone there when people are going through, and asking questions... so you have all the outreach that goes with the volunteering there. [...] It would be less human without the gardeners and would maybe lose some of its significance. They put their hearts, they put their soul, they put everything they have into this garden. If it were paid staff... for them it's sometimes just a job. For the volunteers, this is a passion. (ML #4)

Part of the motivation for being a garden volunteer is the collective action: to learn from one another, to share in a common interest, and to create beauty together. One Rockway volunteer offers, “When I come to the garden I am accepted like one of the staff. I really enjoy working with them and they always teach me a lot. We have lunch together, we

garden, and we are all satisfied at what we accomplish by the time we go home.” (RW #2) Similar expressions of satisfaction at mutual accomplishment can be heard at other gardens as well. At Spadina, for example, another volunteer reflects that “I come in the morning to see what needs to be done for the day and I often do something new with the gardeners’ help. And I bring my own gardening problems in because there is just so much collective knowledge here” (SM #2). These experiences of mutual action and reciprocity are not unusual in these gardens. This observation was asserted by many of the Friends themselves (ML #4, 5, 7, 9, 10, 12, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 25, RW #1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, SM #1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9).

In terms of ethical relationships, volunteer work means that people *give* their time to others and most social exchanges are guided by imperatives that provide motives for behaviour. One Rockway volunteer described the act of volunteering in a garden as one of a “nurturing” role and then described the other volunteer and professional roles she has held that are akin to it (RW #2). Friends rarely limit their volunteering to the garden; rather, they are heavily engaged in all sorts of volunteer positions in their communities and most often these too could be considered “nurturing” roles (RW #2). One volunteer said, “When not here in the Garden, I do other volunteer jobs... that’s how I pass my time. I am busier now than when I wasn’t retired! I usher at the local theatre. I think that’s it. Well, then I also volunteer at another garden and do other things. I am very busy!” (ML #2)

Perhaps, then, it is not just the act of volunteering that nourishes the soul, but the way in which that role allows individuals to participate in a very real and tangible way with their communities. From church senior, to tutor, to neighbourhood gardener, to museum guide,

volunteers at all three gardens tend to be very engaged and active within their communities – over 90% participate regularly in additional volunteer positions within the community. The volunteers generally spent time in the garden as only one facet of their busy lives and saw this pursuit as a way to stay young, active, and learning.

In addition to gardening, when I retired I became a brew judge and work through the head office of the LCBO to promote local products, etc. Other than that, I am supposed to be doing some horticultural study for this Master Gardener program because I am involved in an online course through the Nova Scotia Agricultural College. If I figure out which buttons to push on the computer I might succeed in that...! (SM #4)

This gardener was not the only person busy with many different pursuits, over the course of the interviews I met playwrights, linguists, museum docents, musicians, and others, all of whom discovered these new and largely volunteer-based activities after retiring (ML #1, 4, 5, 7, 9, 11, 12, 13, 19, 24, RW #1, 2, 3, 5, 6, SM #1, 2, 5, 6, 7). They were often humble when talking about what they do when not in the garden:

The first year I was just happy to volunteer, the second year when I came back I was just so discouraged with my own garden because it was *never* as nice as this! And this year I actually got my garden working not too badly. I have learned a lot from working with these guys [the employees], they've taught me a lot. And that's one of the things about volunteering. I give time and they get the weeds pulled out of the garden [...]; it's always that trade off with volunteering: you think 'while I am giving' but really in the end, you're the one who is getting. When you give something away, you are the one who reaps the reward of that giving; I don't think there's any kind of volunteering where it isn't like that (RW #2).

This volunteer experience within the gardens contributes to both mental and physical wellness. The motivation of volunteerism is manifested in different ways - Maplelawn has its living legacy and history, Rockway its civic duty, and Spadina its creation of sanctuary.

## 5.2 Unique Themes to Each Garden

A great many commonalities can be detected among themes of the gardens. Nevertheless, the volunteer responses did differ somewhat in areas they chose to focus on in their interviews. The following constitute a brief description of the main themes unique to each garden and then plausible reasons why these points would be of special significance to the volunteers of that specific garden.

### 5.2.1 Maplelawn Historic Garden, Ottawa Ontario

*Maplelawn sits in the morning dew, drops glistening on leaves, robins singing from the apple tree, and buds preparing to burst—a scene of living history. Volunteers arrive, implements in tow, prepared for another day of labour. (Author’s Reflections)*

In the interviews conducted at Maplelawn, the volunteers offered many unique insights into the relationships between people and place in the garden, and the following findings are singular to that garden, itself:

1. A living history of the landscape
2. The social aspect of the Friends program is a key component of the program
3. The unique cultural heritage of some of the volunteers themselves
4. The emergence of formal community recognition leading to increased pride and motivation

#### 5.2.1.1 *The landscape’s living history*

Volunteers referred frequently to the “historical human elements” of the garden and pointed to those as being key features. One volunteer offers this reflection on the history of the garden: “I think that the continuity is very important here [in Maplelawn]. We have

to remember what the intent of the plantings, the other elements, and the whole garden was back then, and continue that today” (ML #8). His sentiments are not unique and similar reflections were offered by other Maplelawn gardeners as well (ML #1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19).

The embedded history can be identified for the pet cemetery to the sapling planted by a resident 110 years ago and that now towers over the property – “Plants can always be replaced but a tree like that cannot” (ML #3) – to the discussion of best watering practices. One hundred years after the garden was created, the Friends aim to continue the legacy of previous generations using the historical garden plan drafted in 1936 (See Image 4.1). As one interviewee commented, it’s not just about maintaining the historic plantings themselves:

When you come here on a Sunday morning or any other time and you work in a bed that’s been a garden bed for 130 years, that means that, depending on how you define a generation, maybe five, six, seven generations of people have tended this same piece of land doing exactly the same thing that you’re doing. Gardening hasn’t changed much. You still need to encourage the things you want to grow and discourage the things that also want to grow that you don’t want there. Even the tools are essentially the same. So that when you’re there, you’re emulating the past in a way and you don’t consciously think about it but it’s a nice thought to think that if through the magic of some kind of time machine you could line all of these people up who worked on that same bed at the same time what a crowd that would be and yet we would all have the same thing in common: know how to garden, use the tools, try to make things grow, and to appreciate the beauty, I think. It’s exactly the same language through time. It’s the essence of it (ML #1).

And so, in capturing the essence of Maplelawn, this volunteer also makes reference to the concept of “ethnosphere”. This reinforced the author’s own observations as depicted in the field note below. The garden is not only about history of the place, but the connection between those who pass through it over time (See Box 5.1).

Maplelawn Bench

*I have simply a shadow of the knowledge I had of gardens a mere day ago. Within this past twenty-four hours I have come to understand what a formidable force volunteers are, how impassioned people can work small wonders, and indeed how important this small plot of land - no more than an acre - on a busy road - in the nation's capital - can be to so many people. They speak the language, the language of place, or peace, or connection, or whatever I am trying to pin down. They live for this garden, and it indeed lives for them. The Friends are commonfolk, but, unlike many others, possess a vision that extends far beyond their lives. They cluster in the garden, adorned in raingear and gardening gloves, and swiftly immerse themselves in a garden plot, overcome with vigour and knowledge. They may be here, among these four walls, for twenty-minutes, or the day, but, without a doubt, they live this garden and bring it with them. The men and women here, many with far greater journeys behind them, are here, in this place. Not simply here but really, tangibly, attached to this landscape. They are indeed a formidable force.*

*Sitting on the bench beneath the maple if I look beyond the wall; buses, bicycles, and everything in between rush by at an astonishing pace, their heads barely visible beyond the stone. There are no traffic lights here, and no squealing of brakes. People are on the move and determined to get there. And yet, within this garden, people are already "there".*

*In this garden, people wander about with cameras in tow, with pruning shears in hand, and with dirt under their nails. They wander in with children who take that moment to smell the flowers, as we are all recommended to do. People sit in the retirement home that overlooks this space and watch approvingly, as the garden changes through the weeks.*

*There are stories here, not only of the trees and paths, but perhaps more importantly of the people and their stories. This garden is of today but rooted in the gardens of so many childhoods, so many memories, and so many futures.*

*This is a sanctuary of serenity and tranquility, a balance of nature and otherwise, and precariousness within the walls. The people are getting older, as we all do, and concern about the future of this place remains largely undiscussed. It has a heritage plaque, a designation from the country, that ensures its continuity when these who prune the plants may no longer be around. May they know how special this place is, both those who are Friends and those who discover it for the first time. May they hear the birds, see the voles, watch the bunnies, and sit beneath the shade of the trees, and know that this place will be here forever. This is a legacy in the making, as it has been for the last one hundred seventy years.*

In this garden, gardeners take great pride in keeping the history of the garden alive

“Maybe we can’t plant the same plants [as were in the historical plans] due to availability or shade or water, but we can try our best to copy what used to be here” (ML #9). Many gardeners expressed both the challenges and rewards of negotiating large temporal scale (ML #1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 20, 25). The plaques that speak to the history of the garden may mention one human aspect or another, but the true testament is within the garden walls itself – the entire garden, one that continues to endure through time. This larger picture was seen many times through the interviews as volunteers were asked to take photographs of the most important or significant components of their experiences in the garden. Approximately half of the gardeners identified the larger garden as being significant as it had taken many years to establish and these gardeners were continuing



the legacy: “I won’t be here forever, but I do want to help while I can” (ML #11). Again, this description of obligation to the place over time is frequently expressed at Maplelawn (ML #1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 20, 21, 25). Not one aspect of it could be identified by these volunteers as being of most significance.

One could attribute this passion for the garden’s history to the recently formed relationship between members of the original homesteading families and the Friends of the Garden, or perhaps to the number of volunteers with formal educational backgrounds in history. The garden itself is also the most active piece of living history on the property, as the mansion (homestead) is now used in another capacity than originally intended – that of restaurant: “It’s a Keg now and [the manager] has always been so good to us. But he knows his customers also come for the gardens, so it works well. The most popular seats are overlooking them, you know” (ML #9). Because the Keg Manor House is such a presence on the property, it was mentioned both as a utility for meetings and washrooms, and as a way for people to discover the garden (ML #1, 3, 4, 9, 16). In any case, such interest in the garden’s living history has been piqued and is an essential component in the motivation behind many of the volunteers today. A visitor gets a sense of the history behind the place when sitting in the garden: the original planting plan is pegged to the inside of the potting shed (See Image 4.1), the walls have been painstakingly maintained as they were originally built (See Image 5.1), and the plaque in the garden identifies a pet

cemetery (See Image 5.2). It is as though the residents of one hundred years ago simply walked away yesterday.

This “living history” is championed by the Friends, but largely enabled by the support of the National Capital Commission (NCC). The National Capital Commission and Friends of Maplelawn possess a unique partnership that falls under the umbrella of a Volunteer Service Agreement. This agreement provides the Friends with the responsibility of preserving and maintaining floral displays while the NCC maintains trees and shrubs, turf, pesticide application should it be required, stonework, and utilities. The Friends offer suggestions and, as was witnessed in a meeting, the NCC takes them back to their office to decide upon the feasibility of such ideas (new plant species, different approaches to maintenance, etc.); such a relationship is one of mutual respect and understanding and the resulting collaborative efforts have been described by one garden historian as “one of the best examples of volunteer/government collaboration in Canada” (ML #8).

Image 5.1: A wall of Maplelawn, bordered closely by Richmond Road



Image 5.2: Rochester family pet cemetery



And this living history continues. The gardens were not well-maintained when the Friends first began to till the soil and restore the gardens but they were able to recapture the past (ML #1, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 19). One volunteer who spent time in the garden when it was still privately-owned jokes that the gardens “were never as nice as they are now!” (ML #11) Today they foster a garden to continue when they can no longer do so and the results of the very work that the volunteers do will press on. The volunteers today maintain this spot for future generations even if they are no longer there to appreciate it: “We are all getting older and I know with age, sometimes we have to pull back on what we can do. While we are able, we might as well give back as we can” (ML #9). This consideration of age and ability was offered by many at Maplelawn (ML #1, 4, 5, 7, 8, 13, 14, 15, 16). This sentiment is important because it speaks to stewardship and the



significance of history in today's context. The gardeners here, the ones who continue to create history, do not work alone, but are connected with gardeners temporally. They continue the work of others; one day their work may also be continued by others who follow.

#### ***5.2.1.2 Social bonds of the Friends program***

“The garden is not all about the plants,” says one gardener at Maplelawn (ML #4). The Friends program at Maplelawn is as much about the people as it is about the gardens (See Box 5.1: Field Notes). The collective group is very social; with a large contingent of volunteers, each volunteer has a specific area to work - and people with whom to work, and there are regular days to garden together. The gardeners have a deep connection to not only the gardens but also their colleagues – indeed their ‘Friends’ – as well, often meeting with the National Capital Commission and also volunteering in other capacities within the organization (ML #3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 13, 19, 20, 21). A volunteer offers an explanation of the social bonds formed in the garden: “People are nice here. I think they are used to seeing newcomers all the time so they welcome you well. I feel like I belong with this group and many of us meet outside of the garden as well. These people have become my friends” (ML #5). The gardeners, despite various backgrounds, form camaraderie within the garden. “For me what’s special about Maplelawn are the people. I think it’s all about the people” (ML #9). It is not only the people themselves, but also their ancestry that makes this a unique garden to examine when exploring notions of home.

### ***5.2.1.3 Volunteers' unique cultural heritages***

Gardens are a global phenomenon. An emotion, however, is triggered when one sees a particular plant or feature that reminds them of their own home or childhood, taking them back to their 'home' of another time. Familiarity with the environment can lead to familiarity of one's own cultural origins and this has been seen at Maplelawn. The majority of walled gardens such as Maplelawn's resemble the gardens of England and could be, in essence, a re-creation of home in a different land. Today, it is interesting to note that at least twenty percent of the gardeners have strong ethnic ties to England, having been born there and immigrating to Canada within the last sixty years (ML #9, 20, 21, 22, 26). This speaks to the cultural influence of the English settlers in Canada and the fact that many of volunteers are English in this garden (ML #9, 20, 21, 22, 26). This finding was entirely unique to this particular garden and points to an intrinsic value of the garden not otherwise discussed in garden literature. It could reflect a re-creation of home, a connection to the volunteers' lineage, or something else entirely. It is important to note that Maplelawn has very little ethnic or cultural diversity beyond having some gardeners with roots firmly in England, although a few French-speaking individuals now volunteer in the garden

### ***5.2.1.4 The emergence of formal recognition***

External recognition of the garden has been growing in recent years; community members, historic boards, and others have identified Maplelawn and its volunteers as being of significance to the area (See Image 5.3). Maplelawn has been able to raise its

public profile through such opportunities as Doors Open Ottawa, leading to a heightened community awareness of its very existence as a *public* garden, though the imposing stone walls may indicate otherwise. Nearly every volunteer (ML #1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23) proudly boasted about the tremendous outpouring of interest in the garden from such events and also mentioned that the recognition encourages them to continue to do what they do. One offers, “The plaques are there to show people that volunteers actually do this work and then when they come in and see us working, some will come over, ask us questions about the plants, and thank us” (ML #9). Another volunteer says that “I hear it all the time... people pass by every day on their way to work [in Ottawa] and never think that it’s available *for them*. As soon as they see that, then they appreciate all the work we do here” (ML #5). And I would suggest that this element of the garden is important to consider in the other gardens as well; gardeners are generally quite modest people and yet they take so much pride in their work that simple recognitions go far.

Image 5.3: Formal recognition for the Friends of Maplelawn



It is not, however, always the plaques and formal recognition that provide motivation to the volunteers, as many commented on more subtle rewards seen in other ways. As one gardener reflected, “For me, one of the reasons I do this work is because of the children I see having lunch with their parents in this garden. That makes it all worthwhile” (ML #7). The best reward for most Friends is the simple enjoyment a visitor is afforded in visiting a garden such as Maplelawn (ML #1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25).

At Maplelawn, the four key themes focus on the history of the landscape and how the



gardeners engage with and embrace history in a contemporary manner. Gardeners highlighted the social aspect of the program as a key component of the program itself and often suggested their new friends were the motivators in the continuation of their involvement with Maplelawn. Thirdly, the unique cultural heritage of some of the gardeners can be directly linked to the garden itself and, along with that, lies a distinct lack of diversity in the volunteer background. Lastly, within Maplelawn is an emergence of formal community recognition, which is creating an upsurge of interest in both visitors experiencing the garden and volunteers being motivated to continue their work.

### **5.2.2 Rockway Gardens, Kitchener Ontario**

*It is 4pm and the teenagers are cutting through the garden on their way home, the cyclists are passing through - eyes forward and helmets on tight, and from the parked car emerges a mother and son, boy holding the leash of his dog; the three have been anticipating this walk all day. They smile to the man hunched over by the benches weeding. (Author's Reflections)*

At Rockway Gardens, the main theme that emerged was a strong social commitment to civics, reflecting the very underpinnings of the city of Kitchener itself and its business-like civic approach to community building. The initial intention of the Kitchener Horticultural Society was to create a space to help beautify the city while contributing to the greater civic society through a form of charity (The Landplan Collaborative Ltd., 1995). It reinforced the notion of the whole “City Beautiful” movement of the early 1900s, which was as much about boosting the city’s economy and attractions as it was

about social purposes (American Studies, 2009). This concept was not unique to the Horticultural Society; the entire city, going back to the days of Berlin, was built on civic engagement. At that time, the notion was a reflection of the industrial character of the city and the importance of contributing to the larger public good and the collective benefit through volunteerism and hard work, mainstays of the German ethos. Today, that civic duty continues through such work as that of Rockway's volunteers (RW #1, 2, 3, 5, 6) One gardener observed that,

[Rockway] was the entrance to the city and that was the calling card. So even now people come in one of the first things they see is Rockway Gardens and I think that leaves somewhat of an impression (RW #1).

Today the civic pride continues to flourish and I felt this as I spent an afternoon writing from a bench in the gardens (See Box 5.2).

#### Box 5.2 Personal Narrative on the Aesthetics of Rockway

*Combined metal and asphalt, rock and soil, water and land, sky and sun. Together an odd pairing of unlikely paradoxes. And yet, somehow, they work. And yet, somehow, they don't. Turn slowly in a circle and you transition from main street, to manicured lawns to precise beds, to fountains and rocks, gardens and arbors. In one place so much, and yet so little. The essentials of life beauty, movement, and stillness. Together and yet disjointed. Beauty and harshness. Sound and silence. And yet there is beauty in harshness and harshness in beauty. Sound in silence and silence in sound; it is deafening and yet quiet. Always. And the sun shimmers through the pines, dappling the paths, warming the earth, and making light of the day. The transition of season, the roar of the vehicle – there is ugliness here, but in that ugliness – is the love of those who come and care for*

*the garden. And in that love is the truth. Here in Rockway there is truth. Of who we are, of what we have become, of how we be.*

This civic pride that extended to the public gardens was reinforced by an enduring attachment to familiar landmarks. Such a landmark might be a local factory or, in this case, Rockway gardens.

#### ***5.2.2.1 Sense of place and a local landmark***

“I come here because this is a place of my childhood...” (RW #3). The words are not unique to one volunteer, but are the words of many of the volunteers: “This is where I used to come as a treat when I was good in church. We’d spend all Sunday here. We’d have a picnic, play, the adults would talk... it is a favourite memory of mine” (RW #4). This isn’t just a garden; Rockway is *their* garden – a spot of their childhood, youthful indifference, child-rearing, and reflective todays (RW #2, 3, 5, 6). They talk about not only the garden, but also the local haunts that used to occupy the other side of King Street: Rockway Fish and Chips, among others. Those spots are now used car lots, apartment buildings, and insurance agencies. Gone are many of the other haunts, but not Rockway Gardens (See Image 5.4). There is magic in this spot. If you mention the gardens to folks of a certain age (over sixty) who have lived here for a while, their eyes light up and they tell you what a treat it has always been to go there (See Box 5.4). “You always come here [Rockway] for important things – whether weddings or photographs – this is somewhere that means something to people around here” (RW #5). “It’s always been an important place to people” (RW #2). These accolades for the garden and its

position in Kitchener are shared by many of the gardeners (RW #1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9). Now, they may not be fishing with dipnets at the pools as they once did; instead they may be viewing the gardens from the adjacent golf course. Today they may not be patiently waiting for the family portrait with their parents, but may instead be showing their own grandchildren around. This place means something, not only to the volunteers but also to those who grew up in Kitchener and to the city's unique sense of place and heritage (RW #1, 4, 5, 6). The narrative in Box 5.3 below describes how Rockway is embedded in the ethnosphere of the city.

#### Box 5.3 Personal Narrative on the Ethnosphere of Rockway

*The stories are hidden amongst the rocks... buried beneath the mosses and roots, piled high with leaves of many seasons, trod upon by those who pass. And there, among those rocks are the legacies of a community attempting to rebuild after the First World War. In Europe the buildings were being built, in Kitchener, the walls were being built, one to house, the other to unite. The people, together and apart, rebuilding their lives in the Great Depression. At Rockway, those lives would be rebuilt around rocks and flowers. Around the gardens, pride would flourish and people would gather to admire their work on Sunday afternoons after church. Children would play in the ponds and rocks, lovers would sit on benches, and families would picnic. This was a place of community and togetherness. A spot in which, despite a severed past, a connected future could be established. Those stories still exist, of families reuniting over decades, a garden of celebration – from birth, to play, to marriage, to retirement. And yet, today something has changed. The stories still exist, but they are in the rocks. The people are of the earth, no longer here to witness the beauty of the gardens, but their voices are carried through the wind, their spirits alive in the gardeners of today. Notions of a past, delight of a present, and hope for a future.*

*Image 5.4: An invitation to enjoy the gardens of Rockway*



Rockway reflects tremendous civic pride – something that has flourished since the creation of the garden decades ago. This pride has led to the establishment of the garden as a local landmark where generations of the community have gathered to photograph wedding parties, picnic after church, and drive through on their way in or out of town (which is the very creation of sense of place and identity within the landscape). The gardens are a gate to the city of Kitchener and, as such, are placed on a pedestal and revered as reflecting the people they represent – a community of hard-working, civic-minded individuals (RW #1, 4, 7). One volunteer candidly describes the rigid expectations for the garden as follows:

This is a kind of development zone – a different kind of development. So you keep it looking at a standard. If the grass needs to be a certain taller height, you can do it in the regeneration area, but if you do it elsewhere it won't live up to public expectations and as soon as the mayor sees it, he will phone to have it changed. It's rather contrived – and I can only put up with that for so long – but I know it's what the public expects. They like order here and want things to be a certain appearance (ML #5).

This garden, despite its formal and highly-structured appearance, draws a crowd and is certainly important within the community, as can be seen in the narrative below (See Box 5.4).

*Box 5.4: Field Notes: Sunday, November 6, 2011, 5:00pm*

*Gardens of Rockway*

*As I wander through the grounds, camera in hand, trying to capture the perfect picture of the perfect garden, I am struck by the beauty of enmeshment here. Perhaps the term itself conjures up some unreasonable or inappropriate notions, “Enmesh: to catch or involve in or as if in a net or snare; entangle”. But here, it is as though nature and city collide. But not in a violent way, a sort of cordial combination of busy and tranquility, of cars and birds, people and plants.*

*The garden itself is largely unknown to those on the bus that buzz by – the “i-Express” bus – all eyes to the front, faces blurred to the outside. The flowers draw those eyes in once, maybe twice, but this is not a stopping place for those people – they are in a rush, getting to somewhere else to do something more.*

*And yet, there is a sharp contrast.*

*Standing several metres from the gazebo is an old man, hunched over with a cane, rifling through the leaves, uncovering plaques designating benches, identifying trees, and explaining where we both are.*

*He is contemplative, quiet, absorbing the landscape.*

*They are hurried, abrupt, foreign to here.*

*And yet if you ask them where this is, they will point down the road, knowingly... that way.*

*If you sit among the trees long enough, you can lose the traffic. Lose the honks, the engines, the brakes. If you sit among the trees long enough, you become enmeshed.*

*Here, it is as though those volunteers of decades past still live. It is here, through the rockery, that balance seems to still exist.*

*Today those volunteers are few and far between. No longer drawn to the gardens as a way to get tax breaks, food stamps, and the like. No longer seeking social support after the war, needing to build walls of rock, communities of likeliness, bond elements of earth and sky. Today, there are others. A few paid labourers who labour more than most. Who pour over the seed catalogues for the next season, who foster the plants of tomorrow in greenhouses today. The city trucks lumber up through the week, the lawnmowers rumble off, and the maintenance continues. Yet the passion of the gardeners and the few volunteers remains. Ask them why they do it. Why they work there, what draws them to the back-breaking work, and you receive a smile, a nod, often no more than a few words. They do it for the love. For the love of the land, the company of each other, and the possibilities that exist for tomorrow. Ask them why they do it, and they know. They are not on the buses.*

*There is a finite line between garden and city. And yet here it seems blurry. The yellow “cross walk” sign directs you to move there. And yet, that is not where your heart leads. Up the paths, through the trees and the plants, you are drawn to wander. Drawn to find a spot to sit, to be for a while.*

*There, on the bench, amongst the fountains wrapped for winter, the people go by. Not on buses, but by foot, bike, some run, others being towed by dogs, eager to catch the squirrels. And yet, here am I, sitting on the bench, a memorial plaque with the words “Be still” engraved within it. And the old man stands, riffling through the leaves. Both of us here, looking, witnessing, and being.*

### **5.2.3 Spadina Museum Gardens, Toronto, Ontario**

*Walking through the gardens, lost in the beauty of it all, a car horn interrupts my thoughts and I am brought back to the reality that I am in the middle of the busiest city in Canada. (Author's Reflections)*

At Spadina, the main theme that emerged was the contrast between the incredibly hectic lifestyle that goes on outside the garden in Canada's largest urban metropolis, and what goes on within. Additional findings of the interviews that were unique to the Garden itself were focused on the following:

1. Political undertones exist within the garden
2. Volunteers travel great distances to the garden
3. Gardens are a part of museum programming
4. Volunteers do not make decisions on the Garden

#### ***5.2.3.1 Political undertones in the garden***

The underlying sentiments behind the garden are cautiously trod upon by those who mention politics, as this is a tenuous time for funding public spaces. There was a great deal of financial uncertainty with respect to funding for public facilities in the municipal politics of Toronto during the time period in which the field work took place in Fall 2011. Announcements of intentions to close some museums generated a great deal of tension (Hume, 2011; White, 2011). Volunteers were hesitant to speak directly to the issues but, without prompting, approximately half of those interviewed indicated that the atmosphere had changed politically (SM #2, 3, 5, 7) and that that had affected decisions in the garden as well. Volunteers are typically involved in many more organizations than just Spadina



(SM #2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8). The concern about funding extends beyond just this garden to all public spaces across the city. Individuals hinted at the political pressures but were not willing to speak directly about them over concern of some sort of repercussions from the city. It is rather unfortunate that such threats as closure or cuts to funding should be an issue, for gardening is one of the most primitive actions humans do and is certainly *enduring* (Bhatti & Church, 2000; Bhatti & Church, 2001). The politics of the landscape, however, do not prevent the volunteers' daily commute to the gardens.

#### ***5.2.3.2 Volunteers travel to the garden to find refuge from daily life***

The volunteers within the garden tend to commute long distances to the garden: more than half of the gardeners commute over 30 minutes (SM #2, 4, 5, 6, 8). "I used to live here, just down the road, but even now as I live farther away, I continue to come back and work in the garden because I know just how special a place it is for me and others around here" (SM #2). This element of the volunteer program has potential to change the dynamics of the garden itself, for if the 'locals' don't participate, then the role that gardens play in the lives of the neighbourhood citizens might be different from gardens such as Rockway, located in a much smaller city. "Sometimes it takes me over an hour to get here, and when you come in in the morning and work all day outside, it becomes a pretty long day" (SM #4). One might then wonder what impact political decisions might have to the neighbourhood when the surrounding citizens may not entirely engage politically in such a deep way with the gardens.

According to the Head Gardener, Wendy Woodworth, the experience is worth the commute, and the volunteers are vital to the garden: “As a volunteer, gardening here is a pleasant thing to do – sometimes it’s physically hard work but I think it’s a nice thing to be outside and enjoying the summer months – people get something out of that” (Spadina Museum Gardens, 2012). Woodworth suggests that they would not be able to keep the garden up to the standard they do without volunteers and that “the level of care in the gardens would definitely suffer”. Spadina would be able to continue without volunteers, but it would not have the same level of care to details as it does today. Gardens grow and demand attention and, without the volunteers, the more pressing needs (grass cutting, etc.), would supersede the smaller details that make the garden so tenderly cared for and an aesthetic element would be missing. Moreover, it is possible that it is those smaller elements that contribute to the unique qualities of the garden and ultimately the sense of place and connections that draw people towards each site. The following is a narrative written while I was in the gardens of Spadina and describes the sense of place of the garden in the larger context of Toronto (Box 5.5.). This sense of place was considered a motivator for many of the commuting gardeners (SM #1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9).

*Box 5.5: Field Notes: December 16, 2011, 9:00pm*

*Spadina Museum Gardens*

*Off the TTC, up the one hundred and something rock steps, slippery with the morning’s rain, and I leave the city. Albeit the city still surrounds me, but at the top of the stairs, with Casa Loma, the monolith to my left, I turn away and head to the gardens, and the city leaves me.*

*It's incredible to find such a place in... well... such a place. I am just off Spadina, in the heart of the city, and yet the mansion sits, outbuildings obeyingly beside: a greenhouse, a groundskeeper house, a carriage house, in a strikingly unurban realm. I have never felt comfortable in the city. I can be there. I can go there. But I don't want to.*

*The gardens, even on a day such as this – damp, foreboding, and chilly – seem to exude grandeur. The beds have largely been tucked away for the winter. The greenhouse is full of houseplants, and in the garage sits a snow blower ready for the inevitable. But, in the dreariness of the day lies magnificence. I can be there. I can go there. And I feel comfortable. As comfortable as I might in any other garden.*

*The house sits, atop the hill, with six acres of remaining property. The mansions of the neighbourhood loom over the fences, bigger and more cowardly than most and yet, they create a sort of pocket for this space. They make this garden that much more special as it is not like them. It is open, proud, and gorgeous; not standing for anything but its simply complicated self.*

*In the garden lies an orchard, formal entry gardens, flower beds, berries by the hundreds, vegetables to feed the masses, grape arbour, and greenhouses brimming with crops of tomorrow. They say there are over 300 different perennials here, but I'd suggest there are many more than that.*

*And within that landscape, the diligent herders who tend to the phlox and all else that dwells in the garden. They are academics, playwrights, volunteers, churchgoers, readers, hikers, thinkers, and doers. They come when they can, get their hands dirty, and disappear back into the city, are absorbed by that world which is not necessarily what they chose. They come to get away, to get closer, to be well, and to do good. They plan for the next season, do the work others would find difficult, and get something out of it all.*

*They describe the space as though it is theirs and, in a sense, it is. The city runs it, but the people craft it. The city puts a small steel sign on the streetcar route, but the people are what make it beautiful, the ones who draw others nearer.*

*And so the rain falls, pitter patter against the windows of the coach house from which I watch the drizzle, absorbed in a trance as though I might be a million miles from here, and in a sense, I am.*

*As are they. The volunteers. They brim with pride as they talk about this garden. They talk of the small tasks they perform: whether weeding the gravel driveway, or rooting branches, starting seeds, or pruning shrubs. They have their own gardens, could just as well do this there, back home, and yet they come to work here. To be gratified by this small work. But, it isn't small. It means something, to not only them but to the staff, the dog walkers, the schoolchildren who sometimes come by, to the photographers, the seniors.*

*They come from the city. And disappear into the garden.*

*They come for each other. For themselves. For all of us.*

*Out of the city. Into the crux of it all.*

*They describe this as a spot necessary for everyone, and yet known by few. People need spaces to breathe, to be well, and yet in this ever-increasingly paved world, spots like Spadina Garden are becoming rarer. They describe the garden with a tone jaded by recent municipal threats to close museums in the city. This garden is beautiful, essential, loved, and tended to, and yet it may not be here forever. They don't want to talk about it, one wouldn't. But they all hint at the political uncertainty.*

*There ought not to be such thoughts in a space like this, in a refuge from the world. And yet, this IS the world.*

I did not initially understand why volunteers would travel to a garden on a daily or weekly basis – that was until I spent time there and understood the uniqueness of Spadina; it is an oasis in the city (See Image 5.5). “It’s a place that’s unique, in some ways, because it has so much – from vegetables to annuals, perennials, orchard trees,

grapevines, the greenhouse, as well as outside” (SM #1). I understood at that time that a place like this would not be found in another spot in Toronto and that such travel is necessary.

*Image 5.5: A winter's day in the gardens of Spadina*



#### ***5.2.3.3 Gardens are one of various publicly funded programs***

The stories of those who have graced the property for generations have not been lost in the Spadina gardens and those in the public sector who value it for its history. Today Spadina, unlike the other two gardens examined, is regularly used as an element of larger

museum programming and, as such, so too are the volunteers. “It is not just the physical gardening, there is also a key element of programming” (SM #1). As a cultural and historical museum, volunteers noted that the gardens and residence are often shown in conjunction with one another (SM #1, 2, 7, 9). Garden volunteers may be called upon to volunteer for special events, tours, etc. that integrate those facets of the larger cultural property. The museum has a much more established program in place than the other gardens in this study; volunteers may spend their time in a much more diverse array of activities. Wendy Woodworth, Head Gardener, suggests, one reason the volunteers might enjoy being there is they do have the public going there and so “volunteers also answer questions visitors have and also interact with the public and part of the reason for restoring the grounds is to be able to show what the grounds have been like so it’s an education process for everybody involved.” One day a volunteer might be pricking seedlings in the greenhouse, while another day s/he may be giving a garden tour to a group of museum visitors. One may visit the gardens and never come to know the stories of the family who once lived there and yet, by visiting both the house and its garden, a fuller story emerges.

#### ***5.2.3.4 Volunteers have limited authority***

Unlike Maplelawn and Rockway, Spadina’s garden volunteers have less authority in deciding upon the direction of the development of property, which is mainly done through the Head Gardener and the City of Toronto, itself (SM #1, 2, 3, 9). Despite this limitation, there is a very strong relationship between paid staff and volunteers: Even

though we get together [as volunteers and staff] once, maybe twice, a year, we get to know the staff really well and develop some good friendships as they are great people and really know their plants” (SM #5). This volunteer’s experience is not unusual and many other gardeners also raised the point that the relationships between staff and volunteers are strong (SM #2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8). “The people there [staff] are simply wonderful!” (SM #9) This relationship results in a level of informal engagement about the actual decisions being made on plantings and garden design. Wendy Woodworth, Head Gardener, states that there is also a mostly complete garden plan to follow, which was created based on detailed archeological excavations, walkthroughs with former residents, and archives found within the house itself, which largely dictate any decisions that are made in the garden. The limited authority gardeners do have here, unlike in other gardens, is not important to the volunteers as one commented, “I am not a professional gardener, I am here to learn and I want to be able to leave at the end of the day and have nothing to worry about!” (SM #4).

To summarize, strong political undertones are present in Spadina that influence decisions about the garden, but these undertones are not unique within the larger city of Toronto. Those who do volunteer within the garden often travel significant distances in order to do so, which may provide challenges when one looks at how the garden is embraced by the direct community that surrounds the garden. Gardeners might be called on to do a variety of outreach activities that extend beyond the physical act of gardening, as museum programing is crucial to the running of Spadina. And lastly, unlike other gardens examined, garden volunteers have limited decision-making authority in the larger running of the garden, but this does not appear to be a concern for the volunteers.

### 5.3 Recurring Themes Across Gardens

*I've now spent a significant amount of time in each of the three gardens I have chosen to study and, though the answers of volunteers are largely similar, and I am sure that each group of people would get along splendidly with the others, something stands out for me. Somehow, despite these similarities, there are striking differences in what is being captured, in essence, in each garden. (Author's Reflections)*

The volunteers of each garden I visited told me stories of the landscape and its people unique to that garden itself. For example, at Maplelawn I was told of the merging of two languages, namely the country's two official languages, English and French given that it was located in Ottawa, Canada's capital (ML #1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9, 16). At Rockway, emphasis was placed on the importance of historical structure while keeping in touch with the needs of today's city (RW #1, 4, 9). For its part, Spadina was experiencing political tensions that would affect the future of the garden (SM #1, 2, 6, 7, 9).

Strong narratives reinforced the fabric of the garden's community, from one participant about gardening beside the ghosts of generations of gardeners before him, to another's explanation that the garden has been a part of her life from childhood when the garden was private. One volunteer traces his gardening lineage:

I have gardened since childhood, I grew up on a farm. My mother wasn't much of a gardener, my father ended up doing most of the work but when I got old enough I helped. I wanted my own garden so actually away from their garden they allowed me to set up a little garden of my own. In central Ohio in those days there wasn't so much hybrid corn seed around so a lot of farmers actually sowed their own corn. [...] They wouldn't always come true and what you would get was 'Indian Corn'. I become interested in those and my father drove a truck that delivered things to farms and I asked him to get me some and he did. And so the first garden I had was an Indian Corn garden



with all these coloured varieties that I grew. [...] So basically I either had my own or helped in other people's gardens since I was old enough to do it. It's been a life-long commitment (ML #1).

The differences in the storied landscapes are worth mentioning because, although all three gardens are open to the public and may outwardly appear to be similar in the use of volunteers and approaches to gardening, the differences are significant.

*Maplelawn* aims to capture what was once in place historically, unchanging, unwavering, and historically accurate. The heirloom varieties, the plaque of the family's pet cemetery, the old tree planted when members of the family got married; it is all there as a living testament of sorts. It is a stunning spot, alive with colour and diversity (See Image 5.6). It also holds a sense of place for people. As Eileen Hunt describes, "It is that magical place where, when you go through the hole in the hedge, the atmosphere does change."

Everyone who works the soil mentions that significance of the garden, its wall, and ways in which it remains authentically in another time.

*Image 5.6: Colour and diversity of Maplelawn*

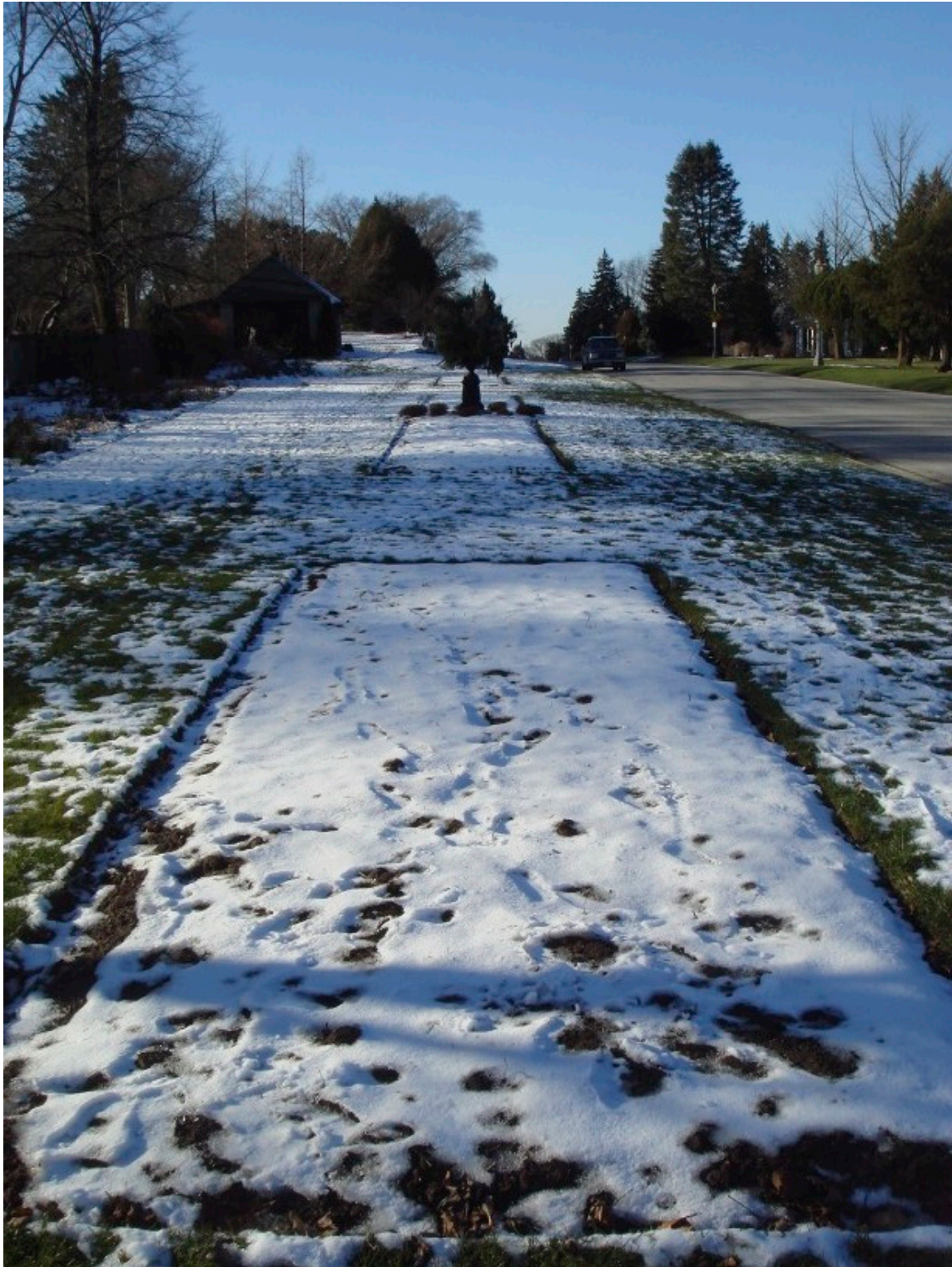


*Rockway*, in contrast, exists for its role as a tribute to Kitchener's greater civic virtues. There is history, a grand one, which is a testament to the volunteers who helped to beautify that part of the city during the Depression. "The city has always held a special

spot for Rockway, from the very beginning, and it continues to set a tone for the city – one that beautifies the entrance and demonstrates our values” of order, beauty, and structure (RW #4). Other volunteers expressed similar ideas (RW #1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9). Much of the historical knowledge was lost in a fire in the 1950s, however, and some of that design layout, etc. is speculative. The history is known, even so much as felt, but a new era has dawned on the garden, one that is forward-thinking and serving what suits the people of today. “The head gardener is the one who sets the tone of the garden and with each boss, there’s a new style and the tendency for that generation to try to make a lasting mark in the garden” (RW #5). What works in the garden stays; people continue to come to admire the straight lines, the order, the fountains, and the bridges. There is great precision displayed there, well-suited to its cultural past and present (See Image 5.7). People are proud of this place; it holds a special place in the community, the neighbourhood being named after it. “This spot is what makes the area so special – it is a landmark for the community and everyone knows it and has some story about it” (RW #2). Despite this, I am not so sure it could not exist in another part of the city, in another green space, and not have that same effect.



*Image 5.7: Precision suited to a past and present at Rockway*



Lastly, *Spadina*, has both the elements of public civic pride and history but truly occupies a third niche, that of sense of place: “Look around us – you would never believe this is in the heart of Toronto!” (SM #2). “It’s so beautifully laid out here and there are so many special creatures. Last year on the crop of parsley they had seven black swallow caterpillars... SEVEN! You don’t get that just everywhere...” (SM #3) It’s true, and the volunteers embrace this place as their own in the city (SM #1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9). It is a hidden gem in the city, described by many as peaceful, tranquil, and alive with nature itself (See Image 5.8). The garden’s location is ideal for the surrounding urban community. There are few places in metropolises where you can get lost in a garden that is free and available solely, it may seem, to you. It holds beauty in its complexity, sprawling grounds, and elements of a truly complete garden of flowers, foods, trees, lawns, and orchards, what is most striking is what lies just beyond the borders – the proliferation of large developments, for example, is replacing grand old houses beyond the borders of Spadina. It is an oasis – a place of beauty away from the city. It is surrounded by the CN tower (one of the world’s tallest free-standing structures) to the south, Forest Hill (one of the country’s most affluent neighbourhoods) is not too far, to the direct west hovers Casa Loma (a historic estate now a popular tourist attraction). This garden, though beautiful and historic, cannot exist elsewhere in the city. Nearly six acres is a large tract of land and, in being kept in the state it has been since it was first developed into a homestead, is unique and not easily replicable.



*Image 5.8: Sense of place within an urban context*



In looking at themes from each garden, one can see that findings vary from common to outliers, each varying in degree of importance in the gardens. The following table identifies the themes and where they were most common.

Table 5.1 Field Work Findings ordered from most common to outliers

	Maplelawn	Rockway	Spadina
Gardens as sanctuaries from urban environments	✓	✓	✓
Volunteerism is a selfless act	✓	✓	✓
Volunteers have intrinsic connections to gardens	✓	✓	✓
Volunteers are generally older and retired	✓	✓	✓
Gardening is a way of life	✓	✓	✓
Gardening is an act of creating something beautiful together	✓	✓	✓
Vivid memories of childhoods spent in gardens/on farms	✓		✓
Social aspect of Friends program is key	✓		✓
The act of re-creating home	✓	✓	
Living history of the landscape	✓	✓	
Sense of place and a local landmark		✓	
Gardens foster civics		✓	
Emergence of formal community recognition	✓		
Unique cultural heritage	✓		
Political undertones in the garden			✓
Commuting volunteers			✓
Garden as part of museum programming			✓
Volunteers have limited authority			✓

The most common themes seen in the table above are of most importance in the thesis, as they are central to the relationship that exists between the Friends and the urban public

gardens considered. Additional findings are lower in the table and identified as outliers.

These are important but not recurring themes and therefore are considered as findings but not necessarily applicable to other urban public gardens than those at which they were found.

When I broaden my lens, I see that despite the distances between the gardens, their different origins, and the ways in which the stories were told, there are several emerging themes, as seen below. These themes were chosen because the majority of people in each garden described aspects of them – they were not unique reflections from one or two people.

1. Gardens are viewed as sanctuaries from the urban environments in which they are located, though they remain unavoidably connected to their political and economic surroundings.
2. Gardening as a way of life – from childhood through retirement.
3. Gardens serve the greater public good by fostering civics and stewardship through beauty and volunteerism.
4. Gardens offer opportunities to re-create home and volunteers have intrinsic connections to those landscapes.

The following sections will further examine the ways in which volunteers in the gardens expressed the themes above. Chapter Six: Analysis will describe whether these four groups connect to the three main themes of sense of place: aesthetics, home, and ethnosphere.

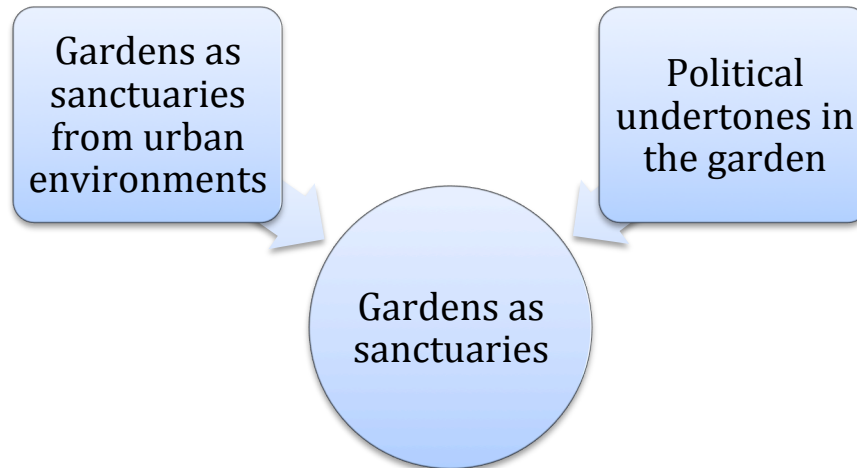
### **5.3.1 Gardens as sanctuaries**

The concept of garden as sanctuary is based on two findings, as seen in Figure 5.1. These points had a focus of insulation and the external pressures exerted on the gardens, both of



which create strong boundaries between “garden” and “non-garden”, ultimately creating a sense of sanctuary.

Figure 5.1: Arriving at “Sanctuary”



Volunteers in all three gardens emphatically identified that the gardens provide refuge from the city for both them and visitors: “I come here and I leave the city behind” (SM #2). “If you really listen, you can hear the traffic, but it seems so far away from us in here... it’s really incredible, isn’t it?” (ML #2) (See Image 5.9 below). These ideas of refuge were echoed by many other volunteers as well (ML #1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, RW #2, 3, 5, 6, SM #3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8).

*Image 5.9: Serenity in the garden*



The separation of garden from city is not only a physical one, but also one that allows an individual to emotionally disengage from the hectic demands of the city while immersing her/himself in the beauty of the garden. As a Maplelawn volunteer pointed out,

There's no logical reason why, but every time I am there I feel peace. ... There are very few people so you don't need to go very far to get away from absolutely everybody. The place is spectacularly beautiful. ... It's very, very nice. ... I don't know... it's just a peaceful, comfortable feeling (ML #1).

Those words could have been said by someone from Spadina and were echoed in the following: "I think I need the peace of it, the quiet - where we are. [...] You can just come and sit here" (SM #2). And at Rockway, "This is okay here, this is where I can

belong” (RW #2).

In the interviews, every volunteer spoke at some length about the uniqueness of each garden in the context of its surroundings and spoke of some element of magic, spirit, or other notion in that space. There is a sense of separation yet togetherness found in these gardens, highlighted by the ways in which the volunteers describe the peace that they find.

In here it’s like a different world. It’s so beautiful and it’s like stepping back in time. It’s peaceful and it’s non-hurried and it’s the way things must have been; it’s very relaxing (SM #3).

This is a sense of place as the garden offers a sense of wellness and peace that might not otherwise be found in the volunteer’s everyday surroundings (See Image 5.10). It is evident that today’s volunteers seek that solace not often readily available in urban centres:

On a winter’s day you can walk back there on the top of the rockery and you don’t hear any of the noises of the city. It’s silent – just with birds – and it is peace and quiet. It’s just something that’s been in me all my life and it’s something that fills me (RW #1).



*Image 5.10: Spadina as an oasis in the city*



*Box 5.6 Personal Narrative on Experiencing an Urban Public Garden*

*Though far from feeling “at home” in cities, when I was in each garden, I too was captivated by the way in which I felt removed from that very urban environment in which I was present. Each interview I have recorded while in the gardens has been punctuated by raindrops, wind, and birds, sometimes to a deafening tone. In gazing about, one might think that certain parts of each garden was hundreds of kilometres from the nearest city, and yet each is at the heart.*

*Perhaps we, as humans, seek the solitude in more ways than we might expect. Perhaps we have an intrinsic need to be separate beings from the busy-ness of the city. Perhaps we seek spaces to sit and be.*

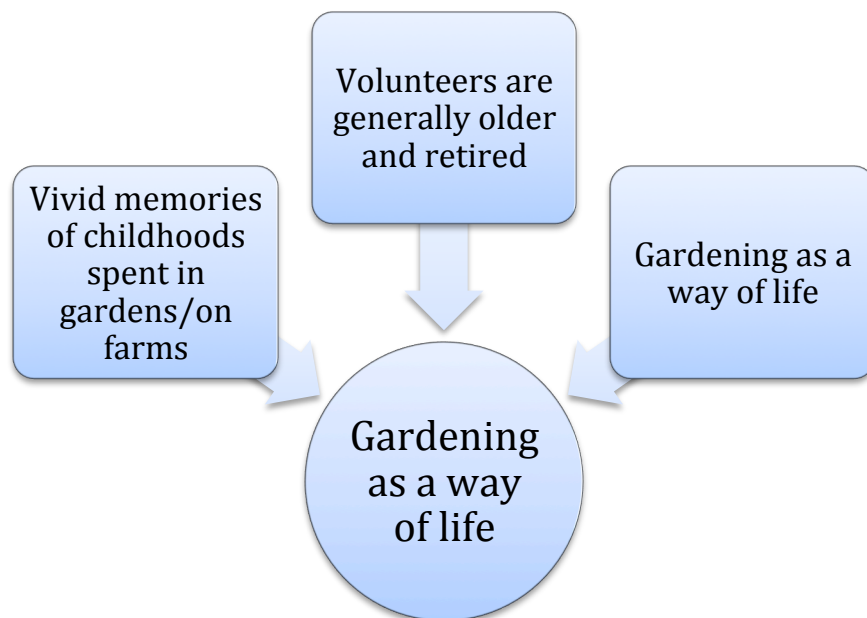
Public gardens, however, are not clearings in urban forests and despite this sense of refuge; volunteers are also acutely aware of the pressures exerted on their sanctuaries. The gardens interact with their political and economic surroundings: their stewards depend on those ‘external’ influences for funding but endure despite financial difficulties. The gardens also serve public purposes such as boosterism, local economy, and as public education facilities. The National Capital Commission primarily funds Maplelawn, while Spadina is financed by the City of Toronto. The City of Kitchener has embraced the connection between themselves and Rockway Gardens since its inception in the 1930s and continues to find ways to support the endeavours of the stewards of the garden today, whether through funding for special projects, public recognition, or creating opportunity for discussion in council (RW #1, 4, 7). “We are fortunate to have a good council and a city that recognizes our significance – this has been a long-standing relationship and we

hope it continues” (RW #4). Other gardens are not as embraced by municipalities. Cities, including Toronto, have exerted pressure on such landscapes, which adds a dimension to the functioning of the garden that would be easier if omitted. But, the reality of the time is that a public garden cannot exist as an island within a city, and such pressures are inevitable should that beauty be maintained.

### 5.3.2 Gardening as a way of life

Gardening was identified as being an important facet for many gardeners interviewed – from childhood to retirement, as outlined in Figure 5.2. These lives lived with gardens proved integral in the lives of the volunteers and the gardens have become a theme woven into their lives.

Figure 5.2: Arriving at “Life Lessons”



Gardening to the Friends of the Gardens is rarely a passion discovered late in life. When asked about how they became interested in gardens, approximately 85% of volunteers vividly discussed in great detail their childhood gardens (ML #1, 2, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, RW #2, 3, 5, 6, SM #2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8). As one volunteer who actively engaged with this research project (and gave the researcher permission to use her name), Eileen Hunt, of Maplelawn recounts,

This was the forties and fifties and there weren't the supermarkets and so you sort of grew those root vegetables. You didn't waste money on something that didn't have some value for you.

Volunteers got their hands dirty at a young age whether due to pragmatic reasons or purely aesthetics of the gardens. Although not always able to have their own gardens, each had plans to grow their own creations when they had the opportunity. I was offered old photograph albums on several occasions (ML #2, 9, 11), which offered insight into who these gardeners are and where they came from. Inside the albums were children squinting into the sun, proudly standing beside their pet sheep, comparing their height to the corn, and picking flowers with their mothers. In childhood, core values are developed and at such an impressionable age, the strength of experiences in gardens has persisted across decades. They were children of the earth and that has not changed in the years since those images began to fade. Today many volunteers are getting to an age at which they need to move to smaller dwellings with less access to gardens. Many felt this was why volunteering in the gardens continues to be an important aspect of their lives (ML #1, 2, 5, 10, 11, 12, 17, 19, RW #2, 3, SM #6, 7, 9).

*Two weathered faces beam at me from beneath the floppy sunhat. He's got dirt in the deep grooves of his hands. She's got sunspots on her arms. And they explore the gardens eagerly, their age disappearing in the dirt. (Author's Reflections)*

The vast majority of Friends are now retired from a primary job, and are age sixty and above. One middle-aged man regularly volunteers in the garden with his young children.

When asked his reasons, he reflected that:

I started to realize that people are dying off so if we get some people who start doing this at five who want to keep doing this, you have people really doing it for a long time. And I like to have the kids interested in gardens (ML #6).

Perhaps the lack of interest demonstrated by younger generations does not point to a lack of *interest* by younger people, but a way for older people to prolong their contributions to society in tangible ways. Cox and Arndt suggest that “Humans are motivated to quell the potential for terror inherent in the human awareness of vulnerability and mortality by investing in cultural belief systems (or worldviews) that imbue life with meaning, and the individuals who subscribe to them with significance (or self-esteem)” (2008). This notion connects to the endurance of gardens as the volunteers attempt to endure, themselves, whether in person or in legacy.

A person's perceived value as a contributing member of society may diminish as s/he ages (Su & Ferraro, 1997; Young & Glasgow, 1998), but within the gardens the older volunteers might still feel a sense of self and value, and find a way to directly and tangibly contribute to the urban environment. This, too, influences the overall health of the individual, therefore also positively contributing to the social fabric of society (Su & Ferraro, 1997; Young & Glasgow, 1998).



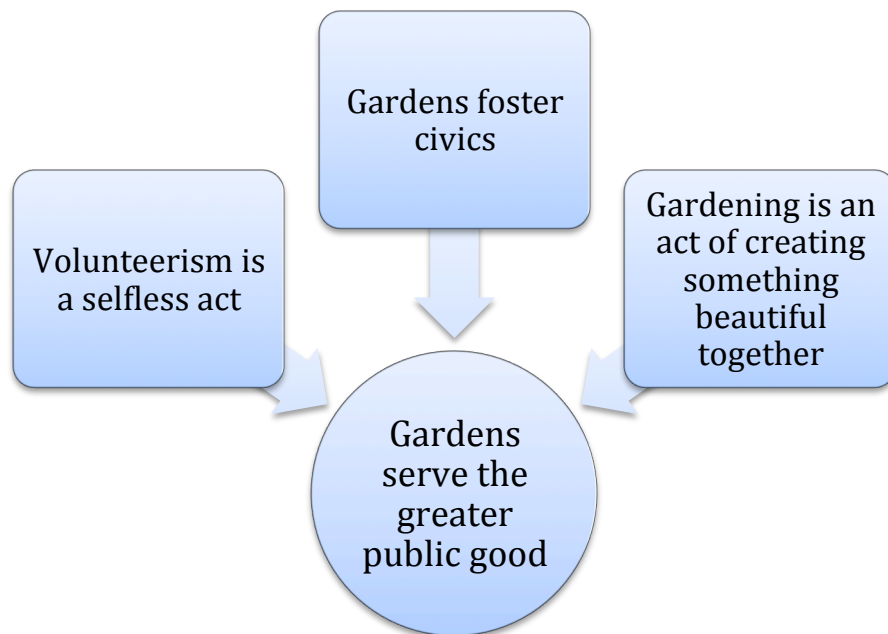
Age is not the only factor in volunteer interest. There is a general trend away from volunteering in gardens due to it being perceived as ‘dirty’, difficult’ and ‘not sexy’, as many Friends noted (ML # 1, 5, 6, 9, 16, RW #3, 5, 6, SM #4, 5). Whether due to perceived risks, inaccessibility, or otherwise, these gardens depend upon those very individuals who devote countless hours to nurturing the landscape for both themselves and their communities.

Volunteers do not only garden in the public gardens; when the work ceases at one garden for the day, it often just begins at the next. The very act of gardening can become ingrained in one’s every movement, when the plants fail in one section, another area might be better, a new soil perhaps, or more sunlight – a grand experiment, this gardening thing. The vast majority of gardeners (85% of those interviewed) not only garden in the public garden but also have gardens of their own, whether on apartment balconies, in backyards of their own, or elsewhere. Gardening, as one person described, is “highly addicting” and he needed to volunteer at the garden in order to have more space to experiment and play: *“I find gardening to be so rewarding”* (ML #7). And if this were indeed the case, then it would make sense to be able to find that pleasure in as many ways as possible. During the interviews, when volunteers were asked to describe their own homes, they often brushed over the insides and moved directly to the views and the gardens... for them, gardens are what make their homes and it is those that are most important. They describe their homes and gardens with the same words they use to describe the public gardens: “inviting”, “warm”, and “beautiful” – this is place-making (ML #1, 2, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 16, 19, 22, RW #1, 3, SM #1, 2, 3, 4, 5)

### 5.3.3 Gardens serve the greater public good, which leads to stewardship

No gardener interviewed suggested that s/he gardened just for her/himself and the service and stewardship aspects of volunteering in public gardens were important findings, identified through three recurring themes as seen in Figure 5.3.

Figure 5.3: Arriving at “Service through Gardens”



As mentioned with the case of Maplelawn, the volunteers are often doing the work not for themselves but for the people who come to visit and enjoy the gardens. Volunteers dedicate their time to make the world a bit more beautiful for others whether they show up in family groups with children or as individuals. One Maplelawn volunteer pointed out

that she likes to make it beautiful “for the old people” (ML #2). Another volunteer notes that the garden “enhances the quality of life... it is available and generally free so people of all walks of life and economic strata have access to the same thing” (ML #1).

Interestingly, as the interview process proceeded, it became clear that only perhaps 15-20% of the research participants (ML #6, 10, 22, RW #2, 3, 4, 5, 6, SM #3, 5) actually took time to just sit in the garden and enjoy it since starting to work there, although each participant volunteers because s/he enjoys the process of gardening itself. Friends offered to show me their favourite places in the gardens. Often those spaces were quiet nooks, a bench nestled beneath a tree, a perfect picnic spot, or a vista from which to see the whole – special places to sit and contemplate. Interestingly, the very individuals who make them beautiful are rarely using those places: over 3/4 of volunteers spoke of creating something within the garden for others to enjoy. Rarely do the paths of those who visit the garden and those who work within it come together as hours vary, but when this interaction happens between visitor and gardener, many interviewees suggest that this is a primary reason for their work, the ways in which they create the beauty for others to admire. As one gardener commented, “I do it for the families picnicking and the children playing, it’s so nice to give them a place to enjoy one another” (ML #5).

One volunteer from Rockway offered,

I know that tending is a behavior of mine so I tend my own garden and also tend to gardens for others. [They] take so much pleasure from sitting out in their gardens. And when they are tended nicely and the colours are nice, older neighbours can just go out there and look at them. I like to do their gardens for them because it gives them such a great deal of pleasure (RW #2).

This, perhaps, is the essence of why the volunteers garden, the process of cultivating something out of nothing gives such pleasure to others but also inherently to themselves as well.

The recurring theme of fostering civics through gardens is not a new concept found only within the three gardens examined. Reintroducing green spaces in peopled landscape has been imperative in urban areas since the early twentieth century's *City Beautiful* planning movement. Advocates of this approach worked under the premise that a well-groomed urban area could inspire its inhabitants to moral and civic virtue. Supporters of this Movement sought to improve cities through beautification, which would have a number of effects:

- 1) Social ills would be swept away, as the beauty of the city would inspire civic loyalty and moral rectitude in the impoverished;
- 2) Cities would be brought to cultural parity with their European competitors; and
- 3) A more inviting city center still would not bring the upper classes back to live, but certainly to work and spend money in the urban areas. (American Studies, 2009)

The ideas stemming from this movement are today espoused in the gardens and, with this, have fostered a landscape in which landscape and duty are enmeshed. At Rockway, for

example, “The City [of Kitchener] fully supports our work. We have a contract with them that continues to be renewed as they see the importance of the garden in beautifying the city. They understand the role Rockway plays here” (RW #4).

The combined work of individuals to create urban beauty is a common theme in the three gardens. Maplelawn is an excellent example of the way in which the Friends of Gardens combine efforts to create something larger and more beautiful than one could create on her/his own as is demonstrated by their weekly gatherings in the gardens, but that collective effort is not lost on the other two gardens examined. Volunteers have a great deal of pride about the outcome of their work and each person interviewed was eager to describe the results of her/his work. For example, at Maplelawn one volunteer describes her job: “I have my plot that I help to take care of, but I also deadhead lilacs, I prune, and I do really anything else they need. [...] Those things aren’t ‘my job’ but I do them because it’s such a beautiful place and we need to keep it like this for the neighbourhood” (ML #10). Others offered similar sentiments (ML #1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, RW #1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, SM #1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9).

Whether in the perennial garden of Rockway, or the berry patch of Spadina, or the centre fountain beds of Maplelawn, despite the collective effort, individual pride was not lost.

When asked why one was motivated to work in such an environment however, teamwork was always mentioned as important, and, perhaps equally so, the teachings being passed from gardener to gardener in an effort to make the gardens just a bit more beautiful every day (ML #1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, RW #1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, SM #1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9).

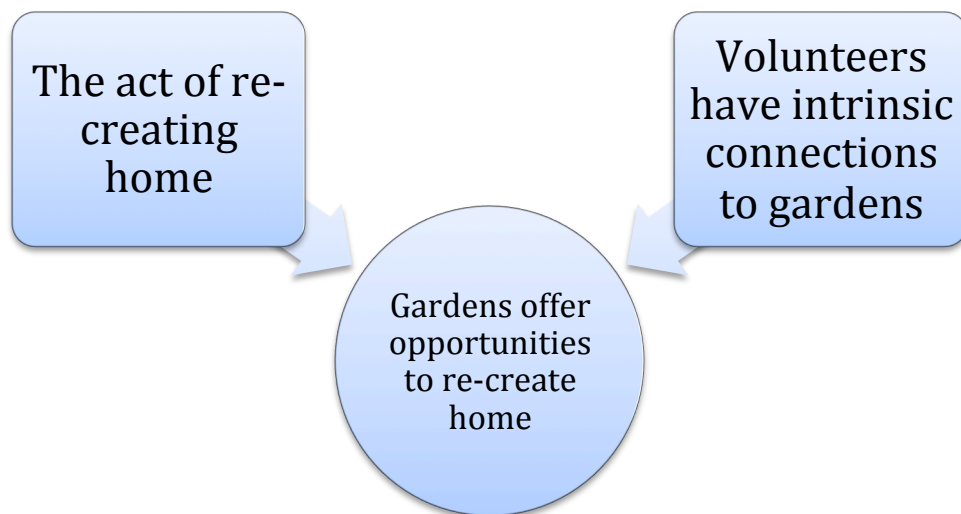
You come into the garden and every day you learn something. You might have a question about your own garden, or be doing something new in this garden, and you learn. Everyone is so willing to share and help one another that it means so much to work side by side every day (RW #2).

Very rarely was it mentioned that “I” did this, but rather that “we” made this beautiful together and interestingly, the effort is often based on intrinsic motivations.

### 5.3.4 Gardens offer opportunities to re-create home

Home is a concept that was central to the discussion of gardens for Friends. Two themes identified through the field work directly revolved around this concept and its impact on the volunteers’ lives.

Figure 5.4: Arriving at “Home”



It is difficult to ignore the ways in which the Friends try to maintain connections with their histories. Gardens are a direct connection between a volunteer’s past and her/his

present. Some state that they “have always spent time in this garden”, or they slip into reminiscing about the times when they gardened with grandparents on farms. Gardens are considered as both a sense of place and an aspect of ethnosphere in the effort to re-create home in either a physical way (through plant selection and garden plan), or a more esoteric way (through memory). There is no doubt that spending time in the gardens reconnects volunteers to a time or place that may no longer be accessible to them.

It is important to note that through identifying key psychological, social, philosophical components of ‘home’ as it relates to nature, over 75% of volunteers suggested that they would be devastated if a place they felt connected to no longer existed but that they would somehow re-create it elsewhere (ML #5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, RW #2, 5, 6, 8, SM #1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9). Fewer than 10% of volunteers (ML #1, 7, 12), described that place as being one that they had access to today but everyone, when prompted, could easily describe that place in detail as well as the way it made them feel. When asked about their experiences in the garden, those same descriptors of “calming”, “peaceful”, “beautiful”, and “comfortable” were used. The gardens afford their volunteers that opportunity to reconnect with homes that may be long gone from their current physical and emotional experiences. One volunteer from Maplelawn explains this nostalgia for space and time:

I live in an apartment now and I miss my own garden. I have a large balcony that faces south so I can grow some plants there but it isn’t the same as having a real garden. When I work here, I feel like it is mine. And it reminds me of when I did have my own garden (ML #10).

It is not just the home of past and present that is of interest, but also the ways in which the gardens reflect the physical location in which they reside. All three gardens explored

are Canadian gardens, reflecting the diversity found within this biome. They operate in the context of both native and imported species of plants, as they suggest that they need to be flexible. “The plants that would have worked when the gardens were first planted a century ago might not work today – the trees are larger, the temperatures different, the uses changed” (ML #5). Others expressed similar sentiments (ML #2, 3, 5, 7, 9, 22, RW #1, 2, 4, 7, 8, SM #1, 2, 9). The gardeners do their best to maintain the heritage plantings but some plants are no longer available, others can only be speculated from the use of grainy photographs, and others still are no longer appropriate for the gardens; this dichotomy is the crux of ethnosphere and stewardship in action.

It is difficult to pinpoint an intrinsic feeling, for the very concept is rather esoteric, but the gardeners interviewed shared similar sentiments of their connection to the gardens they work in:

[Rockway is special because] when I go there and I walk through there I feel like I know every single rock that’s there; it just feels like home. It’s special because it is part of me, it’s part of what I breathe (RW #1).

This sentiment extends to most of the volunteers at each garden. There is something intrinsically bound between the volunteers and their landscape. At Rockway some people have been coming to the gardens since childhood. At Maplelawn one man first discovered his passion for plants. At Spadina one woman was not able to put into words the emotional bond between her and the garden. Gardeners were enthusiastic to speak with me about “their” gardens. They often got swept up in stories of how they had done x and y, but when prodded, they got equally swept up in stories about how they felt in the



gardens. Answers were rarely devoid of a tear, a wry child-like smile, or a twinkle in their eyes: they often spoke of not sitting in the garden admiring it but bringing family and friends to the gardens to show them of the hard work poured into the beauty. The gardeners interviewed were rarely able to sit in the garden to appreciate it in a way a visitor might, (never a weed could be left within sight, or there was always more to do elsewhere), but the experience of “being” in the garden was often enough to satisfy the need to connect with it. Emotions cannot be easily described and this is certainly one of the limitations of the findings, but there is absolutely no doubt the intrinsic connection between the Friends and their gardens is deep-seated and special.

#### **5.4 Chapter Five Summary**

This chapter examined sense-making in the urban public garden and introduced the unique themes found in each of the three gardens. Recurring themes were also highlighted and grouped into four meta-themes: public garden as sanctuary; gardening as a way of life; gardens fostering civics through stewardship; and gardens offering the opportunity to re-create home.

The first part of the following chapter will consider the implications of the findings from the field work. This analysis will be followed by a comparison of the stories of the gardeners interviewed to findings from the literature in order to fully grasp the impact of public gardens on sense of place not only today through the primary field research, but also through time and in other contexts. These comparisons are then integrated into the

examination of the implications of volunteer culture, for sense of place and its value to society, and on the smaller scale, of its contribution to the public gardens themselves.

## Chapter Six: Sense-making and Sense of Place: Analysis of the Findings

This thesis explored the following questions:

*What are the social and ecological values offered by experiences with public gardens? What might be discovered about those values through an exploration of why people volunteer their time supporting Canadian public gardens (as Friends)? Specifically, is there a connection between a sense of place and the re-creation of 'home' in those who frequent the gardens?*

The concepts of aesthetics, ethnosphere, and home were initially identified through the literature and used to help answer those questions. These concepts each contributed a unique aspect to an understanding of the role that public gardens played with respect to sense of place. Each of these concepts embodies many other concepts that might contribute to sense of place. They were further defined through a multi-disciplinary literature search in order to determine their essential qualities/attributes.

Once that task was completed, those concepts were set aside in order to conduct field work using grounded theory. The objective was to see what concepts and ideas emerged from the field work findings in order to adequately compare the findings from the field work with those offered by the literature. Grounded theory constituted the field work methodology used in this thesis. An analysis of the themes that emerged from the grounded approach revealed new perspectives and reinforced others including the themes discussed in the literature about the importance and value of gardens with respect to sense of place. The themes that emerged from the field work ranged from many that were frequently mentioned in all three gardens to some 'outliers' that were, perhaps, only identified in a single garden. Similar themes were then grouped together into four major

themes as discussed in the concluding sections of Chapter Five.

In this, Chapter Six, an analysis of the findings from the field work is followed by a second analysis which compares the field work findings with the themes that emerged from the literature, namely aesthetics, ethnosphere and home (see Chapter Two). This analysis of both theory and practice suggests that the experiences of the gardeners speak to a larger feeling of wellness that – like gardens – endures through human engagement with nature.

These analyses are followed by a discussion about whether or not this research on public gardens, in fact, has established a connection between a sense of place and the re-creation of ‘home’ in those who frequent the gardens as laid out in the original research question. The question is considered both in terms of the grounded research and the analysis of the literature.

## **6.1. Understanding Gardens from the Ground Up: Analysis of Field Work**

### **6.1.1 An Assessment of Objectives**

The objectives laid out in Chapter One are reintroduced below and individually addressed in terms of the themes that emerged from the field work.

Table 1.4 General and Specific Objectives (Revisited)

<b>General Objectives</b>	<b>Specific Objectives</b>
1. What are the social and ecological values offered by experiences with public gardens?	a. Explore how social and environmental values have influenced various ways of understanding the natural world around us in the context of gardens.

2. What might be discovered about those values (listed above) through an exploration of why people volunteer their time supporting Canadian public gardens (as Friends)?	a. Understand influence of gardens on human populations with respect to the larger human landscape: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>i. Research the historical, and continuing, rationale for gardens; specifically public gardens; and</li> <li>ii. Explore human connections and commitments to gardens to discover why they exist; i.e. why they are valued and endure.</li> </ul>
3. Specifically, is there a connection between a sense of place and the re-creation of 'home' in those who frequent the gardens?	a. Understand sense of place: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>i. Explore what influence sense of place in the context of gardens has on a participant's life.</li> </ul> b. Understand home as it relates to gardens.

The field work findings reveal a number of connections to the initial objectives of the thesis stated in Table 1.1. As a reminder, the broad objectives were to understand the psychological, social, and ecological values offered by experiences with public gardens, to gain insight into why and how those values might encourage people to volunteer as Friends in public gardens, and to reveal whether there is a connection between a sense of place and the re-creation of home in public gardens. The four themes identified in Chapter Five are as follows:

1. Gardens are viewed as sanctuaries from the urban environments in which they are located, though they remain unavoidably connected to their political and economic surroundings.
2. Gardening as a way of life – from childhood through retirement.
3. Gardens serve the greater public good by fostering civics and stewardship through beauty and volunteerism.
4. Gardens offer opportunities to re-create home and volunteers have intrinsic connections to those landscapes.

The main themes above, as well as more specific findings from Chapter Five will be aligned with the objectives in Sections 6.1.1-6.1.3.

#### ***6.1.1.1 Social and Ecological Values Offered by Public Gardens***

Objective 1: What are the social and ecological values offered by experiences with public gardens?

- a. Explore how social and ecological values have influenced various ways of understanding the natural world around us in the context of gardens.

The findings from the field work (as seen in Chapter Five) demonstrate that *gardens are viewed as sanctuaries from the urban environments in which they are located, although they remain unavoidably connected to their political and economic surroundings*. Many gardeners describe this experience in the garden as attaining a level of calm, serenity, and peace that is sometimes difficult to find in cities (ML #1, 2, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 23, RW #5, 6, 7, SM #1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9). “When you are in this garden, it’s peaceful and you would never imagine you are in the middle of the busiest city in Canada!” points out one volunteer in Spadina (SM #2). This feeling of comfort is a strong motivator for Friends to both volunteer and to provide the same experiences for visitors. Furthermore, the experience of gardening in established and storied gardens such as Maplelawn, Rockway, and Spadina encourages a collective stewardship that fosters close bonds between the Friends and these landscapes. The volunteers do not garden simply for the experience of gardening, but also for being a part of something larger, both spatially and temporally: “I know I won’t be gardening forever but if you look around, we are kind of keeping up a legacy – which is pretty special” (ML #1). Volunteers describe the experience of gardening in the public gardens as “a privilege” (ML # 11, RW #2). This indicates a level of deep-seated commitment to the experience. Many of the gardeners have great difficulty in identifying the “most significant” aspect of the garden and see both the garden and the people who tend to it as being very closely aligned The

psychological, social, and ecological values offered by the gardens create an environment in which Friends are welcomed and their efforts honoured.

#### **6.1.1.2 How Values Encourage Friends in Public Gardens**

Objective 2: What might be discovered about those values (listed above) through an exploration of why people volunteer their time supporting Canadian public gardens (as Friends)?

- a. Understand influence of gardens on human populations with respect to the larger human landscape:
  - i. Research the historical, and continuing, rationale for gardens; specifically public gardens; and
  - ii. Explore human connections and commitments to gardens to discover why they exist; i.e. why they are valued and endure.

The volunteers provided significant insight into why they devote such energy, time, and passion into the gardens. Chapter Five identifies this experience as follows: *Gardening is a way of life – from childhood through retirement* (See Section 5.3) and according to this finding, the majority of Friends in the three gardens under consideration have been immersed in some type of garden throughout their lifetimes. From childhood summers spent with grandparents on farms, to tending to backyard vegetable gardens in middle age, to perhaps having only a few containers to tend to today, nurturing plants has been an important element of so many volunteers' lives. One gardener describes his early experiences with gardens as a sort of investigational play:

As a kid I was experimenting. I'd always have rows of corn with stuff in between and I was amazed to see how the corn would zap all the energy from the green onions in between. And I tried things like cotton – which would not grow. This was in a little backyard garden and with attention span of most children my efforts weren't all that fruitful (SM #4).

This volunteer was like so many others when they described their previous gardening experiences, especially in childhood – animated, energized, and bringing to the story much of the same enthusiasm they use when describing their experiences as a volunteer in the public gardens today.

An interesting and certainly related finding was the demographic characteristics of the volunteers. Gardening volunteers are aging. The majority of volunteers were retired and over 60 years of age. This situation raised the question of the implications of this aging group of volunteers with respect to the future of the public gardens. Gardens of some sort have endured through time and have always been an important part of the human society, whether for utility or for beauty. With an aging population and over thirteen percent of the Canadian population retired (Schellenberg & Turcotte, 2007), the importance of gardens to the general public might be shifting. The gardeners are very passionate about these places, and visitors certainly appreciate their collective effort, but whether that translates to an endurance of the gardens remains to be seen. “Recruiting new volunteers is definitely an issue,” offered one staff member of the National Capital Commission. “You need to kind of prove that you are committed to the garden for the long-term before the volunteers really accept you into the group. And maybe this is why there are so few younger people involved – it takes a while to be welcomed in sometimes.” This questionable continuity and longevity of volunteers in the gardens will be addressed in greater detail in Section 6.4.

The field work does not delve into the history of gardens within society but the themes from the field work demonstrate the tremendous importance of gardens to this group of people. It is a feeling that is perhaps reflective of this sector of society: that is, individuals



who are largely retired, well-educated, healthy, and talented. What is unclear from the research is whether there is another generation of garden volunteers ready to replace them.

### ***6.1.1.3 Connecting Sense of Place and the Re-Creation of Home in Public Gardens***

Objective 3: Specifically, is there a connection between a sense of place and the re-creation of ‘home’ in those who frequent the gardens?

a. Understand sense of place.:

i. Explore what influence sense of place in the context of gardens has on a participant’s life.

c. Understand home as it relates to gardens.

The field work revealed the finding that *gardens serve the greater public good by fostering civics and stewardship through beauty and volunteerism* (See Section 5.3).

Friends have an intrinsic connection with the garden where they volunteer, which can be linked to the themes of aesthetic, home, and perhaps stewardship: “I don’t know what it is about this place but it feels good and it is important for me to be here” (RW #2). With this commitment, volunteers foster place through the bonds that they form with the landscapes and their fellow gardeners. As seen in the essential qualities/attributes of home found in Table 2.1, the volunteers certainly describe their experiences in the gardens as Heidegger (1962) might describe an experience in a home where one dwells and engages within that space, particularly as a garden can be considered as “thick” places, which offer the volunteer opportunity for “personal enrichment and a deepening of affective experiences” (Casey in Duff, 2010). Notably, in Maplelawn one volunteer describes a bit of a paradox between her experiences and the opportunities others might have in that garden: “Volunteering in such a beautiful place changes you. And you want

everyone to experience it, but you still kind of want to protect [the place] for yourself too” (ML #12). The experience of some sort of personal enrichment and a sense of coming home in the garden was described by many other gardeners as well (ML #1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, RW #1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, SM #1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9). This demonstrates that the connection between home, place, and gardens is a viable and interesting theme that is found in both theory and practice and aligns well with the fourth finding: *Gardens offer opportunities to re-create home and volunteers have intrinsic connections to those landscapes* (See Section 5.3 for additional detail).

### **6.1.2 Diverging from Objectives**

The majority of results in an examination of both theory and practice answered the questions raised in the thesis. Several themes, however, diverged from the objectives. These themes revealed other findings. Some of these findings, including the aged population, were not outliers and actually raise additional questions about how the public gardens might be stewarded in the future, should the interest in volunteering in them be waning. Additionally, this finding of an aging demographic (and the associated interest in gardens from childhood) may lead to questions of where today’s youth may invest their own efforts when they become seniors – will the decision to be a steward of the landscape be one many choose to pursue? Will green spaces become more valued to urban populations in the future?

Another unanticipated response was the role of the commuting volunteer. At one garden, in particular, a large proportion of the volunteers commute over thirty minutes between

their homes and the garden attesting to the dedication of the volunteers. It also, perhaps, suggests the necessity of ensuring that public gardens are accessible to everyone and not just those with the ability to commute, which has implications for urban planning.

Additional themes of the garden as a part of museum programming speak to the importance of gardens to community-building and civics, although this was not a major finding and a theme in only one garden - Spadina. It was also noted by each volunteer in that same garden that volunteer gardeners have very limited authority (SM #2,3,4,5,6,7,8). This finding, however, is not of great significance to this work and not germane to this particular discussion.

### **6.1.3 Limitations of the Research**

The case study gardens chosen for this work differ in size and structure with respect to their Friends programs (as seen in Chapter 4.2 Case Study Descriptions). The differences led to some variances in individual themes (namely level of influence and authority volunteers have on the overall direction of the garden) but these were not significant to sense of place.

In addition, it was not possible to visit each garden during the same season due to logistical issues of finding appropriate gardens, scheduling interviews, money, and time. It is possible that the different times for the interviews influenced the results in that volunteer perceptions and foci might have been different as the seasons changed.

However, this did not appear to be the case. Research was conducted at Maplelawn in the early summer with much growth and transition between plantings. Interviews took place in the fall at Rockway. This was a time when gardens were being prepped for winter and

work was winding down. The final round of interviews was conducted in the early winter at Spadina as gardens were bedded down, very little work was visible, and interviews were conducted inside with views of the gardens. In having such diversity, there were certainly seasonal references that differed. The first volunteers spoke extensively of birth and rejuvenation in the garden, the last spoke of death and transition into slumber. The essence, however, remained the same; it was only the circumstances that differed. In other words, the examples may have differed but the stories about sense of place, home, continuity, attachment, and connection remained the same.

A third limitation was the time it took to actually locate appropriate gardens and then to directly speak with the volunteers themselves within those gardens. Had initial contacts with garden representatives across Canada been more fruitful, then the interviews themselves may have felt somewhat less rushed for the interviewer. The findings themselves might not reflect this, but the sentiment is certainly there.

In addition to the logistical limitations, there are also methodological and conceptual limitations. This thesis tries to explore something that has intrinsic value and is not easily verifiable, measurable, or quantifiable. Given the reality that the research attempted to catch feelings and sentiments and information that are not readily measurable, it is challenging to interpret the meanings of volunteers' answers. Interviews often extended over an hour in length. There is so much expressed but it is not always clear the best approach one should use to capture these sentiments – and over 40 hours of stories. This is why I employed a variety of methods, including photography, interviews, and extensive field notes and observations.

Participant-employed photography was a method I initially planned to use, as outlined in Chapter Four. The method did not work as expected due to the volunteers perceiving their incompetence at a technology that they were uncomfortable using, but the very question of “If you were to take a photo of the most significant part of the garden, what would be photo be of?” did elicit engaging responses. This initial limitation in the field work was mitigated because the technique elicited additional interesting insights about why a particular aspect of the garden was most important to the volunteer.

Regardless of the limitations of approaches and findings, the results had specific elements that would certainly be considered contributions to the fields of geography, anthropology, and landscape architecture.

## **6.2 From the Ground to the Literature: A Comparative Analysis of the Primary Field Research and the Literature**

Sections 6.1.1-6.1.3 outline the objectives of the thesis. These objectives align nicely with the three main themes initially offered as components of sense of place: aesthetics, ethnosphere, and home. These three themes have essential qualities/attributes that help to connect them with the objectives. They also align closely to a fourth finding emerged from field work that was not covered in the other themes – that of stewardship. This section compares theory and practice, integrated to create a clearer picture of the relationship between people and place in the context of an urban public garden.

Aesthetics, ethnosphere, and home are the main themes explored in relation to the practice of volunteers in urban public gardens through the literature. Several other significant themes emerged through the analysis of the interviews. They included the

older age of the volunteer, the fact that most volunteers had strong gardening and/or farming experiences in childhood, and many of them revealed the sentiment in one way or another that the act of volunteering in the garden was a selfless act with the goal of ultimately building to a legacy of that landscape. It is a matter of debate as to what the distinction is between concepts of ‘home’ and ‘place’ and how that might be delineated. It is evident, however, that volunteers were generally more familiar and comfortable with discussing their feelings about their homes.

I suppose my home is like my place to me – I mean it’s “mine” and I feel comfortable there, but whether I would call it my place, I just don’t know. I liked the one before this one as I just moved here and I am getting used to it still and don’t feel settled yet. I’ve lived in many places before. I have had lots of different homes... (ML #12).

Other volunteers were more certain that they could describe their home, and often began with describing their own gardens:

My home has a great view. The apartment has good light and I can grow some plants on the balconies, but it isn’t the same now. My last house had far more gardens for me. It was a place I could rest and relax and everything there meant something to me (ML #2).

The same descriptors of comfort and familiarity are often used in other spaces in which they feel similarly (and despite the other spaces not being “home”, the sense of place is clear).

In sum, it was important to examine these themes in the context of aesthetics, ethnosphere, and home (place) to see where they were similar and where they diverged. It also revealed some new themes were expressed that did not fit under those broader concepts. The primary research revealed a fourth main theme important to the role of

gardens and sense of place: that of stewardship. Findings from the field work and literature are linked below (See Table 6.1 below).

Table 6.1: Findings Applied to Themes

Themes	Aesthetics	Ethnosphere	Home	Stewardship
Gardens are viewed as sanctuaries from the urban environments in which they are located, though they remain unavoidably connected to their political and economic surroundings.	✓			✓
Gardening as a way of life – from childhood through retirement.		✓	✓	✓
Gardens serve the greater public good by fostering civics and stewardship through beauty and volunteerism.	✓			✓
Gardens offer opportunity to re-create home and volunteers have intrinsic connections to those landscapes.	✓	✓	✓	

### 6.2.1 Aesthetics

The major themes associated with aesthetics include perspectives related to gardens as sanctuaries, intrinsic connections to gardens, and the act of creating something beautiful together. These themes align with the Essential Qualities/Attributes of Aesthetics as found in Table 2.1. These attributes included beauty, aesthetic integrity, providing direct

pleasure, emotional saturation, and being on a continuum from pretty to beautiful to the sublime.

A fairly common understanding of aesthetics is something that indicates beauty.

“[B]eauty is something that pleases everyone regardless of their opinions” (Routio, 2005).

Going beyond beauty in the context of gardens, it is important to look at the aesthetics of nature when trying to understand aesthetics in the context of the garden. In essence, the garden is an effort to recreate nature in a contained yet wild environment. Some might argue that there is no ‘wild’ nature left as humans have influenced every aspect of it on the planet. And yet it could equally be argued that everything is natural and nothing is created. William Cronon criticizes this first understanding of nature, and at once wistful and pessimistic, in his essay *The Trouble with Wilderness* suggests, “The place where we are is the place where nature is not” (1999, p.381). He goes on to challenge the idea that “our very presence in nature represents its fall” (1999, p.378). But however nature is defined, it is witnessed in the garden: from the coreopsis blowing in the wind, to the new weeds popping up after a rainstorm, there are some things that just are, and they are beautiful.

Every single individual interviewed explained that one of the main reasons they volunteered in the garden was because it was ‘beautiful’ in some manner and that, with the beauty, came a sense of peace and wellness. “It’s like this place just makes the rest of the world that much better for you” (RW #2). This gardener was in good company as every volunteer made a similar observation about the beauty in the garden and how positive it made them feel (ML #1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22,



23, 24, 25, RW #1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, SM #1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9). This is in line with the concept of aesthetic integrity, which Robinson & Elliot (2011) suggest offers

“coherence/harmony over time between positive sensual qualities and cultural, historical and biological features that contribute to aesthetic evaluation of a place” (pp.177-178).

The aesthetic integrity of the gardens is crucial in the sense of wellness and also the stewardship described. This concept is further strengthened by the fact that approximately 80% of volunteers consider “their” garden a sanctuary from the urban environments.

Maybe it’s not the most organized garden, there are weeds here and there, but it’s loved and beautiful. You forget you are in the city. Around here [Maplelawn], we all have different styles and approaches to our little plots, and I don’t like them all but if you look at the bigger picture, the garden is really lovely, even with the variation (ML #2).

The gardener describes the garden as if it is her own and perhaps one small part is largely her responsibility. What she states, however, is a sentiment echoed by so many other Friends, is that there is beauty in the gardens that is unique and special within the city (ML #1, 5, 9, 10, 11, 12, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, RW #2, 3, 5, 6, SM #2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8). “More often than not, it has been the garden, whether real or imaginary, that has provided sanctuary from the frenzy and tumult of history” (Harrison, 2008, p.ix). As one gardener from Spadina points out, “We don’t live here, in fact we need to travel quite far, but we think of this as our ‘summer place’ and as an escape from the city” (SM #5). The visual quality of the landscape, in direct opposition to the urban landscapes within which the gardens are found, is another criterion of aesthetics (Porteus, 1982; Tuan, 2005).

The theme is further strengthened by the strong belief of volunteers that gardens serve the greater good and by working within them, one is fostering civics: “We do this for the old people who come here to spend time in a beautiful place,” says one volunteer from

Maplelawn (ML #2). This statement is similar to so many spoken in interviews at each garden, with the resounding agreement that one reason for coming and spending time engaging with the gardens in a volunteer capacity is to simply “create something beautiful” (RW #5).

With this beauty also comes an element of enchantment (Dutton, 2006). Schneider suggests that we are enchanted when “we are faced with something both real and at the same time uncanny, weird, mysterious, or awesome” (1993, p.3). The experience of beauty is not like that of enchantment. “By suggesting that enchanting encounters in the garden ‘reverberate’ [and are therefore transposed into other facets of our lives], we are going beyond a simple recognition of our relationship to the natural world” (Bhatti et al., 2008). An encounter that moves us has depth of being; it has an effect in/on the body, which in turn affects its surroundings (Lewicka, 2011). Such direct pleasure as related to enchantment is another key element of aestheticism; gardens to the volunteers are valued as sources of immediate experiential pleasure in themselves, and not primarily for their utility in producing something else that is either useful or pleasurable (Dutton, 2006, p.369; Porteous, 1982; Tuan, 2005). This relationship of enchantment between aesthetics and the environment directly connects to the relationship between the fourth theme of stewardship as discussed in Chapter 6.1.4.

Furthermore, there is a certain element of pride also associated with the aesthetics of the gardens: one is proud to be a partner in the process of developing something that changes daily and melds into something different and arguably more beautiful through the seasons: “Every day I come and something is different – this place is always changing and maybe that’s why it’s so beautiful to me” (ML #9). This volunteer’s experience of

changing beauty is one that is nearly universal within the gardeners (ML #1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, RW #1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, SM #1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9). This aspect of the garden experience is directly related to an aesthetic continuum, which Leddy (2010) suggests is a transitional experience from the pretty to the beautiful and finally to the sublime. These findings are not unique to this thesis but are strongly connected to the sense of place literature and one psychologist suggests that in order to fully understand sense of place, the element of environmental aesthetics must be considered in discussion (Lewicka, 2011).

In completing this research, I have been struck by the strong elements of place seen in each garden. An example of aesthetics is in the following personal reflection:

*Rockway exists for its beauty. There is history, a grand one nodding to the volunteers who helped to beautify that part of the city during the Depression, but much of the historical knowledge was lost in a fire in the 1950s and some of that design layout, etc. is speculative. The history is known, even so much as felt, but a new era has dawned on the garden, one that is forward-thinking and serving what suits the people of today. People continue to come to admire the straight lines, the order, the fountains, and the bridges. There is great precision displayed there, much like the strong structures, history and imbedded culture of the city itself. People are proud of it, it holds a special place in the community, the neighbourhood being named after it, but I am not so sure it couldn't exist in another part of the city, in another green space, and not have that same effect. This is the breadth of aesthetics. (Author's Reflections)*

## **6.2.2 Ethnosphere**

“The ethnosphere is born out of the biosphere within which it is situated, but it has its own particular features, history, and development. In its turn, the ethnosphere modifies, manages, and therefore influences the biosphere” (Garibaldi & Turner, 2004, p.3). The human elements of nature add the dynamic of ethnography to an otherwise biological

world – that of nature and gardens (Allen, 2003). Within the findings, it was evident that ethnosphere, though a largely unfamiliar concept for most volunteers, played a significant role in their experiences within the gardens. The defining characteristics of ethnosphere include the character and symbolism of human institutions, symbolic meaning to place attachment, and the intercommunication between human cultures – particularly through the generations (see Ethnosphere Essential Qualities/Attributes in Table 2.1).

During the interviews, many volunteers shared vivid memories of childhoods spent in gardens or on farms and felt that their contemporary experiences have been heavily influenced by their pasts. Volunteers relayed many stories about a first crop of corn, a plot of land “just for me”, a chore of weeding, or other such experiences that the volunteers directly relate to their passion for gardening today (ML #1, 2, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, RW #2, 3, 5, 6, SM #2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8). This continuation of tradition and childhood experiences directly relates to ethnosphere, as it is a continuation of story through time, for the legacy of these individuals is in fact a legacy linked directly to generations before them (Allen, 2003; Jorgenson & Stedman, 2006; Malinowski, 1944). This is the combination of past and present in order to sustain something of value into the future. Furthermore, due in part to the old age (and associated lived experiences and perspectives) of many of the volunteers, there is a recognition of the need to conserve the gardens in order to continue the legacies that were established by the original gardeners:

These gardens are here for everyone and it is important that we keep the traditions going so our children can experience these places too (ML #6).

This is where the aspect of stewardship comes in – people are stewards of the landscape not only today but also because of yesterday and for tomorrow. Poet Deborah Tall suggests, “A weak sense of the past encourages a weak sense of place” (1993, p.84).

When people are attached to their forbearers, they want to remain close to where they lived, continue their traditions, tend their graves, and embody their hopes. Many may remain where they were born out of habit or spiritual duty, but the staying itself is conducive to life because the lived-in land then becomes an extension of the self, the family and group; to endanger the land is to wound one’s collective body (Tall, 1993, pp.84-85).

It is through the experience of place, that ethnosphere is truly embraced.

And it was while sitting in Maplelawn that I was struck by how much ethnosphere is encapsulated in the experiences of this garden:

*Maplelawn aims to capture what was once there, unchanging, unwavering, and true. The heirloom varieties, the plaque of the family’s pet cemetery, the old tree planted when members of the family got married; it is all there, a living testament of sorts. It is a stunning spot, alive with colour and diversity. It also holds a sense of place for people, it can’t help to, but I am not sure it needs to be in that exact location to be special. Everyone who works the soil mentions that significance of the garden, its wall, and ways in which it remains authentically in another time. This is the fabric of ethnosphere. (Author’s Reflections)*

Unlike the other themes of aesthetics, home, and stewardship, the concept of ethnosphere is relatively new and is not explicitly connected to sense of place literature; any connections made are being extrapolated from aspects of both bodies of literature.

### **6.2.3 Home**

Home, while often considered as a physical space, is also “a state of being” (Heidegger 1962; Kunstler, 1996; Tuan, 1997; May, et al., 1958; Tuan, 1997; Tuan, 2005). This

experience of being at home is not a static entity with clear boundaries but rather involves dynamic connections between inside and outside and private and public (Bhatti & Church, 2001). The role of the garden in home is an interesting one worthy of further consideration. The essential characteristics/attributes of home include the act of dwelling and engaging within a space, feeling a sense of belonging and empowerment, and a space of residence – whether physically, emotionally, or otherwise (See Table 2.1).

If volunteers did not directly name the garden as a home, they often gave it the same descriptors as they did their homes or, alternatively, the places at which they felt most at ease: “I guess this garden can be a home for some. It has shelter, peace, and provides happiness, and I guess that’s what a home should give you too” (ML #10). This sentiment was shared by many of the gardeners interviewed (ML #5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, RW #2, 5, 6, 8, SM #1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9). “My house is a roof and space and some green space that I can tend; it is comfortable and warm and welcoming. I feel connected to it. It is just right for me” (ML #12). The garden where this individual volunteers his/her time was described in a similar manner: “It’s a special place, with just the right flowers and plants – heritage ones. The wall makes it comfortable. The gardens make it pretty. And I feel happy here” (ML #12). Most volunteers viewed “their” garden as a sanctuary from the urban environment in which it existed (ML #1, 2, 5, 9, 10, 11, 12, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, RW #2, 3, 5, 6, SM #2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8).

In one of his earliest essays, titled “Love of Life,” philosopher Albert Camus describes his own experience of wellness as a fusion of mind and garden. While walking into a cloister garden in San Francisco, he “melt[s] into this smell of silence, becoming nothing more than... the flight of birds whose shadows I could see on the still sunlit portions of

the wall” (Camus, 1970, p.55). For a moment – and Camus’s affirmation of life is all about moments of intensity rather than the continuum of experience – the fusion between state of mind and garden is so complete that the former upholds and keeps in being the latter:

In the sharp sound of wingbeats as the pigeons flew away, the sudden, snug silence in the middle of the garden, in the lonely squeaking of the chain on its well, I found a new and yet familiar flavor. I was lucid and smiling before this unique play of experiences. A single gesture, I felt, would be enough to shatter this crystal in which the world’s face was smiling. Something would come undone – the flight of pigeons would die and each would slowly tumble on its outstretched wings. Only my silence and immobility lent plausibility to what looked like an illusion (Camus, 1970, p.55).

Whether by travelling great distances to work in the garden, using it as an escape from “real world problems”, or something else entirely, one gardener suggested that “No matter how terrible the world is, when you leave a garden, you can’t help but be happy” (ML #5).

Because the concepts of ‘home’ and ‘place’ are difficult to decipher, findings from interviews do not distinguish between the two concepts. It is therefore important to recognize that often when people talk about home, they are talking about sense of place; for some, ‘home’ reminds them of place and for others it reminds them of childhood. Through the interviews, the language of home became one of familiarity, tranquility, stability, beauty, and comfort. Few volunteers directly linked home with the garden, but when describing the garden, used the same descriptors, which suggests that the experiences of gardens may make one feel “at home” as well, and vice versa, which also links them to their childhood and other aspects of sense of place (particularly

ethnosphere). The criteria for identifying home, as outlined in Table 2.1, is certainly evident within the public gardens researched.

Gardens place individuals within their own stories: from reminding them of childhoods long since passed, to the selfless act of volunteering as a contribution to make the world a more beautiful place for everyone, there is an intrinsic connection between people and “their” garden. Of added significance to this thesis is the finding that gardens offer some re-creation of volunteers’ homelands, whether physical or emotional, and familiar sights, smells, actions, and experiences often link volunteers to other times, which comfort them and ground them in this “home” (Bhatti & Church, 2001; Brook, 2003).

The connection between home and sense of place endures with the Friends. Each garden reflects some aspect of Canadian culture: whether it is that of the British influence at Maplelawn, the German immigrants at Rockway, or the wealthy Canadian family at Spadina. This theme of home-making through gardening in Canada is not new but has been written about since the days of Catherine Parr Traill and her contemporaries (as reviewed in Chapter Three). This effort to settle is about many things, but within the garden it is in part about coming home. The following paragraph fully captures this sentiment and, as such, is presented here in its entirety:

Settling is about transformation and violence, it is about tenderness and cruelty, hope and despair. Settling invokes memories of old homes founded in new places as well as of new landscapes settling into old hearts. Settling is also as much about seeing and feeling as it is about transformation and movement, of seeing one's future in a new country ten years hence, of feeling the soil yielding slightly under one's feet after wet weather, of arching up one's neck to view a magically unfamiliar nightscape (Beattie & Holmes, 2011).



When examining the experience of place in the garden today, two aspects of the garden are often suggested as being present: the sense of calm and the sense of wellness, which are strongly influenced by the other two themes of aesthetics and ethnosphere (Davis, 2009; Pollan, 1991; Sobel, 2012; Tuan, 2005). It is through such experience, that the very culture of volunteerism is established within the gardens. This volunteerism is not simply an offering of skills for today (Heidegger, 1962), but the Friends actually become the stewards of the landscape both today and into the future, dwelling as a member of the place.

In the process of conducting the field work, I was struck by how strong “home” was in Spadina:

*Spadina certainly has both the elements of beauty and history but truly occupies a third niche, that of home. In the city, it is a hidden gem described by many as peaceful, tranquil, and alive with nature itself. In this garden, its location is ideal for the surrounding urban community. There are few places in metropolises where you can get lost in a garden that is free and available solely, it may seem, to you. It holds beauty in its complexity, sprawling grounds, and elements of a truly complete garden of flowers, foods, trees, lawns, and orchards, what is most striking is what lies just beyond the borders. To the south looms the CN tower, to the north Forest Hill is not too far, to the direct west hovers Casa Loma, and to the east the monstrosities of houses far too large for the few people who may occupy them. This garden, though beautiful and historic, cannot exist elsewhere in the city. It is special because of where it is and what it's not. This is the depth of place. (Author's Reflections)*

#### **6.2.4 Stewardship**

The concept of ecological stewardship that has emerged in northern Europe and North America flows directly from religious traditions. In the ecological version, the notion of

accountability to God has been largely replaced by that of intergenerational responsibility – which is what is seen within public gardens (Saltman & Ferroussier-Davis, 2000).

In this research, the concept of stewardship was not initially considered an important element of the culture of public gardens (which is why it was not canvassed in Table 2.1 Essential Qualities/Attributes for Defining Key Concepts), but through reflections of the field research, it has been recognized that stewardship is in fact significant in gardens today. Interestingly, this concept is something that can be linked back to the earliest of gardens – physic gardens – in which medicinal plants were grown and protected (Minter, 1993, 16). Within such gardens, the stewardship was of knowledge and plant material. Today the same can be found within public gardens but a shift has happened over time and, though science may play a role in such gardens today, the three gardens explored have a different element of stewardship: that of preserving the landscape in its entirety for future generations through education and conservation (City of Toronto, 2001; The Landplan Collaborative, 1995; National Capital Commission, n.d.; Von Baeyer, 1995; National Capital Commission, n.d.). The shift may be due to the industrialization of the medical practice and there no longer being a need/role for commonfolk to have knowledge of medicinal plants in urban centres, or perhaps the loss of food/production role in gardens due to the industrialization of agriculture. Regardless of the reasons behind the shift, the role that gardens play in society remains important.

This element of stewardship, though not initially factored into the research, may be the most significant aspect of public gardens in ensuring their persistence. The stewardship role has shifted from one of protector to one of legacy creator, and the volunteers of public gardens play a key part in this movement (Gooch, 2003). As Rockway Garden

Supervisor Shivas suggests, “Stewardship in this way is a form of renewing your connection to the earth” and by simply experiencing the gardens in an intimate way such as gardening, one is fostering a unique and important relationship with the planet.

Stewardship involves the very act of making a place one’s own while maintaining it for others as well – it is place-making for the masses.

At its best, place-making is the human-centred design of public spaces that directly involves the citizens who will use the space [...]. Contemporary place-making processes put the social-cultural importance of place at the fore as defined by the community. They redefine the way we think about, understand and design the public realm. As described by Project for Public Spaces (PPS) founder Fred Kent, “Place-making requires community members to be at the centre of planning. The outcome has to be theirs (Voigt, 2012, p.7).

Volunteers play (and have played) a crucial role in the gardens throughout time and place.

Friends are place-makers and, as such stewards, encourage the endurance of the gardens.

The work here is very satisfying. It is simple. You don’t have to do a damn thing if you don’t want to. It’s all up to you and it depends on your energy level so mentally it’s very similar to yoga. You focus on the moments. You don’t think about the past, you don’t think about the future. You think about right now and enjoy the moment. So spiritually, it’s quite a beautiful experience (ML #18).

This volunteer culture creates the garden legacy and plays a key role in defining that garden within the larger urban context. Furthermore, while considering the role of stewardship in identity and sense of place it is also important to note that the sentiments of belonging and obligation residing with stewardship are strong motivators for further volunteering in an environmental stewardship capacity (Gooch, 2003).

### 6.2.5 Other Findings

Some findings common to all three gardens were not easily categorized by the four meta-themes of aesthetics, ethnosphere, home, and stewardship. The arbitrary allotment of these additional findings would not be appropriate but they are still important points to consider.

All four points are related in some way to the structure and running of the garden and its volunteer program, rather than to the experience that one might have independently.

Approximately half of all interviewees mentioned the importance of recognition from formal sources, whether city officials, provincial funding, or otherwise, and nearly every volunteer mentioned how satisfying it is when a person thanks her/him for her/his effort in the garden (ML #1, 2, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, RW #2, SM #3). “I might be in the garden, bent over and sweaty, but it really is nice when someone taps my shoulder and thanks me for all the work we do here and even when someone writes about us in the paper, it’s kind of the same thing” (ML #5). In Rockway another gardener asked whether I had seen that background on the local weather forecast the night before the interview as it had been of the gardens. He was happy that “others had stopped to notice” how beautiful the gardens were (RW #4). The emergence of formal community recognition has encouraged new initiatives with the gardens and has helped to foster pride and stewardship within the communities of gardeners.

Political overtones remain even though they might not be overt. They dictate many formal, often economic, decisions within the gardens. These influences from afar are often directly in charge of financial decisions in the gardens and, on a larger scale, the

very existence of the gardens themselves. One might argue that this pressure is an element of sense of place but that sense is perhaps only somewhat strengthened by these external pressures exerted upon the volunteers (Bhatti & Church, 2000; Bhatti & Church, 2001).

Structurally, volunteers at Spadina Museum Gardens have the least amount of authority within the garden due in large part to the structure of the program itself: “We don’t really make any decisions here, we are just volunteers and the decisions are up to Wendy [Head Gardener] – which is fine with me!” (SG #4). A volunteer’s lack of decision-making authority in the garden is something that does not appear to be of much concern to the volunteers (SG #1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 9).

Perhaps the most significant additional finding was the age of the volunteer; they are generally older and retired. As discussed in Chapter 5.3.4, the younger gardener is not generally volunteering in urban public garden volunteer programs (ML # 1, 5, 6, 9, 16, RW #3, 5, 6, SM #4, 5). One volunteer in Maplelawn points out that in recruitment,

We’ve got to make sure we are getting volunteers for all sorts of reasons – a lot of people think of it as a widowed... a lonely people thing for those who need connections – and we can’t promote it that way. We need a whole variety of people who will be here for a whole variety of reasons (ML #6).

A garden is not sustainable if the only stewards of the garden (who have a strong sense of place) are older with no obvious potential successors, however important gardening might be for the well-being of senior citizens (Atchley, 1989). Generations of new gardeners must be fostered in order to maintain continuity in vision, care, and direction. This is perhaps the largest concern when looking at the status of the gardens examined. If the

passion and attention offered by such volunteers as those who currently garden in these places is lacking, one cannot help but wonder if the gardens will still exist in the future in the ways that they now do. The very culture of the volunteer program must shift in order to continue to serve both the garden and the larger urban community into the future (See Chapter 6.2).

### **6.3 Bringing it All Home: The Connection Between Sense of Place and Public Gardens**

Applying the four themes of aesthetics, ethnosphere, home, and stewardship to the umbrella concept of sense of place reveals an opportunity for *reinhabitation* through gardens. Bioregional pioneers Berg and Dasmann define reinhabitation as “learning to live-in-place in an area that has been disrupted and injured through past exploitation” (1990, p.35). Urban centres, rapidly growing and sometimes hastily planned, can be seen as these locations of exploitation (Kunstler, 1996). Gardens offer opportunities to reconnect with a landscape often chaotic and troublesome. David Orr agrees with this concept: “The study of place [...] has significance in reeducating people in the art of living well where they are” (1992, p.130).

Orr suggests, “A resident is a temporary occupant, putting down few roots and investing little, knowing little and perhaps caring little for the immediate locale beyond its ability to gratify” (Orr, 1992, p.130). Conversely, inhabitants exhibit “an intimate, organic, and mutually nurturing relationship with a place. Good inhabitation is an art requiring detailed knowledge of a place, the capacity for observation, and a sense of care and rootedness”

(Orr, 1992, p.130). For a country that is so multicultural, reinhabitation is important and allows a connection with the landscape that may lead to stewardship of that place.

Edward Casey introduces to the discussion the idea that there are ‘thick’ and ‘thin’ places; thick places present opportunities for personal enrichment and a deepening of affective experience, enhancing one’s meaning and belonging in a place (2001, pp.684-685). On the other hand, thin places lack the “rigour and substance of thickly lived places” (Casey, 2001, p.684). This lack of connection in the garden for some individuals – particularly younger generations than the retirees who make up the majority of the Friends – is something to note as a possible avenue through which to reengage the larger community in the garden to ensure its longevity. The gardener is the epitome of the reinhabitant, demonstrating commitment to place through time and space, with recognition of beauty, history, and personal attachment of thick places. As Heidegger suggested in his discussion of *dwelling* (See Chapter 2.3), this relationship between place and person permits space for well-being, and many scholars agree (Albrecht, 2005; Gruenewald, 2003a, 2003b; Orr, 1992). This reinhabitation was not something discussed during interviews, but could certainly be an important aspect of sense-making in the garden, particularly for people who do not currently volunteer within such landscapes.

For the multi-cultural landscape, the fabric of public gardens must be equally colourful. The development of cultural gardens such as the gardens representing Japan, China, and the First Nations, is allowing for the re-creation of home (Keane & Ohashi, 1996; Keswick, et al., 2003; Montreal Botanical Garden, 2012; Seiko, 2009). In coming home through such landscapes, people are coming into gardens. Gardens are an important component of sense-making and indeed place-making in the urban landscape.

### 6.3.1 The Importance of Gardens and Sense of Place

Gardens are a vital part of an urban community. Offering serenity, beauty, spaces for exploration, learning, and friendship, gardens are an integral part of a healthy community. The notion of community is often championed from a normative, romantic perspective. Since the late 1800's, for example, "The use of the term community has remained to some extent associated with the hope the wish of reviving [...] the closer, warmer, more harmonious type of bonds between people vaguely attributed to past ages" (Elias, 1974, in Hoggett, p.5). This romantic view, however, discounts the strife that goes along with such relations.

Prior to 1910, there was little social science literature concerning *community*; it was in 1915 that the first clear sociological definition emerged. This term was coined by C. J. Galpin in relation to delineating rural communities in terms of the trade and service areas surrounding a central village (Harper & Dunham, 1959, p.19). Many competing definitions of community quickly followed, some based on geography, others on culture, and still others on lifestyle. In looking at the relationship between public gardens and sense of place, community is explored in three different ways (after Willmott, 1986; Lee & Newby, 1983; Crow & Allen, 1994):

**Place:** Territorial or place community can be seen as where people have something in common, and this shared element is understood geographically.

**Interest:** Interest communities represent people who share a common characteristic other than place. They are linked together by factors such as religious belief, occupation, or ethnic origin.



**Communion:** In its weakest form, a sense of attachment to a place, group or idea (*spirit of community*). In its strongest form *communion* entails a profound meeting or encounter with both people and the divine.

These three aspects of community reflect three main findings of the field work: those of the garden as a sanctuary, social aspects of the volunteer experience, and the intrinsic connection gardeners have with “their” public gardens. This comparison suggests that community is reflected in the garden and that both can foster sense of place in an urban environment.

Sociologist Anthony P. Cohen’s work around notions of belonging and attachment argues that communities are best approached as *communities of meaning* (1982; 1985). In other words, “Community plays a crucial symbolic role in generating people’s sense of belonging [and sense of place]” (Crow & Allan, p.6). The reality of community, Cohen argues, lies in its citizen perception of the vitality of its culture, referred to by Robert Putnam as *social capital*. “People construct community symbolically, making it a resource and repository of meaning, and a referent of their identity” (Cohen, 1985, p.118). For the volunteers of the public gardens examined, the gardens are important components in their communities of meaning: “The people I have met here in the garden are just wonderful. Some of my best friends I’ve met through this and I just love the whole thing” (ML #2). Gardens foster social capital and it appears as though social capital fosters gardens as well. For those who steward the gardens, such social capital is important if the gardens are going to endure as they have.

## 6.4 Enduring Gardens? The Need for Stewardship

Public gardens are threatened by modern civilization much like the threatened cultures and languages that Wade Davis discusses in relation to the concept of ethnosphere, or the endangered species that have lived on the planet since time immemorial. The mere existence of public gardens may be in jeopardy due to the threatening forces such as politics, economics, aging demographics, and most importantly the growing phenomenon of 'placelessness'. Consideration of the human ecological aspect of public gardens is often omitted as is the impact of landscape architecture on the psychological being, despite there being some reference to gardens in planning literature (Kunstler, 1996; Schein, 1993).

Spadina Museum Gardens is a perfect example of a threatened urban public garden. Not yet on the chopping block of the city council, the garden and other museums and public spaces are at risk due largely to economic and fiscal prudence, as claimed by the current municipal government. Today, as I write this, the existence of one of Toronto's most significant gardens: 154 year old Allan Gardens, is endangered by an application for a 50-storey mixed use building, which could shadow the park and Conservatory (Hauch, 2012). Gardens are indeed beautiful and considered assets of urban life, enduring legacies holding stories of our past, creating memories of contemporary times, and fostering promises for our future. Public gardens are unavoidably connected to their political and economic surroundings: they interact with them, depend on them for funding, and endure despite financial difficulties and political threats. They also serve public purposes such as boosterism, local economy, and as public education facilities (American Public Gardens Association, 2006; Royal Botanical Gardens' History, 2011). One of the few truly

enduring legacies in a rapidly changing world, gardens provide people with the respite they seek in often foreboding urban landscapes. Museums and their gardens are relics of the past and are to be recognized as important facets within our culture. The very entity of humans is also at risk. With gardens in jeopardy, one wonders where our priorities as a species lie when not in the simplest of pleasures.

Along the same lines, with an aging population of garden volunteers, the very care and nurturing that Friends place upon the garden are threatened. There are few individuals engaging with the gardens on a volunteer basis who are not retired or close to retirement. This begs the question: “Who next?”. Health researcher Cameron Duff suggests that perhaps younger generations are not engaging with natural landscapes as ‘thick’ places, ones that imbue meaning for the witness. Those who coordinate and recruit for these volunteer programs, whether formally or informally, are often younger yet are not always as engaged in the gardens themselves. As the volunteer population ages, it is worth considering how to engage younger generations in this life-giving work. Today, with far fewer younger volunteers, it makes one wonder how this might change the face and level of engagement in the gardens in the future. The reasons for this vary but one analyst suggests that gardening is important to aging people with respect to home-making:

As the ageing body becomes subject to physical limitations, illness and disability, and/or where a spouse passes away[,] the house becomes unsuitable, and the garden a burden. For some the need to carry on gardening can be seen as a form of resistance to ageing – a sign the despite the limitations of the ageing body, some form of independence can still be maintained (Bhatti, 2006, pp.318-319).

The majority of volunteers grew up on farms or had very significant experiences in gardens in childhood; today’s children are largely urban and are being raised in a

completely different environment, with different and largely technology-based experiences. “For a new generation, nature is more abstraction than reality. Increasingly, nature is something to watch, to consume, to wear—to ignore” (McKee, 2005). This lack of experience in, familiarity with, and passion for nature may threaten the gardens that today play an important role in the urban landscape. Or maybe the gardens will, in fact, be an antidote to such unfamiliarity and draw people back to nature.

The future belongs to the nature-smart – those individuals, families, businesses, and political leaders who develop a deeper understanding of the transformative power of the natural world and who balance the virtual with the real. The more high-tech we become, the more nature we need (Louv, 2011, n.p.).

Exposure to nature in the form of gardens and other such spaces is difficult to experience when there is a larger threat looming.

The greatest danger for the gardens is not an issue that can be easily remedied by money or time, but instead is the proliferation of placelessness, brought on by a combination of a great many social pressures. As discussed in Chapter 2.2.1, placelessness is a direct threat to stewardship. Stewardship within landscapes cannot be achieved if those spaces have not been recognized and embraced by individuals. In placeless spaces there is no stewardship. In order to acquire a sense of place, one can look to Alfred North Whitehead, an educational philosopher, whose concept of the acquisition of learning (in which there are three sequential steps: romance, precision, and systemic generalization) (Doll, 2005), directly pertains to the acquisition of sense of place. I am suggesting that there are four similar steps necessary for the acquisition of a sense of place, a here from which to care, generating a care that progresses into stewardship. These four steps are familiarity, romance, precision, and generalization leading to stewardship.

For the first stage, in order to acquire and then foster a sense of place, a person must become familiar with a place through a combination of occupation, story, or lineage. When they have spent time in the place, then romance may follow – an idealistic view of the world from that place, a space from which to fall in love with aspects of the space. It is when one views a place through romance that they begin to care. Romance can lead to precision in which a person can separate the place from the world, identify its unique qualities, and begin to see both its positive and its negative qualities, though one can also be blind to this step and those that follow. With the ability to discern the differences between a place and the larger world, comes systematic generalization leading to stewardship. In generalization one can remove oneself from the place and see it as a whole, something that one is a part of but that is also its own entity and, in being so, can be both built and destroyed, fostered and ignored. In stepping away from a place in order to see it clearly, one is able to be a steward of it and truly have a “sense of place” within that particular landscape. An individual is able to gain clarity from a distance and, at that time, choose to either become placeless and in search of another space to commit to or connect to, or become placed within that landscape.

Stewardship stems from familiarity. It is the deepest connection one can have to a place and it is a connection that is difficult to rekindle should that place to which a person is connected be destroyed. With no acquisition by persons of a sense of place, there is little chance that places may be preserved so that stewards might become a part of the landscape and work to preserve both the nature and communities there. To have stewards as part of the landscape provides advocacy for and awareness of the landscape.

Conversely, a lack of stewardship for landscapes leads to a built environment that lacks

recognition of the intrinsic value of ethnosphere.

As with Whitehead's notion of the steps necessary in the acquisition of learning, the acquisition of a sense of place is time-consuming and also a life-commitment. Such steps, however, are necessary for thriving and forming a kinship with place, allowing for stewardship to occur and an appreciation of the bigger picture of the importance of the world over oneself. The fostering of stewardship-based connections to spaces also brings an acute awareness of the changes that occur within the landscape, essentially re-attuning the individual to the natural rhythms of the landscape and their place. Failure or inability to engage in the four steps alienates individuals from the local environment and, in doing so, creates a sense of placelessness rather than of place. It is in the act of staying at home that the possibility to become placed becomes available:

Rediscovering the landscape and our place in it requires new ways of thinking about the relationships between humans and the natural world, and offers new challenges as well. Slowing down, staying put, opening our senses, practicing humility and restraint, knowing and caring for those around us, and finding our natural place in the world are simple yet significant steps in the rediscovery of place and the sense of community it holds (Vitek, 1996, p.1).

This research revealed that volunteering in the public gardens as Friends helps individuals to reconnect and to become the stewards of the landscape so crucial in today's urban environment. Tilly and Tilly distinguish four regions of work: the world of labour markets, the informal sector, household labour, and volunteer work. They define volunteer work as "unpaid work provided to parties to whom the worker owes no contractual, familial, or friendship obligations" (1994, p.291). Volunteer work, unlike the labor market and the informal sector, is uncommodified; unlike household labor, it is

freely undertaken. Thus, volunteering is identified as a type of work—“human effort that adds use value to goods and services” (1994, p.291).

Volunteers can be defined as those who give their time freely for the benefit of others, and I would suggest that, after speaking with the garden volunteers, for the benefit of themselves as well. This brief characterization does not deny that benefits may accrue to the donor; nor does it rule out altruistic motives. However, this definition does not require us to establish a “return” on the gift or a “right” motive (Wilson & Musick, 1997, p.695). “The essence of volunteerism is *not* altruism, but rather the contribution of services, goods, or money to help accomplish some desired end, without substantial coercion or direct remuneration” (Smith, 1981, p.33).

Sociologists Wilson and Musick suggest that volunteer work is based on several premises:

- 1) Volunteer work is a productive activity.
- 2) To a varying degree, volunteer work involves collective action.
- 3) The volunteer-recipient relationship is an ethical one.
- 4) Different types of volunteer work are related to each other. (1995, pp.695-698)

Each of these elements of volunteerism is present in each of the gardens examined.

During interviews these aspects were frequently referred to as motivation to engage with the gardens and the Friends programs.

The vast majority of the gardeners who volunteer in the three case study public gardens also volunteer in many other facets of society. This experience, for them, does not stop with one season, one day, but continues through the year and continues, too, to make the world a better place.

Parallels of both volunteerism and stewardship can be drawn between the Friends of the gardens and the Communities in Bloom program. “Communities in Bloom is a Canadian non-profit organization committed to fostering civic pride, environmental responsibility, and beautification through community involvement and the challenge of a national program, with focus on the promotion of green spaces in community settings” (Communities in Bloom, 2012). Through this program hundreds of volunteers coordinate to create gardens and healthier communities. Like Friends of the Garden programs, Communities in Bloom improves quality of life for neighbourhoods and creates a collective sense of stewardship (Communities in Bloom, 2007). Perhaps it is those initiatives such as the Friends programs and Communities in Bloom that truly engage the volunteer in a meaningful way within the natural environments of urban spaces. Such programs link stewards with place and the result is an enduring legacy.

Stewardship of the gardens also fosters their personalization. As Julian Edney suggests, without having a “physical space, possession, defense, exclusiveness of use, markers, personalization, and identity,” there can be no stewardship (Cited in Gifford, 1997, p.119). And through this sense of obligation and moral responsibility to the landscape, comes a deep respect and admiration, further entrenching the volunteer within the garden, thereby ensuring the legacies of the gardens continues.

By recognizing the stories of the gardeners and the significance of gardens for us today, we also recognize the significance of ourselves in our worlds. We nurture nature through gardens as antidotes to the city. We create places as opposition to spaces. We create beauty to counteract dullness. We create stories to remember who we are. Through our



experiences with gardens, whether as children learning the names of plants, adults walking dogs over the paths, or seniors viewing them from balconies, we are seeking alternative ways to live. And through those avenues, we find peace.

## **6.5 Chapter Six Summary**

This chapter explored the practice of public gardens and how the findings met and diverged from the research objectives. A comparative analysis of the primary field research and the literature considered the initial themes of aesthetics, ethnosphere, and home, while adding a fourth theme of stewardship as a component of sense-making in the garden. Through the consideration of all four themes, the connection between sense of place and urban public gardens in Canada was established and the need for stewardship of such places was affirmed. The following chapter concludes the thesis and suggests its academic and practical contributions as well as recommendations for further research.

## Chapter Seven: Home and the Garden: Conclusions

### 7.1 Thesis Summary

This thesis is guided by the following questions:

*What are the social and ecological values offered by experiences with public gardens? What might be discovered about those values through an exploration of why people volunteer their time supporting Canadian public gardens (as Friends)? Specifically, is there a connection between a sense of place and the re-creation of 'home' in those who frequent the gardens?*

These initial questions led to secondary objectives related to how various disciplines such as human ecology and landscape architecture might influence various ways of understanding the natural world around us, what influence gardens have on human populations both now and throughout history, and how both place and home relate to gardens.

The literature review provided insight into how the relationship between humans and nature has evolved, particularly in gardens. This led to the creation of the thesis meta-themes of aesthetics and ethnosphere, and suggested that these conceptions can be significant factors in the creation of sense-making and place-making, particularly in the garden.

Grounded research conducted in three public gardens in Ontario – Maplelawn Historic Garden in Ottawa, Rockway Gardens in Kitchener, and Spadina Museum Gardens in Toronto – provided insight into the experience of Friends in the gardens. Volunteers were identified as key interviewees as they have a high-level of engagement with such nature in an urban context and thus offered insight into both that relationship and also the roles

those gardens play in the larger cities in which they exist. The grounded research offered four main findings: garden as sanctuary, gardening as a way of life, gardening serves the greater public good, and gardens offer the opportunity to re-create home. This work led to the addition of a fourth meta-theme, that of stewardship.

A comparative analysis of literature and grounded research reveals that the four themes of aesthetics, ethnosphere, home, and stewardship all contribute to the sense of place experienced within urban public gardens. This experience closely resembles what some volunteers describe as home. An integrative analysis reveals that gardens are important and integral to Canadians who wish to see and publicly support these places.

The psychological impact of public gardens and the landscape on human well-being has largely been neglected in academic literature. The main tenets of contemporary public garden practices are derived from work related to botanical gardening and urban landscape design. Little mention is made of the relevance of such gardens to the visitors or the volunteers. Public gardens, however, can also play an important role in fostering a sense of place in communities, in both a historical and a contemporary context. It is through this work that sense of place is explored and, in particular, the four facets of the concept: aesthetics, ethnosphere, home, and stewardship. Literature (theory) reviews followed by ground-truthing (application) through case study research, have underscored the important niche in society and environment that public gardens in urban landscapes continue to occupy where individuals and their communities can find their “place” and, with that, enjoy a sense of well-being. Gardens have the potential to help in reinhabitation within urban landscapes, to beautify cities, and to connect communities with their homes in tangible and engaging ways, all of which foster a stronger sense of place.

The outcomes of the work include highlighting the importance of public gardens in several Canadian urban centres and the biophysical, socio-cultural, and economic implications of the rapid divide between people and such important areas, as evident in evolving notions of home and place. The thesis outlines the possibility that public gardens play a role in fostering sense of place in visitors which in turn contributes to a sense of home or belonging, and stewardship of communities and natural surroundings.

It has been suggested by gardeners and philosophers alike, including Capek (2008) and Pollan (1991) that because of the importance that gardens play in a longer stretch of time than individual humans have on earth, the ethos of the gardener is perhaps the best example of stewardship that can be found. If life is indeed a subset of gardening, rather than the other way around, then there is every reason to believe that if humankind has to entrust its future to anyone, it should entrust it to the gardener or, in another way of phrasing, ‘the steward’ of the garden (Harrison, 2008).

The gardener wants eleven hundred years to test, learn to know, and appreciate fully what is his.... We gardeners live somehow for the future; if roses are in flower, we think that next year they will flower better; and in some few years this little spruce will become a tree – only if those few years were behind me! I should like to see what these birches will be like in fifty years. The right, the best is in front of us (Capek in Harrison, 2008, p.37).

It is not only the ethos of the gardener that should be noted, but also the engagement they have with all facets of society: from docents, to tutors, to board presidents; through their volunteerism, they are connected with the greater whole of humanity. And it is through such community engagement that all four elements of place attachment are fostered: aesthetics, ethnosphere, home, and stewardship. Such engagement in the urban community and the fostering a selfless way of being, fosters beauty in the world, passes

wisdom down through generations, strengthens a sense of home, and reinforces a love of, and stewardship for people and places.

This thesis revealed that a surprising number of volunteers are well into retirement, and this is proportional to the percentage of Canadians who are retired, as noted in Chapter Five. These volunteers are highly engaged in society. They, however, occupy a niche of society that may not be re-occupied when they are no longer able to steward the gardens as they now do. As was noted in this research, without the volunteers, the gardens would not be as rich as they now are: volunteers are vital to these gardens. Such public gardens have been supported by the private and third sector (volunteers) throughout history. As this strong commitment has allowed for their very existence, it is important to recognize – through such work as this thesis – the enduring value and legacy created by such places in urban environments.

## **7.2 Contributions**

### **7.2.1 Practical Contributions**

The practical research contribution of this thesis lies in its exploration of an understanding of the dynamic relationship between the nexus of urban public gardens and sense of place in community engagement. The importance of gardens to a community is well-documented in literature, and yet the applicability of this to the perspectives of gardeners themselves and their attendant implications for social and ecological well-being is often neglected. Through grounded theory, interviews revealed that the concepts of ‘home’ and ‘sense of place’ are understood and contemplated by the Friends of the

gardens. This finding suggests that there is indeed a very strong connection between a sense of place and the re-creation of ‘home’ in those who frequent the gardens (volunteers).

A secondary contribution is to further develop the application of the grounded research methodologies of ethnographic research, ground-truthing, and participant-employed photography. These techniques have proven to provide a wealth of knowledge one would not otherwise be able to access. Such an approach takes months of preparation, contacting hundreds of leads, and creating relationships with the subjects that foster a level of trust – one is, after all, hearing very personal stories of what is of utmost importance to the volunteers. Being privy to such information and indeed trust requires much dedication to not only the topic but also the approach taken by the researcher. On a more academic scale, this approach has demonstrated that through careful planning, the resulting findings can be quite significant and unique unto themselves by revealing patterns and concepts that would not have been revealed by a less inductive approach to research.

The outcomes of the findings highlight the importance of public gardens across Canada in the quest to re-create the notion of home. The findings outline the possibility that public gardens play a role in fostering sense of place in visitors which in turn could contribute to a sense of home or belonging, and stewardship of communities and natural surroundings.

As John Muir was famously quoted as saying, “In every walk in nature, one receives far more than [she or] he seeks” (Browning, 2004). The Friends of the gardens fervently

describe reaping far more rewards for their efforts than they sow. Perhaps it is their devotion to something larger than themselves, their inherent connection to the gardens that they nurture, or the ways in which they continue to hone the skills they learned as children. They focus not on the now, necessarily, but on how their work today benefits the people who surround them, both today and the enduring qualities of their labour that extend far into the future. It is the gardeners themselves who create the enduring legacies of these landscapes; it is the gardeners who sustain them into the future.

The stories of the gardeners interviewed were compared to findings from the literature in order to fully grasp the impact of public gardens not only today but through time. These comparisons were then integrated into the examination of the volunteer culture existing both in society and on the smaller scale of the public gardens themselves.

### **7.2.2 Academic Contributions**

The research addresses at least five academic fields: anthropology, landscape architecture, environmental psychology, human geography, and English literature. It contributes to anthropology by applying the relatively new concept of ethnosphere to grounded theory, landscape architecture by considering the volunteers as essential components in the endurance of gardens, and environmental psychology by contributing to the understanding of both how individuals connect with their landscapes, but also the motivations behind such work. This research contributes to human geography by combining novel research techniques with narratives. This approach allows the experiences of the individual to be enhanced by the literature on the space itself through time. Thirdly, the research contributes to research literature by providing additional

stories of the landscape and making available voices and experiences that might otherwise go unnoticed.

The main tenets of current garden practices stem from works related to botanical gardening and urban landscape design, both subfields of planning. Furthermore, there is a lack of terminology to describe ‘place-making’ as actual ‘home-making’, in which gardens reflect, remind, and represent the places (geographically, psychologically, or socially) from which people come. In this paper the process is referred to as the ‘re-creation of home’. Such a normative, cross-disciplinary exploration is precisely what this study does.

This work contributes to the literature by expanding the focus of public gardens from one of botanical preservation to one that includes these individuals who work within these landscapes. This contribution brings a more human dimension to the work and research. Very few scholars have explored the importance of the notion of *home* in gardens and, complementarily, the importance of gardens to a visitor’s internal (psychological) and external (social) home, as this study does. Those scholars who have begun to consider these concepts together include Kennedy (1998), Plumptre (1993), and Wilson (1984).

Finally, the thesis contributes to the ways in which *place*, *aesthetics*, *ethnosphere*, *home*, and now *stewardship* are entrenched with one another when one considers how a person may connect with her/his surroundings.



### **7.3 Recommendations for Further Research**

There has been a resurgence in public interest towards gardening in recent years. This increased interest is due in part to economics, aesthetics, and a push for environmental, urban greening initiatives; examples include rooftop gardens that are also aesthetically-pleasing and community gardens that enhance the social and physical well-being of a community (Alaimo et al., 2010; Lawson, 2005; Wakefield et al., 2007). The motivation behind such a boom is not what it might have been in the past – the garden is slowly being transformed into a space more of production and less of admiration, but this still remains largely a product of an environmentalist fringe culture. In mainstream culture where ‘doing’ is expected, traditional public gardens do not oblige. They encourage us to sit and experience our work, but they do not produce, per say. This transition from witness to participant is a topic worthy of further inquiry.

Secondly, the age of the volunteer gardener is older but these members are not being replaced by younger generations. Whether due to time, interest, availability, or something else entirely, urban public gardens cannot exist as they are without such volunteers. In the absence of such gardens, an element of place is lost. Those who are engaged within the gardens, both as paid employees and as volunteers are aware of this trend but unsure of how to solicit a change. This, too, would be a topic worthy of further research as it is unclear from the research whether another generation of garden volunteers is ready to replace the current volunteers and without volunteers, an element of care in the gardens is lacking.

Unfortunately, gardens within cities are not accessible to everyone and, as was discussed in Section 6.1.2, proximity to the public often necessitates commutes for volunteers in some urban Canadian centres. “Public” gardens may denote availability to everyone, but without true access to those gardens, there are lost opportunities for engagement with such nature. This inaccessibility would be another area to be researched in depth; it has implications for urban planning as access to gardens can affect social and individual well-being.

Lastly, as was discovered in this research, volunteers tend to work within the gardens that resonate with them in some capacity and it has been discovered that this is often a resonance linking back to culture and ethnicity. With a diverse population, one cannot help but wonder whether the gardens are spaces of segregation and are not truly representing a diverse Canadian landscape. The fundamental idea of *public* garden would be fourth area worthy of further research. This is important because the Canadian landscape continues to be diverse and yet, despite such diversity, cultural public gardens are still unique.

## **7.4 Final Reflections**

From the physics gardens of the sixteenth century to today’s contemporary gardens, these spaces of plantings have been suggested as being imperative to developing notions of aesthetics, ethnosphere, home, and stewardship – the combination of which ultimately can result in place-making. And it is within these gardens, that the history of our nation is maintained, the biodiversity honoured, and the legacies established. These legacies of the

landscape, carefully woven into the fabric of the urban community, are tended so carefully by Friends who are tireless advocates of place. Their work provides for us the sanctuary infrequent in other facets of our lives. It is through their work in such landscapes that gardens might endure for us to continue to enjoy.

*Through this work I have been provided with the tremendous opportunity and perhaps impossible task of giving voice to the volunteer, giving credit to the stewards of the landscape. It is through this work that these dedicated volunteers have actually afforded me the sense of place that I need. They have demonstrated, with such passion, that an authentic way to live and to truly have a sense of well-being is through the experience of sense of place. Humanity lives out storied lives on storied landscapes and the confluence of those stories is a sense of place found within a garden.*

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