



Governing Environmental Challenges through Slow Nonviolence

Flower Bombs as Guerrilla G(u)ardening

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DECLARATION BY THE CANDIDATE

I hereby declare that this thesis, "*Governing Environmental Challenges through Slow Nonviolence: Flower Bombs as Guerrilla G(u)ardening*," is my own work and by my own effort only, and that it has not been accepted anywhere else for the award of any other degree or diploma. Where sources of information have been used, they have been acknowledged.

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Abstract

This research aims to address the human-centric bias in studies on guerrilla gardening and to explore “everyday” political strategies in relation to environmental challenges and climate adaptation. In particular, it investigates following a visual analysis of Instagram posts in the Netherlands, how between 2020 and 2024 guerrilla gardeners are politically expressing themselves through the seed bomb. The contents and intents of the images and texts were analysed from a critical and reflexive attitude, leading to findings that indicate guerrilla gardeners have forged alliances with the seed bomb to express themselves in a proactive manner against biodiversity loss and unsustainable, grey spaces. In this way, the practice resists and advocates for these challenges. Furthermore, the findings have shown, and I will argue that the biomaterial and plants are key to the political expression: it is central to forming the expression as the biomaterial grows itself and forms its ecological properties. Subsequently, it is vital for making sense of the politicalness of the action, considering the non-humans (the biomaterial and plants) offer a proposal. The greenery and flowers are improving the issues guerrilla gardeners want to address through the flower bomb: pollinator security and sustainable, positive environments. The thesis then offers a way forward in studies acknowledging the importance of human-plant relationships in cultural geography and politics, and alternative political spheres in relation to governing environmental challenges.

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1. Introduction

‘At its most simple, guerrilla gardening is “the illegal cultivation of someone else’s land”

(Adams et al. 2014, 2, referring to Reynolds 2008, 16).

This explanation of guerrilla gardening (GG), a practice gaining considerable attention, seems indeed simple enough. Guerrilla gardeners are often characterised as persons who are illegally gardening in underused spaces due to political reasons, for instance in order to ‘beautify neighbourhoods and increase biodiversity.’¹ The gardening activities referred to take different shapes: some are implicated in urban food gardens and tending for crops, while others are using flower seed bombs, a seemingly more momentarily or spontaneous act relating to gardening as these “bombs” – consisting of seeds, clay and compost – ‘can be hurled over fences or into vacant spaces.’² For the latter it is visible that it is gaining considerable popularity.³

This already shows how guerrilla gardening cannot be made sense of in a simple manner. The different approaches towards GG raise questions of why there is chosen for a particular method of gardening. Further, it is already shown within research that as well the reasons behind the gardening, are various. Still, Crane et al. write in an article that a lack of focus on GG on its own has ‘resulted in its awkward placement amid urban agriculture and spatial intervention with neither approach giving it in depth treatment,’ still the praxis is largely made sense of amidst studies on food security in the urban, or on reclaiming spaces.⁴

Recently there has been further engagement with the topic, where it also seems that GG is implicated in environmental politics, or governing (adaptation to) climate change. The forcing of urban green spaces through grassroot activities contributes to the adaptive capacities of cities even in the case the new green in the city established by guerrilla gardeners is of small-scale, this practice questions how space is (un)used, especially in relation to trends of privatisation and commercialisation. Thereby, guerrilla gardeners and scholars studying the practice, argue that practicing GG highlights the importance of greenery, nature and life in the city, so putting forward how urban green spaces should shape urban space.⁵ Besides, it is recognised that guerrilla gardening as a whole is implicated not only in urban planning, but also environmental politics, and topics such as biodiversity and a ‘life-affirming

¹ D. Adams, M. Hardman, and P. Larkham, ‘Exploring Guerilla Gardening: Gauging Public Views on the Grassroots Activity’, *Local Environment: The International Journal of Justice and Sustainability*, 2014, 2.

² D. Finn, ‘DIY Urbanism: Implications for Cities’, *Journal of Urbanism* 7, no. 4 (2014): 385; D. Boria, ‘Guerilla Gardening as Nonviolent Praxis: Existentialist Ethics in Food Deserts’, in *The Peace of Nature and the Nature of Peace* (Brill, 2015), 91–99; A. Millie, ‘Guerrilla Gardening as Normalised Law-Breaking: Challenges to Land Ownership and Aesthetic Order’, *Crime Media Culture* 19, no. 2 (2023): 195, <https://doi.org/10.1177/17416590221088792>.

³ A. Gralińska-Toborek, ‘The Aesthetics of Green Guerilla: From Activism to Fine Art’, *Urban Regeneration* 63, no. 1 (2021): 6.

⁴ A. Crane, L. Viswanathan, and G. Whitelaw, ‘Sustainability through Intervention: A Case Study of Guerilla Gardening in Kingston, Ontario’, *Local Environment* 18, no. 1 (2013): 71–90, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13549839.2012.716413>. I.e. D.J. Sackey, ‘Without Permission: Guerilla Gardening, Contested Places, Spatial Justice’, *Review of Communication* 22, no. 4 (2022): 366–67.

⁵ S. Baudry, ‘Plants as a Tool for DIY Urbanism: Between Guerilla and Institutionalisation’, *Romanian Journal of American Studies* 2 (2014): 41–43; H-L. P. Mees and P.J. Driessen, ‘Adaptation to Climate Change in Urban Areas: Climate-Greening London, Rotterdam, and Toronto’, *Climate Law* 2 (2011): 251–80; E. Apostolopoulou and P. Kotsila, ‘Community Gardening in Hellinikon as a Resistance Struggle against Neoliberal Urbanism: Spatial Autogestion and the Right to the City in Post-Crisis Athens, Greece’, *Urban Geography*, 2021, 1–3.

approach.’⁶ Even so, for instance flower bombing seems a small act, it can also be argued that the seed bombs are ‘small reminders in communities that resistance is possible, and that space, the right to grow, and the ability to have a fruitful relationship with the environment is possible.’⁷ Taking into consideration the importance to increase climate adaptation efforts and biodiversity conservation, this research then pursues an investigation in the topic to see how through this particular act, these challenges can be addressed and so the act has political implications. Thereby it aims to promote opening up thinking on different ways politically challenges of climate change effects can be addressed.⁸

Furthermore, there is then chosen for further investigation of GG, and more particularly flower bombing due to a perceived duality surrounding flower bombing. The metaphor and practice is said to be powerful to address socio-spatial injustices, nevertheless it also can be commercialised or normalised as a creative or fun activity with beneficiary effects for your surroundings.⁹ On top of this, it is critiqued that a large body of literature is ‘distanced, over-celebratory’ and implicated in a “heroic” representation of the guerrilla gardeners.¹⁰ In light of aforementioned ambiguities surrounding GG, the flower bomb’s possible relevance as a political act, and the increase in interest and practicing of flower bombing, it then matters to further expand a critical investigation in flower bombing in general.¹¹

A particular site of interest to undertake further research on the topic is the biomaterial, considering Jhagroe shows how there seems to be a ‘human-centric bias’ in research on urban gardening, an area of research pertaining to seed bombing.¹² An in-depth analysis of what flower bombing entails – by which I mean the zooming in on the biomaterial and the process from shaping, or buying, throwing the bomb to a blooming flower – is largely absent. This although Certomà makes sense of GG through post-environmentalism, already putting the material more central in how gardening can be political. It seems there is the space then to follow in her tracks and academically investigate further ‘the material politics’ and ‘everyday making and unmaking of the world [as] a political activity’ and how GG relates to this, considering how it ‘literally takes root.’¹³ Adding to investigations of material politics then seems relevant to advance critical scholarship on flower bombing and GG, and to acknowledge the importance of the biomaterial, how this is acted with, and *acts*.¹⁴

⁶ C. Certomà, ‘Critical Urban Gardening as a Post-Environmental Practice’, *Local Environment*, 2011, 7–8; B. Ionno et al., ‘Grassroot Gardening Movements: Towards Cooperative Forms of Green Urban Development?’, in *Urban Allotment Gardens in Europe*, ed. S. Bell et al. (New York: Routledge, 2016), 69.

⁷ A.K. Pitts et al., ‘Learning with the Seed Bomb: On a Classroom Encounter with Abolition Ecology’, *Grassroots – Journal of Political Ecology* 29 (2022): 305.

⁸ L. Head et al., ‘Vegetal Politics: Belonging, Practices and Places’, *Social and Cultural Geography* 15, no. 8 (2014): 867–69.

⁹ C. Certomà, ‘Critical Urban Gardening as a Post-Environmental Practice’, *Local Environment*, 2011, 7; Commercialisation was observed personally as a storechain called Action in the Netherlands sell flower bombs (2024), but also A. Gralińska-Toborek, ‘The Aesthetics of Green Guerilla: From Activism to Fine Art’, *Urban Regeneration* 63, no. 1 (2021): 6, describes commercialisation of guerilla gardening. A. de Biase, C. Marelli, and O. Zaza, ‘Urban Nature in the Digital Age: From Collective Urban Gardens to Individual Micro-Landscapes’, *Built Environment* 44, no. 3 (2018): 354–73, also shows how normalisation is present.

¹⁰ Adams, Hardman, and Larkham, ‘Exploring Guerilla Gardening’, 2–3.

¹¹ In this way I aim to expand a critical approach Tornaghi, in ‘Critical Geography of Urban Agriculture’, 553, already initiates in regard to Urban Agriculture.

¹² S. Jhagroe, ‘Fences, Seeds and Bees: The More-than-Human Politics of Community Gardening in Rotterdam’, *Urban Studies*, 2023, 4.

¹³ Tornaghi and Certomà, *Urban Gardening as Politics*, 40; S. Baudry and E. Eudes, ‘Urban Gardening: Between Green Resistance and Ideological Instrument’, in *The SAGE Handbook of Resistance* (Los Angeles, 2016), 476. Certomà (2011) as well describes the plants as ‘unstoppable,’ and ‘poking through a crack in the pavement’ and how this can also signal the idea behind the GG movement (8).

¹⁴ Certomà, ‘Critical Urban Gardening as a Post-Environmental Practice’.

This thesis will then aim to investigate flower seed bombing with attention for the biomaterial and will answer the following research question: how are some guerrilla gardeners politically expressing themselves through the flower seed bomb? In this way the thesis will advance critical scholarship on the particular point of seeing how guerrilla gardeners act together with biomaterial, and so advance the opening up ‘new spaces of political actions.’¹⁵ It will do so by turning to a visual analysis to create attention for the way in which the biomaterial provides a way of making the resistance/activism visible, but also “active” and possible, and is central to GG as the movement is mainly concerned with acting directly with biomaterial ‘as a means of political expression.’¹⁶ This is done from the idea that a “visual experience as ‘complex assemblages of virtual, material and symbolic elements.’”¹⁷ Visuals of the flower bombs, its workings, and its results can enable to interrogate the meaning given by the posters of the images and inherent to the flower seed bombs in a way that it fosters “different types of knowledge from those accessible through traditionally ‘representational’ modes like writing.”¹⁸ Although images are complex and mediated, these can provide insights into ‘aspects of social life’ and a glimpse into its contents, although these should be approached with caution.¹⁹ Still, such a glimpse can provide a way to see how ‘non-humans things speak and make human beings heard in traditional political assemblages.’²⁰ For the topic of this thesis, the seed bombs, it then seems a way in to shift somewhat away from the human-centric bias in studies of GG and so create research into collections composed of humans and non-humans which are all active agents, rather than linger on discourses and reasons.²¹

The visual analysis will use publicly generated data of flower seed bombing in the Netherlands from 2020 to 2024. The focus on this context of the Netherlands and recent years is chosen on grounds of relevance, popularity and ambiguity surrounding the practice in this state’s society. Newspaper articles show there are workshops for kids in which they learn to make flower seed bombs, as well its popularity is evident in the way it is made into an art project gaining attention, and the way the municipality in Rotterdam is providing flower seed bombs to its population.²² On the one hand it is kind of tolerated by municipalities and police, seen as a positive act, and put forward as a nice, sustainable present to give. On the other hand it is noted that in the end it is still a form of political resistance, or self-proposed action, and an illegal way of creating greener urban spaces, which can result in conflicts with the municipality and police.²³ In this backdrop the research also holds societal relevance as the

¹⁵ Head et al., ‘Vegetal Politics’, 867.

¹⁶ Certomà, ‘Critical Urban Gardening as a Post-Environmental Practice’; C. Certomà and C. Tornaghi, ‘Political Gardening, Transforming Cities and Political Agency’, *Local Environment* 20, no. 10 (2015): 1123.

¹⁷ E. Roberts, ‘Geography and the Visual Image: A Hauntological Approach’, *Progress in Human Geography* 37, no. 3 (2013): 386–402.

¹⁸ G. Rose, ‘On the Relation between “visual Research Methods” and Contemporary Visual Culture’, *The Sociological Review* 62 (2013): 24–46; Roberts, ‘Geography and the Visual Image: A Hauntological Approach’.

¹⁹ S. Spencer, ‘Visual Analysis’, in *Visual Research Methods in the Social Sciences* (London: Routledge, 2022), 202; Roberts, ‘Geography and the Visual Image: A Hauntological Approach’; L. Pozzer-Ardenghi and W.-F. Roth, ‘Making Sense of Photographs’, 2004, 219–20.

²⁰ Tornaghi and Certomà, *Urban Gardening as Politics*, 41.

²¹ Certomà, ‘Critical Urban Gardening as a Post-Environmental Practice’, 8.

²² K. Doorestijn, “‘Guerrilla Gardening’: Stiekem Fleurt Semilla de Stad Op Met Zaadbommen’, *Het Parool*, n.d.; P. van Brummelen, ‘Zadenraket Naar Naziontwerp Brengt Geen Verderf, Maar Leven’, *Het Parool*, 14 August 2020; T. Hoes, “‘Bloemen Planten Waar Je Ze Niet Wegschoffelt!’; Natuur Huizen Kleurrijker Dankzij Zaadbommengooiers’, *De Gooi- En Eemlander*, 21 April 2022; Rotterdamse Redactie, ‘Uitdelen van Zaadbommen’, *De Telegraaf*, 9 May 2019.

²³ ‘Louise (76) Wil Moesstraat Vergroenen Maar Oogst Een Proces Verbaal Vanwege Baldadigheid’, Sikkom, 21 March 2023, <https://www.sikkom.nl/actueel/Louise-76-wil-Moesstraat-vergroenen-maar-oogst-een-proces-verbaal-vanwege-baldadigheid-28312998.html>;

investigation advances knowledge of, and attention for a practice implicated in addressing climate change effects in urban spaces and environmental challenges. Besides, it is societally relevant research considering the extent the practice is embraced in the Netherlands, but the practice is ambiguous as well. In light of this, the research advances critical understanding and awareness surrounding the practice by opening up how political expression actually takes shape and what it argues to bring. By extension, the research then tries to see how it might hold significance as an alternative, more personal or “private” way of climate adaptation governance and governance of environmental challenges.

Before diving into this analysis, a literature review will be carried out to see how flower bombing relates to GG and how investigations focused on exploring reasons for and political aspects of GG. It will be followed by establishing theory which will guide the rest of the research. Then, the methodology will be more thoroughly explained and provide clear steps for data collection and selection, and reading images and accompanying texts by turning to guiding questions. Afterwards, results of the visual analysis will be presented, which show distinguished categories of subjects of images and texts, such as insights into the material forms of the seed bombs, its stages of growing, reference and presence of colours, next to themes of greening, biodiversity, easy action, and pollinators. The results then will be brought back to central findings showing how in the Netherlands seed bombs are active agents, seed bombing is an informal practice to politically express in a proactive and practical manner on matters of biodiversity and ecological resilience, and of creating a positive environment. Moreover, the political expression is closely related to do-it-yourself (DIY) as this is present in how alliances are formed with non-humans and in the (re)making of space. In conclusion the study will show that some guerrilla gardeners make use of the seed bomb in the Netherlands to politically express themselves in a proactive manner about biodiversity loss and stress on pollinators. Alliances are indeed forged between humans and plants, in a way marking the relational agency of the non-humans and humans, but moreover how the biomaterial and plants are active and key to forming of the political expression.

2. Literature review

2.1 Grassroots and the metaphor of fighting a little war

Some guerrilla gardeners are saying that they ‘are fighting a war.’²⁴ Millie describes that this ‘little war’ contains a battle over resources and land, but also a battle against ‘environmental abuse and wasted opportunities.’²⁵ Besides, their motivations are explained as ‘aim[ing] to counter state violence with a total mutation of terms,’ so showing links to social justice activism.²⁶ Reynolds, a self-proclaimed guerrilla gardener, writes moreover, ‘it is a battle in which bullets are replaced with flowers (most of

K. Dorrestijn, ‘Zaadbom Leggen, Niemand Zeggen’, *Het Parool*, 12 August 2021, sec. PS; A. Zwartbol, ‘Kale Gemeenteperken? Deze Guerrilla Gardener Zet Er Stilletjes Planten In’, *Nederlands Dagblad*, 8 October 2022, Zaterdag edition.

²⁴ G. Badger, ‘Digging, Sowing, Tending, Harvesting (Making War-Fair)’, *Public* 41 (2013): 123.

²⁵ Millie, ‘Guerrilla Gardening as Normalised Law-Breaking’, 192.

²⁶ Badger, ‘Digging, Sowing, Tending, Harvesting (Making War-Fair)’, 123.

the time).²⁷ Although there rather seems to be a nonviolent struggle, still guerrilla gardeners engage in a practice which interferes with public property or spaces that do not belong to them, thereby crossing laws. However, it is stated that “it is a practice that is overlooked largely by criminology, yet it can tell us something about attitudes to law and land ownership and challenges the approved aesthetic order of where we live.”²⁸

Besides, looking at the use of militaristic word use and claiming the activity ‘as a form of militant resistance,’ it seems interesting to shortly consider why this name is taken up and how the movement has started, before diving into further research surrounding GG.²⁹ The taking up of “guerrilla gardening” likely has emerged out of the Green Guerrillas, a group in the 1970s in New York, who were inspired by ‘the special importance of vegetation’ in resistance movements by ‘Vietnamese troops and the Vietcong.’³⁰ For them the reference to guerrilla wars as a metaphor for the group highlighted the move from state-led city gardening to a grass-root activity. Taking up the name guerrilla to its gardening efforts highlighted their efforts in improving urban conditions on their own, rather than go along with the unwillingness of the government to do so.³¹ Yet, appropriation of the term brings with it risks. Although it is used in a manner to show allegiance and solidarity, it also might risk reproduction of “the homogenizing tendency of Western imperialism and colonialism.”³²

2.2 Making sense of why guerrilla gardening is undertaken

To move into what research has been undertaken on GG, guerrilla gardening is often examined within works of political ecology and critical urban geographers.³³ These strands of research have a perspective attentive to uncovering why the practice is taking place and how it is socio-politically structured. The root causes they have identified for what has driven guerrilla gardeners, are multiple. For one, research has uncovered the goal of guerrilla gardeners can be the reclaiming of space, in this way creating maintenance of public space, and beautifying the aesthetics of the city, but also challenging privatisation and commercialisation of space.³⁴ Next to this, guerrilla gardeners also engage in the practice in order to advance biodiversity and the right to ‘urban nature.’³⁵ Yet, next to the grounds for GG mentioned earlier, the actions are also acknowledged in relation to ‘local-level or grassroots response to the negative effects of climate change and global warming.’³⁶ A link is then already established between climate change’s effects and why GG is undertaken.

²⁷ R. Reynolds, *On Guerrilla Gardening: A Handbook for Gardening without Boundaries* (London: Bloomsbury, 2009).

²⁸ Millie, ‘Guerrilla Gardening as Normalised Law-Breaking’, 191.

²⁹ Badger, ‘Digging, Sowing, Tending, Harvesting (Making War-Fair)’, 123.

³⁰ Badger, 124.

³¹ Badger, 124; Sackey, ‘Without Permission’, 373; Ionnou et al., ‘Grassroot Gardening Movements’, 65.

³² Badger, ‘Digging, Sowing, Tending, Harvesting (Making War-Fair)’, 124.

³³ Apostolopoulou and Kotsila, ‘Community Gardening in Hellinikon’.

³⁴ Baudry, ‘Plants as a Tool for DIY Urbanism’; Apostolopoulou and Kotsila, ‘Community Gardening in Hellinikon’; Adams, Hardman, and Larkham, ‘Exploring Guerilla Gardening’; Ionnou et al., ‘Grassroot Gardening Movements’, 64.

³⁵ Baudry, ‘Plants as a Tool for DIY Urbanism’; Apostolopoulou and Kotsila, ‘Community Gardening in Hellinikon’; Adams, Hardman, and Larkham, ‘Exploring Guerilla Gardening’.

³⁶ A. Thornton, ‘Urban Guerilla Gardening and Health’, in *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Global Public Health* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023).

Moreover, the same line of research on uncovering motives for GG, have directly been coupled to investigations into how GG is a form of political action or resistance. There is explored how the practice is a grassroots activity and makes use of a ‘commoning’ basis.³⁷ It is marked in research that GG is related to the democratisation of space, and put forward that the guerrilla gardening movement’s manifesto shows it as a ‘practice of land reappropriation and citizen’s intervention’ and active space-making³⁸ As already highlighted in the section which showed the research on the origins and naming of GG, it is visible that taking up “guerrilla” in the name of their activities was a deliberate choice to highlight the politicalness of their act and their mode of operating. It is an ‘act of defiance’ as ‘their gardening confronts’ while as well it offers a proposal with their rejection: the informal, or illegal gardening – there is some debate on how to typologise it – is a proposal to question and gain spatial justice, and socially producing and changing space.³⁹ Besides it is a proposal for building communities through grassroots production.⁴⁰ In this way Boria calls it a nonviolent praxis, considering the rejection is also a way of taking action and moving to more positive spheres through their ‘ecologically-centred projects.’⁴¹

2.3 Turning to the plants and investigating the flower seed bomb

By extension of the aforementioned ways in which there is made sense of GG’s relations to politics, there has research emerged which is concerned with human-plant relationships and its connection to GG and urban activism. Investigations are redirected towards the forged alliances between gardeners and plants and animals (non-humans), and how this relates to the form of politics: material, or even vegetal politics.⁴² For one, Tornaghi and Certomà – and Certomà in other investigations as well – argue that non-humans are central to repoliticising environmental issues in light of their power in relation to material politics. The plants, thus biomaterial, are used in view of the idea that “every plant is political.”⁴³ By forming alliances with non-humans like plants, GG is a political practice which works on practices rather than theory, and sets forward ‘engaged ecology.’⁴⁴

Besides, there is engaged with the term vegetal politics in relation to plants and their influence and relations (collaborative and conflicting) to humans and others. This strand of scholarship is in line with the broader engagement and interest in human-plant relationships, and gaining ‘closer attention to

³⁷ I.e. visible in Apostolopoulou and Kotsila, ‘Community Gardening in Hellinikon’.

³⁸ Baudry, ‘Plants as a Tool for DIY Urbanism’; C. Tornaghi, ‘Critical Geography of Urban Agriculture’, *Progress in Human Geography* 38, no. 4 (2014): 557; Millie, ‘Guerrilla Gardening as Normalised Law-Breaking’, 1996; D. Spataro, ‘Against a De-Politicized DIY Urbanism: Food Not Bombs and the Struggle over Public Space’, *Journal of Urbanism: International Research on Peacemaking and Urban Sustainability* 9, no. 2 (n.d.): 185–201.

³⁹ Boria, ‘Guerrilla Gardening as Nonviolent Praxis: Existentialist Ethics in Food Deserts’, 91, 95; Sackey, ‘Without Permission’, 366–67.

⁴⁰ Boria, ‘Guerrilla Gardening as Nonviolent Praxis: Existentialist Ethics in Food Deserts’, 91, 95; S.N. Spijker and C. Parra, ‘Knitting Green Spaces with the Threads of Social Innovation in Groningen and London’, *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management*, 2017, 2.

⁴¹ Boria, ‘Guerrilla Gardening as Nonviolent Praxis: Existentialist Ethics in Food Deserts’, 92.

⁴² Tornaghi and Certomà, *Urban Gardening as Politics*, 40; Head et al., ‘Vegetal Politics’; S. Elton, ‘Growing Methods: Developing Methodology for Identifying Plant Agency and Vegetal Politics in the City’, *Environmental Humanities* 13, no. 1 (2021): 93–112; I.-A. Bobei, ‘Caring for the Weeds: A Vegetalised Approach to Urban Activism and Participatory Art’, *Journal of Ecohumanism* 3, no. 1 (2024): 45–66.

⁴³ Tornaghi and Certomà, *Urban Gardening as Politics*, 40; Certomà, ‘Critical Urban Gardening as a Post-Environmental Practice’; D. Tracey, *Guerrilla Gardening: A Manual* (Canada: New Society Publishers, 2007), 32.

⁴⁴ Certomà, ‘Critical Urban Gardening as a Post-Environmental Practice’, 7, 9.

what plants do.’⁴⁵ In line of scholarship on vegetal politics, Elton has put forward a methodology to ‘decenter the researcher,’ for which she as well studied the human-plant relations and relational agency (for edible plants).⁴⁶ Thereby, she revealed evidence that edible plants engage politically in the social sphere. Still, then she asks whether agency for ‘ornamental plants that do not support food security’ – such as possibly sprung from the flower seed bombs – would be different, so showing there remain questions surrounding vegetal politics.⁴⁷

Turning to the materiality and “vegetallity” of the practice is also relevant considering the acknowledgment in academics that flowers can be political, and are certainly connected to ‘social and cultural values,’ and can raise emotions.⁴⁸ Practical examples are the red poppies in relation to commemorating military deaths in the First World War. And the production of the white poppy, later on, to draw attention to peace rather than war, which seems to hold symbolic power as it challenges nation-state’s monopoly on violence and creates an anti-war stance.⁴⁹ In relation to the GG movements, flowers also hold value. Although it is not the only line of plants of interest, the flowers (especially wildflowers) can put forward a ‘bright, uncontrolled note to a harsh space’ such as city characteristics of ‘concrete and bare dirt.’⁵⁰ Moreover, in the aim of defining the movement, Reynolds holds to the metaphor of ‘a battle’ and notes how for this battle ‘bullets are replaced with flowers.’⁵¹

Yet, in relation to the seed bomb, current investigations have limitedly provided an in-depth analysis of the practise. Let alone, a concrete exploration into the material, and/or vegetal politics of the seed bomb is minimal. At this point seed bombing is established as a specific method of GG which is introduced as ‘smaller, less spectacular and less confrontational acts of guerrilla gardening’ in a book on radical gardening practices.⁵² There has been short explanations of what it entails and how it originated. To start with the latter, there is pointed to several sites of origin. There is pointed to Fukuoka who popularised the seed bombs in a book on ‘revolutionary farming methods’ in order to propose a manner of ‘do nothing farming’ in the creation of ecosystems which are anti-authoritarian.⁵³ Furthermore, there is pointed to the 1970s and guerrilla gardening movements who also took up the seed bomb to reach enclosed spaces to ‘help to spontaneously produce gardens in spaces of dispossession, slumlording, and structural neglect.’⁵⁴ The seed bombs are able to do so because of the shape they take: they are balls made of soil, seeds, fertiliser and clay, and need sun and water to sprout. Although they

⁴⁵ H. Pitt, ‘On Showing and Being Shown Plants - a Guide to Methods for More-than-Human Geography’, *Area* 47, no. 1 (2014): 48.

⁴⁶ Elton, ‘Growing Methods’, 95.

⁴⁷ Elton, 109.

⁴⁸ C. Ziegler, *Favored Flowers: Culture and Economy in a Global System* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2007), 16; U. Frevert, ‘The Emotional Language of Flowers’, in *Feelings Materialized: Emotions, Bodies, and Things in Germany, 1500-1950*, by A.T. Allen et al. (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2020), 202–21.

⁴⁹ G. McKay, *Radical Gardening: Politics, Idealism & Rebellion in the Garden* (London: Frances Lincoln Limited Publishers, 2011), 79–86.

⁵⁰ G. Friesinger, J. Grenzfurthner, and T. Ballhausen, eds., *Urban Hacking: Cultural Jamming Strategies in Risky Spaces of Modernity* (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2010), 77.

⁵¹ Reynolds, *On Guerrilla Gardening*, 13.

⁵² McKay, *Radical Gardening: Politics, Idealism & Rebellion in the Garden*, 189.

⁵³ Pitts et al., ‘Learning with the Seed Bomb’, 305; Badger, ‘Digging, Sowing, Tending, Harvesting (Making War-Fair)’; A. Dunlap, ‘The Direction of Ecological Insurrections: Political Ecology Comes to Daggers with Fukuoka’, *Journal of Political Ecology* 27 (2020): 996, 1001.

⁵⁴ Pitts et al., ‘Learning with the Seed Bomb’, 305.

are of limited size, they are described as literally and metaphorically powerful in ‘opening up cracks’ and remind how resistance is within reach, a right to grow is there, and return ecological hope to spaces of deterioration.⁵⁵ Bobei has then made a remark, which brings together these already proposed understandings of flower bombing, but also starts its relation to material and vegetal politics:

“Seed bombing, the central act of guerilla gardening, becomes not only a tool to trespass privatised areas entrapped in decay but also an *active agent* in disrupting the borders between private and public space, nature and culture, an activity that encourages citizens to ‘invest sites and spaces with new meaning and value’ (Pedersen, 2018, 14).”⁵⁶

Research on the seed bomb has then established how it is a central tool for practicing guerrilla gardening and that it is an active agent. Moreover, there is pointed to the forming of alliances between guerrilla gardeners and non-humans like plants and pollinators, and the importance of just these non-humans in order to understand how GG is political, and what political implications of gardening are. In relation to the seed bomb, Bobei has then also brought up how these are an ‘active agent’, thereby establishing moreover the plant-human relationship in this practice. This then provides the foundation to further inquire how some guerrilla gardeners politically express through flower bombing, and generate an investigation which questions the extent of the human and shifts attention towards other actors and forms of political power.

3. Theory, methodology and ethical considerations

3.1 Conceptualisations and theory on guerrilla gardening and the importance of the biomaterial of the flower bomb

To elaborate on the main theories and concepts my thesis will build, firstly the thesis will build on scholarship on guerrilla gardening and its connection to a political practice. The thesis will build upon the conceptualisation of Boria who links the term nonviolence to GG, as the practice forms resistance to various topics, such as ‘access to affordable fresh food,’ climate change effects, privatisation and decay of spaces, but also proposing change with their socio-ecological practice.⁵⁷ Here it comes together how GG is a political practice, marked by their expressive and critical acts through (bio)material, rather than proposing theory.⁵⁸ Also, the conceptualisation of GG as nonviolence brings to the attention that although there is acted locally, there is thought globally. The bottom-up approach is central to the practice.⁵⁹ Moreover, and more importantly, the forming an alliance with nonhumans can easily be highlighted in relation to GG as nonviolence: the proposal in the act seems to be receding in the turn to engaging with ecology and forming alliances with nonhumans. In this way, Certomà’s thinking on GG

⁵⁵ Pitts et al., 305–6.

⁵⁶ Bobei, ‘Caring for the Weeds’, 55, italics were added.

⁵⁷ Boria, ‘Guerrilla Gardening as Nonviolent Praxis: Existentialist Ethics in Food Deserts’, 91; Apostolopoulou and Kotsila, ‘Community Gardening in Hellinikon’.

⁵⁸ Boria, ‘Guerrilla Gardening as Nonviolent Praxis: Existentialist Ethics in Food Deserts’; Crane, Viswanathan, and Whitelaw, ‘Sustainability through Intervention’, 76; Certomà, ‘Critical Urban Gardening as a Post-Environmental Practice’.

⁵⁹ Certomà, ‘Critical Urban Gardening as a Post-Environmental Practice’; Ionou et al., ‘Grassroot Gardening Movements’, 81.

and critical gardening is also important for the way in which this thesis conceptualises GG.⁶⁰ The idea that GG is a political practice in this way, will then be the understanding of guerrilla gardening underscored within the research, while it also is acknowledged that it is possible not all persons who are engaging with flower seed bombing see it as this necessarily.

Flower seed bombing is then put forward as a manner of GG very characteristic to it.⁶¹ Sometimes it is also referred to as flower bombing or seed bombing, or grenade instead of bomb to refer to the shape the tool has.⁶² The same is also visible in this research. As aforementioned at its core it are balls with seeds inside it, or consisting of seeds. Still, it is shown that seeds bombs have become commercialised, which can take away from its essence within green guerrilla: ‘ecological and social activism.’⁶³ The concept can then be understood as a ‘popular weapon’ or tool within guerrilla gardening.⁶⁴

In particular, with flower bombing at its core, this research wants to highlight the importance of the biomaterial, like seeds, plants, flowers and other natural elements. Although seed bombs are regarded an infamous tool of guerrilla gardeners, and a way of growing greens where human interaction and reach is limited, still it is argued there is a human bias in academically understanding GG.⁶⁵ In the understanding of GG and flower seed bombing that the research will advance, the biomaterial will be seen as key, and in this way build upon Certomà and Bobei who already showed how a seed bomb is ‘an active agent.’⁶⁶ As well, it will acknowledge powers of plants in view of research showing how flowers are political and hold sociocultural meanings.⁶⁷

3.2 Drawing inspiration from slow nonviolence to highlight the particular workings of guerrilla gardening and its use of biomaterial

Next to this this research will draw inspiration from slow nonviolence in the way in which flower bombing (and more generally GG) will be understood and how this will inform the analysis. Slow nonviolence is a concept which is elaborated upon by Piedalue as something which turns to “less visible and somewhat quieter spaces of anti-violence struggle, thereby demanding critical engagement with the ideas and world-making authored by those working to undo violence and cultivate peace *with* justice.”⁶⁸ Drawing inspiration from the concept slow nonviolence is pursued considering the literature pointing to the background of GG as a form of resistance or social activism, which Boria already named a nonviolent

⁶⁰ Certomà, ‘Critical Urban Gardening as a Post-Environmentalist Practice’, 9.

⁶¹ Gralińska-Toborek, ‘The Aesthetics of Green Guerilla’, 6; S. Boyd, ‘Shield’s Guerilla Gardeners: Sowing Seeds of Defiance and Care’, in *The Worlds of Carol Shields*, ed. D. Staines (University of Ottawa Press, 2014), 177–96.

⁶² Tracey, *Guerrilla Gardening: A Manual*, 34.

⁶³ Gralińska-Toborek, ‘The Aesthetics of Green Guerilla’, 6–7.

⁶⁴ Badger, ‘Digging, Sowing, Tending, Harvesting (Making War-Fair)’; Tracey, *Guerrilla Gardening: A Manual*, 93–95.

⁶⁵ Boyd, ‘Shield’s Guerilla Gardeners: Sowing Seeds of Defiance and Care’, 177; Jhagroe, ‘Fences, Seeds and Bees’, 4.

⁶⁶ Certomà, ‘Critical Urban Gardening as a Post-Environmentalist Practice’, 7; Bobei, ‘Caring for the Weeds’, 55.

⁶⁷ I.e. visible in McKay, *Radical Gardening: Politics, Idealism & Rebellion in the Garden*, 79–86, where is described how two poppy manifestations and a rose species are tied to peace and war.

⁶⁸ R. Pain and C. Cahill, ‘Critical Political Geographies of Slow Violence and Resistance’, *EPC: Politics and Space* 40, no. 2 (2022): 364, citing A.D. Piedalue, ‘Slow Nonviolence: Muslim Women Resisting the Everyday Violence of Dispossession and Marginalization’, *EPC: Politics and Space*, no. 2 (2022): 376.

praxis. By linking *slow* nonviolence to GG (and seed bombing), the theory aids in acknowledging this explored context of it being a political act, and it can draw attention to the way in which this activism is taking the particular form of acting with biomaterial. Accordingly, drawing upon the idea of slow nonviolence then promotes the opening up of investigations into the biomaterial.

To elaborate on what Piedalue puts forward on slow nonviolence and what has influenced her research, she has put the concept forward in a research on resisting everyday violence ‘of dispossession and marginalization’ experienced by Muslim women in Seattle.⁶⁹ She argued and theorised here a resistance to the marginalisation was invoked in every-day embedded approaches, in this way leading to ‘long-term, incremental (but substantial) change which not only responds to violence, but is also productive of alternative visions and modalities of nonviolent social relationships and interdependencies.’⁷⁰ She builds upon scholarship uncovering various modes of violence, thereby questioning what violence entails. For instance, structural violence, was investigated by Galtung who aimed at identifying ‘more clearly the ways in which stability and tranquillity (often if not always mistaken for peace) mask deeper and more pervasive violence.’⁷¹

Nixon has built upon this scholarship and explained another type of ‘less visible, direct and immediate forms’ of violence: slow violence.⁷² He unfolds this concept as ‘a violence that is neither spectacular nor instantaneous, but rather incremental and accretive, its calamitous repercussions playing out across a range of temporal scales.’⁷³ Thereby there is an added attention of temporal dimensions and lingering effects of (structural) violence.⁷⁴ Slow violence has been taken up in environmental studies, but also in studies within a socio-political background.⁷⁵ Other scholars have also added to theoretical investigations into the concept, such as Christian and Dowler who provide a feminist theorising of slow violence, in order to deal with representational challenges surrounding slow violence.⁷⁶ Piedalue then is also advancing a focus on unfolding and gradual violence, and does so by relating it again to other works on violence, namely scholarship on nonviolence and antiviolence. These strands show how there are forms of “violence,” or rather activism (and advocacy), struggle for justice, resisting violence, or cultivating peace in a world with power relations beyond the state-level.⁷⁷ I want to add to this idea that

⁶⁹ Piedalue, ‘Slow Nonviolence’.

⁷⁰ Piedalue, 374.

⁷¹ A. Dilts et al., ‘Revisiting Johan Galtung’s Concept of Structural Violence’, *New Political Science* 34, no. 2 (2012): 192.

⁷² A. Barnwell, ‘Family Secrets and the Slow Violence of Social Stigma’, *Sociology* 53, no. 6 (2019): 1114–15.

⁷³ Pain and Cahill, ‘Critical Political Geographies of Slow Violence and Resistance’, 360; R. Nixon, *Slow Violence and the Environmentalism of the Poor* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011), 2.

⁷⁴ C. Cahill and R. Pain, ‘Representing Slow Violence and Resistance: On Hiding and Seeing’, *ACME: An International Journal for Critical Geographies* 18, no. 5 (2019): 1054, 1056; Barnwell, ‘Family Secrets’, 1114–15.

⁷⁵ Barnwell, ‘Family Secrets’, 1114–15, 1119; L. Mayblin, *Impoverishment and Asylum: Social Policy as Slow Violence* (London: Routledge, 2020); R. Belt, ‘The Fat Prisoners’ Dilemma: Slow Violence, Intersectionality, and Disability Rights Framework for the Future’, *The Georgetown Law Journal* 110 (2021): 785–833.

⁷⁶ J.M. Christian and L. Dowler, ‘Slow and Fast Violence: A Feminist Critique of Binaries’, *ACME: An International Journal for Critical Geographies* 18, no. 5 (2019): 1066–75. The representational challenge being the question how some violence becomes represented, rather than other violence.

⁷⁷ Piedalue, ‘Slow Nonviolence’, 376; J.M. Lloyd, ‘Geographies of Peace and Antiviolence’, *Geography Compass* 8, no. 6 (2012): 477–89; D.E. Howes, ‘The Failure of Pacifism and the Success of Nonviolence’, *American Political Science Association* 11, no. 2 (2013): 430.

‘quieter spaces of antiviolence’ are also ‘working to undo violence’ and might particularly be successful in dealing with (slow) violence.⁷⁸

Especially in view of the way guerrilla gardening is argued to be a form of advocacy in light of the slow violence of climate change and its impacts. It even has been written by Tracey that even though ‘war rhetoric’ is used in GG, it is in the end a nonviolence approach.⁷⁹ A similar point it is argued by Apostolopoulou and Kotsila, that GG is a form of active resistance, while as well Baudry notes it is nonaggressive resistance.⁸⁰ Furthermore, the understanding this research marking it as a “critical” form of resistance, creates the possibility to then conceptualise it further as a form of slow nonviolence. Moreover, actually moving towards an investigation into *slow* nonviolence then seems increasingly interesting looking at this thesis’ subject: the seed bomb. It seems ever more related to the everyday, as there seems an ongoing duality of flower bombing as the metaphor and practice is said to be powerful to address socio-spatial injustices, yet it also can be commercialised or normalised as a creative or fun activity with beneficiary effects for your surroundings.⁸¹ Besides, flower bombing might also be implicated into aspects of time and temporality, as on the one hand it is in a moment throwing the bomb of flower seeds, only the flowers grow and become visible over time. So, it is possibly showing another tie to slow nonviolence, namely the incrementality of the practice. Lastly, I would argue it makes sense to investigate the flower bombing in relation to slow nonviolence, as slow nonviolence was said to be useful in addressing violence which remains largely unseen through its persistent addressing of the issue through the everyday.⁸² Flower bombing seems not only this, but it also seems to deal with the issue of overcoming invisibility of certain violence considering the practice brings material opposition to the topic – such as unsustainable or neglected urban spaces, and climate change and its effects – it wants to address.⁸³

In conclusion, guerrilla gardening, and the flower seed bombing as GG will then be understood as a critical, political act – in light of taking practical action as a form of resistance, which also presents a proposal – for which biomaterial is a vital component. Taking inspiration from slow nonviolence and relating this to the conceptualisation of GG and seed bombing this research advances, then creates more focus on the workings of biomaterial and context of the practice.⁸⁴ However, within this research it will

⁷⁸ Piedalue, ‘Slow Nonviolence’, 373–74, 376; Certomà and Tornaghi, ‘Political Gardening’, 1125.

⁷⁹ Boyd, ‘Shield’s Guerilla Gardeners: Sowing Seeds of Defiance and Care’, 177.

⁸⁰ Apostolopoulou and Kotsila, ‘Community Gardening in Hellinikon’; Sandrine Baudry, ‘Reclaiming Urban Space as Resistance: The Infrapolitics of Gardening’, *Revue Française d’études Américaines* 131, no. 1 (2012): 32–48.

⁸¹ C. Certomà, ‘Critical Urban Gardening as a Post-Environmental Practice’, *Local Environment*, 2011, 7; Commercialisation was observed personally as a storechain called Action in the Netherlands sell flower bombs (2024), but also A. Gralińska-Toborek, ‘The Aesthetics of Green Guerilla: From Activism to Fine Art’, *Urban Regeneration* 63, no. 1 (2021): 6, describes commercialisation of guerilla gardening. A. de Biase, C. Marelli, and O. Zaza, ‘Urban Nature in the Digital Age: From Collective Urban Gardens to Individual Micro-Landscapes’, *Built Environment* 44, no. 3 (2018): 354–73, also shows how normalisation is present.

⁸² Piedalue, ‘Slow Nonviolence’.

⁸³ Material opposition as I call it, is also argued by i.e. Baudry, ‘Plants as a Tool for DIY Urbanism’. Certomà, ‘Critical Urban Gardening as a Post-Environmental Practice’, 5; Adams, Hardman, and Larkham, ‘Exploring Guerilla Gardening’, 10.

⁸⁴ McKay, *Radical Gardening: Politics, Idealism & Rebellion in the Garden*.

be acknowledged as well that it is possible the politicalness of the act and the meaning individuals give to GG and flower seed bombing, might be limited in some cases.

3.3 Visual analysis of publicly generated data

To investigate the use and workings of the seed bombs within the established theoretical background, a visual analysis will follow. The choice of this research method is based on the idea that it is in line with the practice it wants to uncover: flower bombing seems directly implicated in creating a visible action, it would make sense to inquire into its visibility and the shapes it takes. As well, this innovative method is able to gain another angle into the practice. This can lead to a focus not just on the human or social actors, or discourses, but also investigate the non-humans and their agency capabilities who cannot be read that easily from texts, I would argue. Imagery provides a mode of witnessing nonhumans, although it has its limits considering humans are still ‘pointing the lens.’⁸⁵ Still, the method is chosen to battle the human bias. Further, a visual analysis is helpful considering visual culture is also central to our understanding of matters and the prevalence of visuality in the world.⁸⁶

Before diving into the explanation of how the methodology will take form, it is necessary to set out the theoretical stance towards images throughout this research. This thesis will have a nuanced stance towards images. For one, within the research it is acknowledged that images (among which photographs) are not neutral, but representational. On three sites, namely ‘the site of production,’ ‘the site of the image,’ and ‘the site of “being seen” by audiences, are present in meaning-making of the image.’⁸⁷ In this regard, it will follow Rose’s call to critically engage with images as technology, composition, contents, and social concerns surrounding the image are at play in the ways images are produced, reproduced, and interpreted.⁸⁸ Still, Roberts shows how as well that images shift and are also to some extent presentational. She marks, following a hauntological discussion, how a nuanced position towards images is possible and how this provides a framework for visual analysis. She argues then that there is potential to study or study with images, yet marks that images demand an ‘attentive type of looking,’ ‘reflexivity and continued self-critique.’⁸⁹ This research will follow this hauntological approach to images, which understands these as having agency, yet also are dependent on our ‘unpacking of visuality.’⁹⁰ Accordingly, the images which will be analysed will be encountered from an approach questioning what the image (and the image taker) wants, positionality and mode of gazing at

⁸⁵ Pitt, ‘On Showing and Being Shown Plants’, 52–53; S. Ali, ‘Visual Analysis’, in *Researching Society and Culture*, ed. C. Seale, 3rd ed. (London: SAGE, 2012), 284; M Hand, ‘The Visual in Social Media: Understanding Visual Objects, Mobilities, and Practices’, in *The SAGE Handbook of Social Media Research Methods* (SAGE, 2022), 187.

⁸⁶ Ali, ‘Visual Analysis’, 284; Hand, ‘The Visual in Social Media’, 187; Rose, ‘On the Relation between “visual Research Methods” and Contemporary Visual Culture’, 25, 38, 41; A. McCosker et al., ‘Social Media for Social Good? A Thematic, Spatial and Visual Analysis of Humanitarian Action on Instagram’, *Information, Communication and Society* 24, no. 13 (2020): 1872–73; S. Niederer, ‘Networked Images: Visual Methodologies for the Digital Age’ (Hogeschool van Amsterdam, 2018); R. Rogers, ‘Visual Media Analysis for Instagram and Other Online Platforms’, *Big Data and Society*, 2021, 1–23.

⁸⁷ Hand, ‘The Visual in Social Media’, 188; G. Rose, *Visual Methodologies* (London: SAGE Publications, 2001), 188.

⁸⁸ Rose, *Visual Methodologies*.

⁸⁹ Roberts, ‘Geography and the Visual Image: A Hauntological Approach’, 399.

⁹⁰ Roberts, 399.

the image, assumed truths, and so adopt hesitancy.⁹¹ Still, the image can provide a glimpse into what it depicts, next to insights into the way it is depicted and what this “wants” and communicates.⁹²

In practice, this will result in a particular way of approaching and unpacking the visual data. As the site of the image is of interest, technological aspects, composition, socio-political aspects, and visual meanings are important to address.⁹³ As well, the context in which the image is found will be regarded, considering the idea that the way in which we encounter visual images have an influence in how we are affected and interpret images.⁹⁴ To operationalise this idea, I will unpack the data by putting attention on the images’ contents and use of text surrounding the images. The contents will be analysed following ‘the good eye’ approach, described by Rose. There will be looked at the composition, use of colours, perspective, focus, light, and ‘expressive content,’ which can be understood as ‘the combined effect of subject matter and visual form.’⁹⁵ In addition, the textual components will be related to the image (by turning to questions like why is the text here, what does it signal, how can it be interpreted and alter the interpretation of the image?). As well, a critical discourse analysis stance will accompany the unpacking of images if text is present, to see how themes are raised, or for instance affect (through hyperbolic language, metaphors), or use of italics, bold, hashtags, or other ways of framing texts are present.⁹⁶ This is done to investigate whether a narrative is put forward together with or within the image, and how this can inform of how there is made sense of the flower seed bomb. Next, further focus on the image will follow, to unpack visual meanings and inquire into how alliances are formed with the biomaterial and workings of the biomaterial (how does the biomaterial ‘speak,’ take root, take space).

This will result in a double reading of the images by which it is questioned how flower bombing is (re)presented and how a discourse is present, but also a glimpse into the topic of the images can be examined. So, it is possible to work towards answering the research question of how there is made political expression through the seed bombs, considering the analysis will unpack both the workings with and of the seed bomb by looking at the glimpse into this, but also the messages which are attached to flower bombing. To expand on the latter part, there will then also partially be a discourse analysis performed to gain understanding about the (re)production of meaning of flower bombing and how some guerrilla gardeners self-proclaim to turn to the seed bomb. Especially since the interpretation of plants or the biomaterial and my limited skills and knowledge of their ‘language,’ my interpretation will be limited here as I want to refrain from speaking for them.⁹⁷ Rather, the visual analysis is undertaken to

⁹¹ Roberts, 399.

⁹² S. Edge, ‘Photography and Poststructuralism: The Indexical and Iconic Sign System’, n.d.

⁹³ M. Loadenthal, ‘Feral Fascists and Deep Green Guerillas: Infrastructural Attack and Accelerationist Terror’, *Critical Studies on Terrorism* 15, no. 1 (2022): 173; Rose, *Visual Methodologies*, 30.

⁹⁴ Roberts, ‘Geography and the Visual Image: A Hauntological Approach’; N. Doerr and N. Milman, ‘Working with Images’, in *Methodological Practices in Social Movement Research*, ed. D. della Porta (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 426.

⁹⁵ Rose, *Visual Methodologies*, 33–46.

⁹⁶ Rose, 33, 178; S. Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion: Second Edition* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), 12–14; A.L. Berg et al., ‘Reading for Affect – A Methodological Proposal for Analyzing Affective Dynamics in Discourse’, in *Analyzing Affective Societies – Methods and Methodologies*, ed. A. Kahl (London: Routledge, 2019), 57–58.

⁹⁷ Pitt, ‘On Showing and Being Shown Plants’, 54–55.

provide a ‘springboard’ for the further acknowledgement of the presence and importance of non-human actors in the practice, and their role in the politicalness of flower bombing.⁹⁸

Figure 1

Guiding questions in analysing the data

| Site of inquiry | Questions |
|----------------------------------|--|
| The contents of the image | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What is being shown? What are the components of the image? How are they arranged? • What is the prominent element in the image? Is it in the centre, or the biggest element? • What is the vantage point of the image? • What relationships are established between the components of the image visually? • What use is made of colour, style, photo-cropping, filters, and light? • How do the textual and visual elements compare to each other? Which are hidden or invisible? |
| The intent of the image | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In what context is the image used? How does the image relate to this context? • What does the sharer of the image and the image itself want to communicate/convey? |

The questions listed here reflect proposed questions for analysis by G. Rose 2001, 188-189; and Doerr and Milman 2014, 434. Besides, alterations were made based on understandings of Instagram images and visual analysis by Zappavigna 2016, 273; and Safaian and Teune 2022, 273.

3.4 Source selection: flower bombing in the Netherlands from 2020 to 2024

The images which will constitute the empirical material for the analysis, will consist of publicly generated data of images of seed bombing in the Netherlands. As noted earlier, within the Netherlands it seems that flower bombing is not only popular, but also an interesting site for research as the practice here seems to be fuzzy.⁹⁹ Rooting an investigation in the context of the Netherlands is then interesting considering the perceived ambiguity here.¹⁰⁰ Investigating this case might help to enforce a critical understanding of flower bombing and its relation to guerrilla gardeners.

⁹⁸ R. Hitchings and V. Jones, ‘Living with Plants and the Exploration of Botanical Encounter within Human Geographic Research Practice’, *Ethics, Place and Environment* 7, no. 1–2 (2004): 11.

⁹⁹ Doorestijn, ‘“Guerrilla Gardening”: Stiekem Fleurt Semilla de Stad Op Met Zaadbommen’; van Brummelen, ‘Zadenraket Naar Naziont werp Brengt Geen Verderf, Maar Leven’; Hoes, ‘“Bloemen Planten Waar Je Ze Niet Wegschoffelt”’; Natuur Huizen Kleurrijker Dankzij Zaadbommengooiers’; Rotterdamse Redactie, ‘Uitdelen van Zaadbommen’.

¹⁰⁰ ‘Louise (76) Wil Moesstraat Vergroenen Maar Oogst Een Proces Verbaal Vanwege Baldadigheid’; Dorrestijn, ‘Zaadbom Leggen, Niemand Zeggen’; Zwartbol, ‘Kale Gemeenteperken? Deze Guerrilla Gardener Zet Er Stilletjes Planten In’.

Next to a demarcation based on the place as a context of data, as well there is chosen to select and focus on visuals from a particular source. Namely, there will be made use of ‘found data’ on Instagram. This platform is highly ‘associated with online images,’ can give insights in more personal representations of flower bombs and flower bombing following ‘everyday Instagram activity.’¹⁰¹ This is suitable to gain an understanding about the meaning users give to and want to share about the practice and flower seed bombs, considering the personal insights and ‘subjective experiences’ the platform presents.¹⁰² Still, using images posted on Instagram also has its limitations and generates challenges. For one, it provides a certain “window” in the subject, making that findings might not be entirely generalisable.¹⁰³ Nevertheless, this platform provides an accessible entrance into making perceptions of the everyday context in an unobtrusive manner.¹⁰⁴

Lastly, particular data will be selected by using several search terms and a demarcation of a time frame. There is chosen for selecting images between January 2020 and May 2024 to account for depictions and possible changes in flower bombing through the years, and to link the investigation to the present day considering the current situation surrounding flower bombing in the Netherlands is of interest. In particular, it seems that the way flower bombing in the Netherlands takes place, is impacted in the time of the Covid-19 pandemic, following guerrilla gardener Cerian van Gestel.¹⁰⁵ With respect to this, it seems then necessary to showcase this period.

Then, to move into the way in which data was collected and selected, the Instagram user-interface the search terms visible in Figure 2, the various ways to name flower seed bombing in Dutch, are applied as a hashtag search to then manually collect and thereafter select data. There is opted for this approach in collecting Instagram data due to create a relatively small manual sample to gain detailed insights into ways in which ‘people interact and make sense of the world’ and with regard to this research’s topic, of GG with the seed bomb.¹⁰⁶ In addition, the choice to select the option “hashtag” in the search for data, is made considering the idea that the tagging of the picture is a conscious choice of self-expression and potential contribution to an imagined or real dialogue on the platform. Besides, ‘many of hashtags carry significant descriptive information of the visual content,’ thereby contributing

¹⁰¹ Rogers, ‘Visual Media Analysis for Instagram’; McCosker et al., ‘Social Media for Social Good?’, 1872–73; Niederer, ‘Networked Images’; A. McCrow-Young, ‘Approaching Instagram Data: Reflections on Accessing, Archiving and Anonymising Visual Social Media’, *Communication Research and Practice* 7, no. 1 (2020): 21–24.

¹⁰² M. Zappavigna, ‘Social Media Photography: Construing Subjectivity in Instagram Images’, *Visual Communication* 15, no. 3 (2016): 271–73, 289.

¹⁰³ Niederer, ‘Networked Images’, 4; Rogers, ‘Visual Media Analysis for Instagram’, 2–3; L. Laestadius and A. Witt, ‘Instagram Revisited’, in *The SAGE Handbook of Social Media Research Methods*, ed. A. Quan-Haase and L. Sloan (Los Angeles: SAGE Publications, 2022), 598.

¹⁰⁴ F. Addeo et al., ‘Doing Social Research on Online Communities: The Benefits of Netnography’, *Athens Journal of Social Sciences* 7, no. 1 (2019): 10–11; C. Wilkinson and N. Von Benzoni, ‘Selecting and Analysing Publicly Generated Online Content’, in *Creative Methods for Human Geographers* (SAGE Publications, 2021), 325–35.

¹⁰⁵ T. de Jong, ‘Hoe “guerrilla” Cerian Grijze Buurten Omtovert Tot Groene Oases: “Zelfs Nu in de Winter Kan Het”’, *De Gelderlander*, 6 December 2021, https://www.gelderlander.nl/utrecht/hoe-guerrilla-cerian-grijze-buurten-omtovert-tot-groene-oases-zelfs-nu-in-de-winter-kan-het-a5ad92d8/?cb=f79b77ae-7202-4965-9efe-845b3c9218b0&auth_rd=1?cb=30827c50-1ccf-4d06-bf98-7d8ffb88833e&auth_rd=1; ‘Dit Zijn de Guerrilla Gardeners’, Guerrilla gardeners, accessed 6 May 2024, <https://guerrillagardeners.nl/dit-zijn-de-guerrilla-gardeners/>; O. Havermans, ‘Tuinieren Buiten Je Eigen Tuin, Voor de Bijen En de Buurt’, *Trouw*, 20 April 2021.

¹⁰⁶ Laestadius and Witt, ‘Instagram Revisited’, 590.

to rich data, making that data collection in this way can lead to an analysis of relevant data to the research question as the user already provides “vernaculars” to the image’s contents.¹⁰⁷

As is visible in Figure 2, the amount of posts were especially high for the hashtags ‘zaadbommetjes’ and ‘zaadbommen.’ For the hashtags ‘zaadbom’ and ‘bloembom’ as well there were around 100 posts. Still, as this might seem a large data set, there was major overlap in posts under the different hashtags. These duplications were then filtered. Besides, another criteria was used to select data, and so create a smaller data set. Not only the demarcation in time and geographical area and choice for a non-moving image, but also the use of a hashtag, or tagging the Instagram account of Guerrilla Gardeners NL (or the post being made with this account), or the naming of GG in the posts description, were then criteria for data selection. In this way, there is worked towards a dataset of images (re)presenting flower bombing in relation to GG in the Netherlands, rather than recreational use of flower bombing and commercially exploiting the flower bomb, which also seems to be present in the Netherlands looking at the unfiltered data set. Although, it is interesting to see flower bombs are also posted in these contexts, this is not the scope of this research, thus following the suggestion of following the meaning-making of the Instagram-users, the (hash)tagging and naming of GG then provides information the image is posted in this context. So, I argue, it is suitable to gather data which can provide insights into the research question.

Figure 2

Oversight of the used search terms in gathering data

| Search term (as hashtag on Instagram) | Translation | Amount of posts on Instagram |
|--|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Zaadbommetjes | Little seed bombs | 500+ |
| Zaadbommen | Seed bombs | 500+ |
| Bloemzaadbommen | Flower seed bombs | 6 |
| Bloemzaadbommetjes | Little flower seed bombs | 21 |
| Zaadbom | Seed bomb | 100+ |
| Bloembom | Flower bomb | 100+ |

¹⁰⁷ S. Giannoulakis and N. Tsapatsoulis, ‘Evaluating the Descriptive Power of Instagram Hashtags’, *Journal of Innovation in Digital Ecosystems* 3, no. 2 (2016): 115; I. Uthekin, ‘Small Data First: Pictures from Instagram as an Ethnographic Source’, *Russian Journal of Communication* 9, no. 2 (2017): 185–86.

Following this route, on the first of May 2024 the posts were manually extracted, so only images coming up in the user interface then, were collected and thereafter selected on the set criteria. In the end, this resulted in 39 posts. Some Instagram posts did have more images in its slideshow. In sum, the data set then consists of 92 separate images. Only these images did conform to the set criteria and came up in the search. The use of hashtags and the date of the post, were easy to confirm. Besides, I was able to determine the posts were located in the Netherlands, because almost always there was placemaking involved in the post through the way the user put a location for the image, or a hashtag or naming of a certain place was put. Thereby it was easy to check whether this place was indeed in the Netherlands. In some cases it was necessary to look on the Instagram account of the poster and dive a bit deeper in their profile (and sometimes connected links to websites), to determine their post of flower bombing was also located in the Netherlands.

3.5 Research ethics

In terms of ethical consideration for this research, the main thing to consider is the use of publicly generated data and its ties to privacy and informed consent for using the data. For this research there is chosen to take a covert approach of collecting data. Besides, there is only data collected from public Instagram accounts. So I only used open data, ‘addressing issues of user privacy’ in this way also, considering users openly shared this for everyone to see.¹⁰⁸ This is why the data, the Instagram posts, are also referenced normally to create transparency for the study.

Also, I want to briefly reflect on my positionality and implications of the topic of my research. My personal background, interests and beliefs are implicated in how I interpretate and reflect upon images and texts. What stands out to me will potentially be different from someone else doing the visual analysis of the same data. However, I will aim to not provide a one-sided investigation by letting the visual analysis be lead through guiding questions and a more objective type of looking before diving into details and interpretations.

4. Results

4.1 Instagram images’ contents and a window into the workings with and of biomaterial

Following the visual analysis, the Instagram images’ contents exhibit various themes and subjects. These will be presented in the following sections, which explain what lines of thought and ideas were the result of investigating the selected data via the established questions outlined in Figure 1. The results show that almost half of the images showed the seed bombs in its different shapes. Due to the high occurrence of this image, these results will be presented first. Thereafter, there will be moved into two other sections which will describe findings related to the form of the seed bomb: the greenery due to seed bombing, or which could sprout when seed bombing. This was again a category distinguished from the analysis,

¹⁰⁸ McCrow-Young, ‘Approaching Instagram Data’, 10.

which occurred less than the material form of the seed bomb, nevertheless is strongly tied to the first category. Then, a section will follow on the colours which are visible in the images. There will be focused on the colour green and how it is accompanied by other colours as green was made important in the texts accompanying the images. Another identified category was the showing of people and hands. Firstly, only the images of hands stuck out as these were eleven in total, but most of the time were really presented to the camera with the palms up so being recognisable. The captions showed then how people also are important.

4.1.1 *Forms the seed bombs take*

One of the central results of the analysis, was that 40 of the selected images displayed seed bombs in various forms. The form mostly presented through the images was the self-made seed bomb. It revealed its biomaterial through its colour and relatively rough, imperfect shape and outer layer. An example of this form of seed bombs is Figure 4, which shows an image of rows of seed balls taking the shape of “browns and grounds.”

Next to this primary representation of seed bombs, other shapes were also seen in the images. The use of paper and cardboard in these other forms, and also in its relation to the “natural” seed bomb in Figure 4, became apparent. Cardboard and (news)paper were shown in images as implicated in letting self-made seed bombs dry and rest – especially in the form of egg cartons –, but also as another material to carry the seeds and so form a flower seed bomb with the seeds, which totalled in 19 images showcasing paper or cardboard in these relations.¹⁰⁹ In Figure 5 it is visible that old paper is repurposed in making new sheets of paper in which seeds are incorporated – this meaning was made within the text accompanying the image in its caption – to so have ‘*bloepapier*’ which can be translated into ‘bloom paper.’ Although it then takes the form of a sheet in Figure 5, it can also be made into shapes, such as in Figure 6, already resembling the typical form of a ball which is seen predominantly. The ties between paper or cardboard also is visible in another type of seed bomb, or grenade, also present in some images. Figure 3 shows a depiction of this type, made by the brand *Kabloom*.¹¹⁰ Here the paper is formed in a shape of a grenade reinforcing metaphorical strength of the seed bomb. Besides, captions alongside these images showed how these seed bombs are related to commercial activities: these seed bombs were being sold in stores and by retailers.

¹⁰⁹ The resting/drying is i.e. visible in Eentuintjeinlochem, ‘#zaadbommen #bloembommen #bloembommetjesmaken @guerrillagardensnl Ter Voorbereiding van 22 April’, 31 March 2020, <https://www.instagram.com/p/B-aKI1rg8Vc/?igsh=MXdicHF2cTY2bnkybA==>; Civicamsterdam, ‘Tijdens de Week van de Participatie Werder Er Bij LOhuizen Guerrillazaadbommen Gemaakt’, *Instagram*, 17 June 2022, <https://www.instagram.com/p/Ce5ihACo-oM/?igsh=MWRycTJiZ2xsNm9ndA==>.

¹¹⁰ The connection to it being a brand is not particularly made in the post by Samsamzwardt (2020), but it is stated in Mijn_plantenwinkelatelier, ‘De Zaadbommen van #kabloom Zijn Nu Afgeprijsd’, *Instagram*, 23 April 2020, https://www.instagram.com/p/B_UpwYhDERR/?igsh=aDI0eDh4ZGNyeGhu. Still, in the images by Samsamzwardt it is already visible that it is possibly a brand because of the wrapper.

Figure 3



Source: Samsamzwarthuis 2020.

Figure 4



Source: Eentuintjeinlochum 2020.

Figure 5



Source: Guerrillagardeners 2022d.

Figure 6



Source: De_zorgdragerij 2022.

The DIY surrounding the seed bomb was oftentimes highlighted in the caption of the post and background of the image as well. An example of this is a post showing the end result (drying seed bombs) together with a text that these were made that morning.¹¹¹ Besides, the earthy colours became represented in either a bright, almost white background, or another neutral backdrop such as wood and cardboard.¹¹² Just so, contrast or similarity was established within the images. Attention was drawn to darker dirt in a “clean” environment, or the natural elements and colours of the seed ball let these blend in to its similarly coloured backdrop.

Yet, other images showed how some seed bombs were not as rough and brown at its outside as these self-made balls. Figure 5 shows seed bombs by the brand *Blossombs*, which produces and sells pastel-coloured, and conformally shaped seed bombs in size and roundness. This shape seems directly related to its backdrop of selling the bombs such as the promotion which can be read in the accompanying text to the image suggests, and so the colours and uniformity suggest an appealing and reproducible shape.¹¹³ Still, brighter colours are not only found in this particular shape which is shown in some images, other images show colourful seed bombs which are home-made. Paper can be coloured and an outer layer of ‘natural colorants’ can be put on seed balls made from soil and clay, such as is visible in Figure 6 and 8 respectively.¹¹⁴ Here as well the seed balls are made and represented as bright, appealing, and further perfected.

¹¹¹ Brigitta.nijssen, ‘Vanochtend Zaadbommen Gemaakt’, *Instagram*, 23 April 2020, https://www.instagram.com/p/B_UcV38nP4i/?igsh=MWV3aDdibThlY203cQ==.

¹¹² I.e. this is visible in Brigitta.nijssen; Tijdvoortamar, ‘Jippie!! Dit Was Zó Leuk Om Te Doen!!’, *Instagram*, 17 June 2020, https://www.instagram.com/p/CBh_3JyAZXT/?igsh=NHM1OG9sc215M2pq; Moesmaatjes, ‘Zelf ZaadBommen Maken!’, *Instagram*, 8 April 2021, <https://www.instagram.com/p/CNZ2Cb7n7XP/?igsh=bTNyOHN6YjV5d3cz>; Civicamsterdam, ‘Tijdens de Week van de Participatie Werder Er Bij LOhuizen Guerrillazaadbommen Gemaakt’.

¹¹³ Chickadeesnl, ‘Blossombs Zijn Kleurrijke Bloem “zaadbommetjes” Gemaakt in Nederland’, *Instagram*, 21 April 2022, <https://www.instagram.com/p/CcnwUpojVhT/?igsh=MWNqMjZwZmRudmhmYw%3D%3D>.

¹¹⁴ ‘Natural colourants’ is an own translation of a part of the caption, visible in Chickadees ‘Blossombs Zijn Kleurrijke Bloem “zaadbommetjes” Gemaakt in Nederland’, in “#natuurlijkekleurstoffen.”

Figure 7



Source: Chickadees 2022.

Figure 8



Source: Edith.vandenbroek 2021.

Moreover, in five images the contents the seed bombs consist of, or just the used seeds were shown. Next to this, even more times there was presented alongside to other images what the contents of a seed bomb are.¹¹⁵

4.1.2 *The sprouting seed balls: chaos and images of proliferation*

Another form of the seed bomb can also be seen: the growing seed bomb. Various images show the initial process of a sprouting seed bomb. Little green specks and leaves are visible in Figure 10, an edited picture with regard to the way a filter and blur on the sides is put over it. The filter produces a darkening effect on the image, and furthers purple, brown, and yellowish colours. This results in an image in which the seed bomb is highlighted due to its lighter colours, which pop. Especially the greens are also marked then, although the scale of the green is still small. The meaning, which wants to be expressed with the picture, becomes more clear with the text in the caption. It states that ‘Yes! After two months (!) of throwing you can see some cautious seedlings sprouting.’¹¹⁶ Thus, establishing how this is a stage of the seed bomb and marking the temporary working of plants. This is becoming even clearer by a story of how after two years the spread seeds of hollyhocks then appeared, signalling effects of flower bombs might be only perceived after years.¹¹⁷ The same has been marked in another post stating how ‘after a few weeks, you, bees, butterflies, and your neighbourhood will enjoy the colourful floral splendour for a long time.’¹¹⁸ Again the temporal workings of the biomaterial are marked in a context generating affect by how the outcome of the seed bombs are uplifted.

The upcoming of seedlings can also be seen in Figure 9 and 11. In Figure 9, the many sprouts and beginning of greenery are amplified by the amount of seed bombs in the picture which are all sprouting: the spouts seem to tangle together, marking a beginning web of plants. Here the intent of the images in the post is also expressed in the caption, marking how these seed bombs were spread to mark

¹¹⁵ De_wilde_wereld, ‘GUERRILLA GARDENER Recently I Met Cerian van Gestel’, *Instagram*, 8 September 2020, <https://www.instagram.com/p/CE4JwH1FnGZ/?igsh=MW5yNnR5eXk5eWxwOQ==>; Moesmaatjes, ‘Zelf ZaadBommen Maken!’

¹¹⁶ Guerrillagardenersnl, ‘Yes! Twee Maanden (!) Na Het Gooien’, *Instagram*, 11 June 2020, <https://www.instagram.com/p/CBSTsL2jkXj/?igsh=MWUxb3lnYzQxanFrag%3D%3D>, own translation.

¹¹⁷ Guerrillagardenersnl.

¹¹⁸ Inkstationzutuphen, ‘Met de Lente in Zicht, Bereiden Wij Ons Alvast Voor Met Deze Bloembommen’, *Instagram*, 14 February 2021, <https://www.instagram.com/p/CLUMoyfAZZF/?igsh=MWFudTdINWd4azJqbg%3D%3D>.

important places.¹¹⁹ In light of this intent of the post and picture, I interpret the image with seedlings out of the bomb as a presentation of what biomaterial is then spread around.

Figure 9



Source: Isil_vos 2021.

Figure 10



Source: Guerrillagardenersnl 2020.

Figure 11



Source: De_wilde_wereld 2020.

In Figure 11, the focus seems to be on the new leaves, which are bright and the first thing grabbing your attention when you take a look at the picture. For this image as well, the tie to presenting what the flower seed bomb entails seems to be the background, considering the caption explains what flower bombs consist of (‘clay, composts and seeds of plants that are endemic to the area’), what function they can have (produce ‘botanic brightening,’ ‘cheer up your neighbourhood,’ and ‘make insects happy’), and how to get flower bombs (to buy or make them).¹²⁰ Next to the image visible in Figure 11, other images are in the slides of the post, showing the seeds, the process of making a seed bomb, a package for creating seed bombs, and a wild flower field. In this way, the various stages of flower bombing, and working with and of biomaterial are exemplified. The choice of putting the image visible in Figure 11 as the first one in relation to the caption, then seems to indicate the way in which the user wants to represent the flower bomb in this mode foremost. It shows not only the form of the ball and clay, it also highlights the abilities of the seed bomb: the possibility of producing greenery and what this brings with it.

Furthermore, a later stage of the flower bomb is also seen in some images. Ten images to be exact. The “results of growing” are seen in images of blooming flowers and patches of greenery. I interpret these images as representations of what flower bombs can bring considering the context they are shared in. For instance, for Figure 13 the accompanying text gave information that as well seed bombs could be the reason for the ‘out-of-the-blue’ rising of wildflower patches.¹²¹ But the same context of it being a demonstration of what a flower bomb brings, is explained for other images, such as in Figure 12 where the hollyhocks at the feet of the wall are an example of what greening this area can bring.¹²² And the picture visible in Figure 14 is posted in a context of informing about a national day for

¹¹⁹ Isil_vos, ‘Vandaag Gooiden We Met z’n Viertjes #zaadbommen’, *Instagram*, 22 May 2021, <https://www.instagram.com/p/CPLR7TG1wx4/?igsh=MWJmZ3QzZmoydW1yNg==>.

¹²⁰ De_wilde_wereld, ‘GUERRILLA GARDENER Recently I Met Cerian van Gestel’.

¹²¹ Chickadeesn1, ‘Mooi He van Die Wilde Bossen’, *Instagram*, 12 May 2020, <https://www.instagram.com/p/CAGHic9lq9I/?igsh=NXloc2xzYWE1Z2g3>.

¹²² Magnoliatuinontwerp, ‘Geveltuinen in de Stad, Zie Jij Ze Vaak?’, *Instagram*, 25 June 2020, <https://www.instagram.com/p/CB3Ph3IDGGW/?igsh=aG9ycnNsbDIqamxq>.

sowing seeds and how the poster is giving a workshop for making flower bombs for this day.¹²³ Here again, the image seems to raise awareness of what is the end goal and from the seed balls over time will grow into.

Figure 12



Source: Magnoliatuinontwerp 2020.

Figure 13



Source: Chickadees 2020.

Figure 14



Source: Demoestuinmeester 2021.

The context in which these flowers are, is interesting too. For one, Figure 13 shows a natural environment in which the wild bushes grow. It shows how in between greens a variety of flowers have taken root and produced more green, but also colours. The image shows the flowers grow lively and unstructured as they grow between other sorts and it is a full bush. This is highlighted within the caption of the post of this image too, by the turning to the Dutch saying “*overal en nergens*” so putting attention on the way in which the wildflowers sprout about anywhere.¹²⁴ The same “wildness” and wide variety of flowers coming from a seed bomb, is also noticeable in an image displaying a flower field without a particular focus, so showing these facets.¹²⁵

Nevertheless, blooming flowers sprung from, a flower bomb is also in images showing them in a built environment. Figure 12 is an example. Here it can be seen how the flowers are about to bloom or are already showing petals. Besides, the tall stems show how in limited space and urbanity there is still the possibility for greenery and flowers to grow. The caption relates the image to how a tiny border at the façade of your home is allowed, and how destoning this limited area and turning to green can create an atmospheric sight. The composition highlights this idea of how a relative little amount of greenery can make a great difference. This is done by an angle that sets the greenery central, thereby taking up the most space in the image, while as well the line in which the flowers grow at the front of the wall is visible.¹²⁶

Other images also showed this relation between the built environment and flower bombing, thereby creating a context for where flower bombing can be enforced or can take place. Figures 15, 16 and 17 show this. All three images create an insight in the action of throwing a flower bomb and where

¹²³ Demoestuinmeester, ‘22 April Is Het Nationale Zaaidag!’, *Instagram*, 8 April 2021, <https://www.instagram.com/p/CNZU31jIGy6/?igsh=MXVwc2JtbnMxcmlzaw==>.

¹²⁴ Chickadeesnl, ‘Mooi He van Die Wilde Bossen’.

¹²⁵ De_wilde_wereld, ‘GUERRILLA GARDENER Recently I Met Cerian van Gestel’.

¹²⁶ Magnoliatuinontwerp, ‘Geveltuinen in de Stad, Zie Jij Ze Vaak?’

this takes place. For all three the background shows grey tiles packing the ground, and for Figure 15 and 16 openings are visible as well. In Figure 15 it appears to be an open area between buildings lacking upkeep as its decay is marked by yellow grass is yellow and randomly scattered bricks. For Figure 16, the bombs are places to fill up this tree bed surrounded by tiles.

Figure 15



Source: Pvddutrecht 2022.

Figure 16



Source: Lapiccolaeva 2020.

Figure 17



Source: Guerrillagardeners 2022a.

Other posts also show the relation between the flower bomb and built environment, but do so without an image. For example, the '#urbangreening' or the naming of 'in the city' or 'your neighbourhood' as where the 'barren places' lay, which could function well as a spot for a flower bomb.¹²⁷ Another instance in the caption of images of workshop mark how this can also lead to a "flower bomb-hunt" on which the kids can look for places in their own environment, which 'could use some green an colour.'¹²⁸ Although there is as well referred in three posts to throwing flower bombs in one's garden.¹²⁹

4.1.3 Green and colour(s)

As already hinted at, the colours in the images which were analysed showed a clear trend as well. Foremost the colour green and thereafter the connection between green and colours seems interesting to provide some results of the analysis on, considering this combination was seen one of the most and the meaning given to these colours. Figures 18 and 19 show how the combination of green and other colours (mainly bright ones) was sometimes visible. For these two images, green is the most pertinent, just as in other images which were analysed. Green was oftentimes in images of the plants and growing seed balls, seen in seventeen images, but also in captions the colour green was raised as greening space,

¹²⁷ Demoestuinmeester, '22 April Is Het Nationale Zaaiday!'; De_wilde_wereld, 'GUERRILLA GARDENER Recently I Met Cerian van Gestel'; Annasmoestuin, 'Ik Heb Een Superleuk Boek Gekregen van Mams', *Instagram*, 18 July 2020, <https://www.instagram.com/p/CCxfszkJZbx/?igsh=N3o1cDJ1YTEzOHdz>; Inkstationzutfphen, 'Met de Lente in Zicht, Bereiden Wij Ons Alvast Voor Met Deze Bloembommen'; Guerrillagardenersnl, 'Maak Je Eigen Blijje Bijen Paradijs!', *Instagram*, 30 April 2022, https://www.instagram.com/p/Cc9t_mlqglY/?igsh=MXRqeDNjNmZ5c2U4dA==.

¹²⁸ Inhettoverbosch, 'Donderdag 22 April Is Het Nationale Zaaiday', *Instagram*, 6 April 2021, https://www.instagram.com/p/CNU8HR1hEAI/?img_index=4.

¹²⁹ i.e. in Esthers.tuin, 'Zomaar Iets Liefs!', *Instagram*, 10 May 2022, <https://www.instagram.com/p/CdYGejvKQaH/?igsh=YW9qOWhsOTUwbW9q>; De_wilde_wereld, 'GUERRILLA GARDENER Recently I Met Cerian van Gestel'.

climate, a green and healthy city, and sustainability.¹³⁰ Naming the colour and using the colour thus seems directly implicated in shifting from grey to green, which is then also a possible translation for one of the hashtags found alongside the images, implying just this: ‘#fromgreytogreen.’¹³¹

In addition, the colour green was in fifteen images in the form of frames surrounding the images, or in labels of objects in the image. For Figure 20 it is clear that there is chosen for this colour because of the user who posted it: it is made by GroenLinks, a Dutch political party, which is marked by the colours used in the image. Here the choice for the colour seems to mark only the political rationality of the party which stands for climate and progressive-left wing political ideas.¹³² Still, it is interesting to note that three posts which were selected for the analysis were made political parties linke GroenLinks and Partij voor de Dieren.¹³³ Moreover, shades of green and a bit of yellow is used in the frame seemingly typically used by @Guerrillagardenersnl, showing leaves in these various greens and yellow, like in Figure 17. For the labels which can be seen in the images, it seems the colour choice was established because of the actual colours of the objects’ contents the label represents: seedballs for greenery.¹³⁴

Figure 18



Source: Tijdvoortamar 2020.

Figure 19



Source: Esthers.tuin 2022.

Figure 20



Source: Groenlinksalmere 2021.

To return to Figures 18 and 19, flowers within the grass and within plants, provide specks of other colours alongside green. In Figure 18 these flowers are growing wildly as in between other species of plants than in Figure 19 where the plants seem more structured and separately planted. In both cases, and other images showing the combination of green plants and colourful flowers, the colours draw attention. There is referred to the flowers and plants from the seed bomb as providing a beautiful colour palette after they are helped by rain to grow to this end result. And use of ‘#colour’ and ‘#flowers’ right

¹³⁰ An example of this is Maatschapwij, ‘Tegels Wippen, Bloembommen Maken (En Gooien) of Een Boomspeigel Adopteren’, *Instagram*, 2022, <https://www.instagram.com/p/CjDBQ5rsUpJ/?igsh=MWdzbm45bXNraWVzdw==>.

¹³¹ Maatschapwij.

¹³² This is another political party in the Netherlands, which aims to stand up for long-term interests for the planet and all its inhabitants: GroenLinks, ‘Home’, accessed 28 May 2024, <https://groenlinks.nl/home>.

¹³³ Partij voor de Dieren, ‘De Partij’, Partij voor de Dieren, accessed 28 May 2024, <https://www.partijvoordedieren.nl/organisatie>.

¹³⁴ Instances of the labels are in the following posts: De_zorgdragerij, ‘BERMBLOMMEN EN ZADENSLINGERS’, *Instagram*, 13 February 2022, <https://www.instagram.com/p/CZ7EtGAsgiO/?igsh=dXU4c3kyNDZncXY3>; Mijn_plantenwinkelje_atelier, ‘De Zaadbommen van #kabloom Zijn Nu Afgeprijsd’; Inkstationzutuphen, ‘Met de Lente in Zicht, Bereiden Wij Ons Alvast Voor Met Deze Bloembommen’.

after each other in the caption.¹³⁵ Same is also said in relation to the green and colourful specks by flowers visible in Figure 18, as here the caption says ‘what would you rather see: grizzle and grey concrete, or green with colour explosions of beautiful flowers?’¹³⁶ The accent on the word starting the (rhetoric) question accentuates how this is not really a question, but a remark. In this way the sentence grabs attention.

All in all, green is mentioned and perceived in combination to colours and how these are the opposite of greys and browns. Greens and colour explosions are made into something to be desired and nice. Flower bombs are then made into ‘green weapons’ which have the ability to create these ‘green oase[s]’ and ‘flower explosions’ if conditions for growing are alright.¹³⁷

4.1.4 The relationship between hands, people and flower seed bombs

Another results is that oftentimes images depict people relating to flower bombs: they are seen in the process of making or throwing flowers bombs, or they are posing with the made flower bombs.¹³⁸ Besides, “dirt-y” hands are closely related to this theme of people and the flower seed bombs. Fourteen images show hands implicated in making seed bombs or presenting seed bombs. Mostly, eleven times, palms are visible that are laced with dirt sticking to it. Showing the process of DIY, but as well ‘getting your hands dirty’ as a central message – which is put focus on as well by turning to the hashtag ‘#headhearhands’ – namely, taking action in this way for us and insects.¹³⁹

Figure 20



Source: Guerrillagardenersnl 2020.

Figure 21



Source: Bso_hetgrotehuis 2024.

Figure 22



Source: Guerrillagardenersnl 2022c.

¹³⁵ Groenisvandoen, ‘Kan Jouw Tuin, de Voet van Een Boom of Een Stuk Braakliggend Terrein Wat Kleur Gebruiken?’, *Instagram*, 21 April 2020, https://www.instagram.com/p/B_Pa2SgDmQ7/?igsh=eTBIZmtqc3k0aXRY, own translation.

¹³⁶ Tijdvoortamar, ‘Jippie!! Dit Was Zó Leuk Om Te Doen!!’, the accent was kept in the translation and appeared originally in the post.

¹³⁷ Guerrillagardenersnl, ‘Zin in Een Workshop?’, *Instagram*, 13 October 2022, <https://www.instagram.com/p/CjpTWFCsSr2/?igsh=MWNnaW4wMHBmcTg5aA==>; Guerrillagardenersnl, ‘Maak Je Eigen Blijje Bijen Paradijs!’

¹³⁸ Examples are Civicamsterdam, ‘Tijdens de Week van de Participatie Werder Er Bij LOhuizen Guerrillazaadbommen Gemaakt’; Guerrillagardenersnl, ‘Heerlijk Bezig Tijdens de Eerste van Vijf Workshops’, *Instagram*, 23 June 2020, <https://www.instagram.com/p/CBxzZV6jSIP/?igsh=cTBvMjZxMnY4dWxo>; Moesmaatjes, ‘Zelf ZaadBommen Maken!’

¹³⁹ Bso_hetgrotehuis, ‘Wij Zijn Niet Bang Onze Handen Vuil Te Maken!’, *Instagram*, 26 March 2024, https://www.instagram.com/p/C4_LoNuIEvm/?igsh=MWVmnNfHMGk4ZWdleQ==.

4.2 Instagram images' intents: what meaning is constructed about flower bombing and the use of biomaterial?

Again the presentation of the identified categories will start of by turning to the topic which occurred the most (in 23 posts), which is the taking action for the bees and other pollinating insects. Thereafter, another big category was found, namely how together with the images there was put focus on how flower bombing is an easy mode of actually taking action, and how this was related to educating and doing activities with children. Then, a category pertaining to locations and places was identified, as this also came up in 25 posts, although for only ten posts the place or naming of location was made important by the poster. Then a minor category was distinguished, which grabbed my interest considering the way in which GG is somewhat illegal, but mostly been accepted, namely whether the practice is still cheeky and needs to take place in an “under-the-radar” manner or not.

4.2.1 “Save the bees,” a reoccurring theme

As already mentioned, the most prominent message within and together with the images was that of ‘save the bees.’ This was done in multiple ways. First and foremost, images and texts showed the importance to engage with flower bombing as it provides a way to feed the bee and promote the growth of flowers to safeguard the bees’ existence. A hashtag translates into feed the bee something extra, in Dutch it is a play on words as ‘bee’ and ‘extra’ are spelled similarly (*#voerdebijbij*).¹⁴⁰ The flyers in Figure 24 show how seed bombing is promoted to create a ‘foodbank for bees.’¹⁴¹ Also, language like ‘battle for more flowers and bees’ is visible.¹⁴² In addition, the use of bee and of butterflies emoticons and the combination with flower emoticons is striking. This is mostly done in captions of images, which are directly implicated in promoting taking action for the bee, but also in relation to images merely highlighting how the seed bombs are for bees or butterflies.¹⁴³

Next to this, the national sowing day in the Netherlands is promoted or named in images and their context eleven times. These were all issued in the context of taking action for the bee and biodiversity.¹⁴⁴ Here the Pollinators as an organisation is presented through images and in the use of hashtags and tagging too, nevertheless in a limited way. Still, it is interesting this organisation has come

¹⁴⁰ *_Lous.tuin_*, ‘Voer de Bij Bij’, *Instagram*, 22 April 2021, https://www.instagram.com/p/CN-Lf43nSWL/?igsh=NWJ6cWJyeGNhYW9z;_Lous.tuin_, ‘NATIONALE ZAAIDAG’, *Instagram*, 22 April 2021, <https://www.instagram.com/p/CN-L6HPnIuf/?igsh=b2NvaGx1emhnczEy>.

¹⁴¹ *_Lous.tuin_*, ‘Voer de Bij Bij’.

¹⁴² De_wilde_wereld, ‘GUERRILLA GARDENER Recently I Met Cerian van Gestel’.

¹⁴³ For the latter context, some examples are Esthers.tuin, ‘Zomaar Iets Liefs!’, De_zorgdragerij, ‘BERMBLOMMEN EN ZADENSLINGERS’, Guerrillagardenersnl, ‘Heerlijk Bezig Tijdens de Eerste van Vijf Workshops.’

And for the context of taking action explicitly, examples are the following: Guerrillagardenersnl, ‘Maak Je Eigen Blijje Bijen Paradijs!’, 30 April 2022; Guerrillagardenersnl, ‘Zin in Een Workshop?’, *Instagram*, 13 October 2022, <https://www.instagram.com/p/CjpTWFCsSr2/?igsh=MWNnaW4wMHBmcTg5aA==>; Groenlinksalmere, ‘Omdat Wij Zo Blij Zijn Met Alle Nieuwe Leden En Vrijwilligers’, *Instagram*, 28 August 2021, <https://www.instagram.com/p/CTHvADvIkUW/?igsh=b2c1ZzRpdjhiNjBs>.

¹⁴⁴ I.e. *_Lous.tuin_*, ‘NATIONALE ZAAIDAG’; Demoestuinmeester, ‘22 April Is Het Nationale Zaaidag!’, T.u.i.n.f.l.u.i.t.e.n, ‘Zaai Je Mee Op 22 April?’, *Instagram*, 10 April 2020, https://www.instagram.com/p/B-zYhd1D_IK/?igsh=MWR2N2R6Z2IycnV4eQ==; Pvddutrecht, ‘Vandaag Hebben We in Het Kader van #landelijkezaaidag “bloembommen” Gemaakt’, *Instagram*, 22 April 2022, <https://www.instagram.com/p/CcqW95V1bqx/?igsh=MXRiODF0cHljNDZxaQ==>.

up in the data as they are actively promoting for the national sowing day and the wild bee in general, but also in relation to the use of native plant seeds.¹⁴⁵

Finally, images also were reflecting bees and butterflies, such as in Figure 22 and 23. Still, the amount of images showing the pollinators was small. Only five times they were visible. This is interesting as the intent of 23 posts were tied to pollinators. Posts showed images like a bee resting on denim and a red butterfly resting on a bright blue towel.¹⁴⁶ Additionally, hexagon shapes and the use of the symbol in images showcasing flyers are identified. Here these are referring to the bee indirectly and to what they produce as well as it is the shape of their comb structure.¹⁴⁷ The same is also visible in the use of yellow and its relation to bees and other pollinators, as this relationship is established with other elements such as illustrations of these insects or wooden figures of them are visible.¹⁴⁸

Figure 22



Source: Demoestuinmeester 2021.

Figure 23



Source: Lopiccolaeva 2020.

The image contents such as the pollinator as its subject, or the use of yellow and hexagon shapes, seem closely related to meaning making surrounding flower bombing, and it being a technique for national sowing day and taking action for biodiversity. Figure 25 shows a poster for the national sowing day, which has a big space of yellow in the middle area of the image. This is one of the vocal points of the image. This is accompanied by bee illustrations, but also wildflowers in a variety of shapes and colours, on stems. The stems are illustrated by using a picture of a flower field, which is missing large pieces so creating the illusion of a field of flowers in total. Besides, the different flowers might also indicate how diversity in plants and flowers is important and a possible outcome if you partake in sowing on the national sowing day. Figures 24 and 26 also were images posted in combination to the national sowing day, but moreover were accompanied by text showing what sowing seeds can bring: loads of flowers from which bees and other insects can “*lekker smullen*,” which translates into ‘feast.’¹⁴⁹ In these images

¹⁴⁵ J.-P. Geelen, ‘Bijen Hebben Het Zwaar: Wat Kun Je Doen Om Ze Een Handje Te Helpen?’, *De Volkskrant*, 10 May 2024, <https://www.volkskrant.nl/cs-bd6944da/>.

¹⁴⁶ Demoestuinmeester, ‘22 April Is Het Nationale Zaaidag!’

¹⁴⁷ _Lous.tuin_, ‘Voer de Bij Bij’; _Lous.tuin_, ‘NATIONALE ZAAIDAG’; Tijdvoortamar, ‘Jippie!! Dit Was Zó Leuk Om Te Doen!!’

¹⁴⁸ T.u.i.n.f.l.u.i.t.e.n., ‘Zaai Je Mee Op 22 April?’; _Lous.tuin_, ‘NATIONALE ZAAIDAG’; Samsamzwarluis, ‘N A T I O N A L E Z A A I D A G’, *Instagram*, 21 April 2020, https://www.instagram.com/p/B_Pnu6pDvsJ/?igsh=OWdja2czdjV1aDI5.

¹⁴⁹ _Lous.tuin_, ‘Voer de Bij Bij’.

the hexagon shapes are visible in the flyers, but also in the setup of attributes (among which wooden shapes of a bee and flowers, and honeycombs).

Figure 24



Source: _Lous.tuin_ 2021.

Figure 25



Source: T.u.i.n.f.l.u.i.t.e.n 2020.

Figure 26



Source: _Lous.tuin_ 2021a.

The “save the bees” discourse is not standing distinctly. It is closely related to how some spaces could use some colour, and how the flower bombing is not only good for insects, animals and other non-humans, but also for ourselves. Its results are pretty. The greenery and flowers are nice because of its shapes, colours, and odours. The plants can make you happy and can promote your health.¹⁵⁰ The action is then not only made sense of for the promotion of biodiversity in itself, moreover the things this can bring us humans is tied to it.

4.2.2 “Groen moet je doen,” a focus on easy action and education

Another major trend through the images and texts is the centrality of showing how easy taking this action can be.¹⁵¹ Seed bombing is easy in production and in action to reach ‘places in need of GG:’ you can just put it in your coat’s pockets, carry it with you and take it out when you find a spot.¹⁵² The easiness of its production is marked by ‘you only need potting soil, water and flower seeds.’¹⁵³ Its relation to kids and how it is also a nice activity to do with them (the activity being the making of seed bombs and going flower bombing with them), creates even more the idea that partaking in flower bombing is easy. It is nice or even fun to do “voor jong en oud,” for all ages.¹⁵⁴ Moreover, you can just make seed bombs in a morning, so indirectly marking it does not take that much time too.¹⁵⁵ Thereafter, the easiness of the action is marked by other discourse surrounding how easy the effects of flower bombing are: ‘let the rain do its job and observe what a nice colour palette is the result!’¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁰ De_zorgdragerij, ‘BERMBLOMMEN EN ZADENSLINGERS’; Chickadeesnl, ‘Mooi He van Die Wilde Bossen’; Bso_hetgrotehuis, ‘Wij Zijn Niet Bang Onze Handen Vuil Te Maken!’; Tijdvoortamar, ‘Jippie!! Dit Was Zó Leuk Om Te Doen!!’

¹⁵¹ Maatschapwjj, ‘Tegels Wippen, Bloembommen Maken (En Gooien) of Een Boomspiegel Adopteren’.

¹⁵² Civicamsterdam, ‘Tijdens de Week van de Participatie Werder Er Bij LOhuizen Guerrillazaadbommen Gemaakt’.

¹⁵³ Groenisvandoen, ‘Kan Jouw Tuin, de Voet van Een Boom of Een Stuk Braakliggend Terrein Wat Kleur Gebruiken?’

¹⁵⁴ Groenisvandoen; Moesmaatjes, ‘Zelf ZaadBommen Maken!’; Inhettoverbosch, ‘Donderdag 22 April Is Het Nationale Zaaidag’; Hetamsterdamskleibedrijf, ‘#bloembommetjes #happytohelp #gardeningwithkids #guerillagardening’, *Instagram*, 16 April 2022, <https://www.instagram.com/p/CcbPJ6kIoic/?igsh=eGxwemE3NnB4MzVt>.

¹⁵⁵ Brigitta.nijssen, ‘Vanochtend Zaadbommen Gemaakt’.

¹⁵⁶ Groenisvandoen, ‘Kan Jouw Tuin, de Voet van Een Boom of Een Stuk Braakliggend Terrein Wat Kleur Gebruiken?’

In relation to this idea that is presented through images and captions of the posts relating to taking easy action, is the DIY component to it. Mostly, this becomes apparent in the making seed bombs yourself and how this is easy, and nice to do. Especially together with kids. This was seen in captions of the images, marking it with the hashtag ‘#diy.’¹⁵⁷ Next to this, the DIY mentality regarding taking (political) action, is presented. You can take matters into your own hands and really do something yourself. This becomes visible through the hash tagging of ‘#meergroenzelfdoen,’ ‘#groenisvandoen,’ and ‘#zetjestraatinbloei’ (translating into ‘make your street bloom’)¹⁵⁸ The first two hashtags make use of a word play in Dutch, as ‘groen’ and ‘doen’ rhyme and make a catchy phrase. A translation of both, could be ‘more green, make it happen yourself’ and ‘green represents doing.’ In this way, there is focus added onto taking action yourself and how this is a positive thing to do.

Surrounding both DIYing and the marking of flower bombing as an easy, fun action, an element of education is present: workshops and blogs are named in captions, and texts show also steps for making the seed bomb and information on the flower bomb.¹⁵⁹ Consequently, a link between flower bombing and educating on the practice is evident.

Then, the booklet *Seed bombs: Guerrilla Gardening with Flowers* (own translation) was seen in two images. One of these is visible in Figure 27. In the process of collecting and selecting data, the booklet appeared many times as well, so showing how it well-known. The images within the analysis presented the booklet in connection to creating awareness about flower bombing and what it can bring. In such manner it becomes connected to education again.

Figure 27



Source: Wereldvanesther 2020.

4.2.3 Places, locations, and garlands

Lastly, what was noted already during the collection and selection of data, it was highly visible that there was made uses of hashtags and location tagging to situate where the particular flower seed bombing

¹⁵⁷ Chickadeesnl, ‘Mooi He van Die Wilde Bossen’.

¹⁵⁸ Groenisvandoen, ‘Kan Jouw Tuin, de Voet van Een Boom of Een Stuk Braakliggend Terrein Wat Kleur Gebruiken?’; Guerrillagardenersnl, ‘Zin in Een Workshop?’; Guerrillagardenersnl, ‘Maak Je Eigen Blijje Bijen Paradijs!’; Magnoliatuinontwerp, ‘Geveltuinen in de Stad, Zie Jij Ze Vaak?’

¹⁵⁹ De_wilde_wereld, ‘GUERRILLA GARDENER Recently I Met Cerian van Gestel’; Demoestuinmeester, ‘22 April Is Het Nationale Zaaidag!’; Guerrillagardenersnl, ‘Op 16 November Pakken We Uit’, *Instagram*, 26 October 2022, <https://www.instagram.com/p/CkL2ybsMbe1/?igsh=MTdqa3J6cmxxcjUzeg==>.

(making or throwing) is taking place.¹⁶⁰ Next to this, the posts also informed about what particular places would be fitting for actually throwing the flower bomb. I interpreted this as a form of information provision and a certain making of ‘best practice’ surrounding GG through the flower bomb. I did so as the captions really offer a few spots for where you can throw the seed bomb, thereby limiting options. Besides, a certain caption marks how you could better not throw it on grass as this ground would limit the flower bomb’s ability to take root.¹⁶¹

Next to creating visibility of where a certain action is taking place, of where flower bombs might be thrown, the metaphor of a garland of flowers through the Netherlands, but also a literal garland of seed packages on a line, is present. Although the occurrence of garland or caravan with the goal of spreading wild flowers, was not that high, the raising of this image through visuals and use of naming did draw attention.

Figure 28



Source: De_zorgdragerij 2022.

4.2.4 *The limited idea of flower seed bombing being cheeky*

The last category which came up as a result, was only limitedly present, namely discourse surrounding the practice as something to be careful about. Rather the images and their captions showed how the practice is surrounded by a playful and informal attitude. It seems accepted as something to undertake and do. This was identified considering how two captions show emoticons such as the smirking devil and the angelic face in relation to describing how they will possibly spread some of the bombs in the neighbourhood and ‘did a little contest’ to see ‘who could throw them the farthest.’¹⁶² The latter shows a game element in this situation as well. Besides, another post marked in the description of at the end of the workshop they will go on an ‘expedition (in the dark)’ to throw the produced seed bombs in the neighbourhood, thereby hinting at how the practice is exciting.¹⁶³ A similar thing is distinguished in another post on how they threw seed bombs in their special places, they will miss because of moving.

¹⁶⁰ I.e. visible in Isil_vos, ‘Vandaag Gooiden We Met z’n Viertjes #zaadbommen’; Bso_hetgrotehuis, ‘Wij Zijn Niet Bang Onze Handen Vuil Te Maken!’; Guerrillagardenersnl, ‘Heerlijk Bezig Tijdens de Eerste van Vijf Workshops’.

¹⁶¹ Groenlinksalmere, ‘Omdat Wij Zo Blij Zijn Met Alle Nieuwe Leden En Vrijwilligers’; Civicamsterdam, ‘Tijdens de Week van de Participatie Werder Er Bij LOuizen Guerrillazaadbommen Gemaakt’; Guerrillagardenersnl, ‘Vandaag Is Het Nationale Zaaidag!’, *Instagram*, 22 April 2022, <https://www.instagram.com/p/CcpDoGguLqA/?igsh=Ynl0eDd4cTN0NTNI>; Annasmoestuin, ‘Ik Heb Een Superleuk Boek Gekregen van Mams’.

¹⁶² Pvddutrecht, ‘Vandaag Hebben We in Het Kader van #landelijkezaaidag “bloembommen” Gemaakt’; Esthers.tuin, ‘Zomaar Iets Liefs!’

¹⁶³ Guerrillagardenersnl, ‘Zin in Een Workshop?’

Here they put the hashtag ‘#naughty,’ however it seems rather playful instead of marking that they really did something “naughty” or you should not do.¹⁶⁴

Thus, the images and the texts accompanying them show how seed bombing is something to do in your spare time (in after scholarly activities as kids or on a morning), and an activity even political parties engage in when organising a nice day for getting to know and celebrating their volunteers as seen in other identified themes in the images and texts.

5. Discussion

The results of the visual analysis then provide several findings which stood out and relate to this research’ theory and reviewed literature. The first major finding was that images and their context show how flower bombing in the Netherlands is related to taking (practical) action towards biodiversity and helping pollinators as this is necessary in light of the amount of grey spaces and ecological pressures. People turned to the seed bomb to politically express themselves about these issues by providing a proposal through the workings of the seed bomb. This was deduced after looking the results of the visual analysis over, marking how prevalent the pollinators were taken action for by presenting how flower bombing is a way of taking proactive and helpful action. This is visible in images and narratives of moving from grey to green with colour explosions, from bad and negative to good and positive. Images were related to displaying this directly, or showing and promoting the national sowing day in the Netherlands with the argument that sowing for more green would help the bee, even generating ‘happy bees.’¹⁶⁵

Another major finding, related to the use of the seed bomb in particular, is that the power of the plant became visible through the visual analysis. Or more generally, the assertion of how non-humans next to humans are active agents in seed bombing can be made. Images showed a glimpse into the sprouting of seedlings, greenery in limited spaces such as in between the tiles of a building’s wall, and how patches of flowers could form itself out of the seed bomb.¹⁶⁶ Through the images and their context, posts established how seed bombs are able to create green oases, and they do so if conditions are right and in a way that marks their agency. Conditions like sufficient rainfall and ability to take root in the soil are fundamental.¹⁶⁷ But if these were present, green is able to sprout and over time create lush greens taking up space and growing flowers. These specifications in a way mark their aliveness: images showing fields of flowers, or flower bushes with flowers growing prominently alongside or in the middle

¹⁶⁴ Isil_vos, ‘Vandaag Gooiden We Met z’n Viertjes #zaadbommen’.

¹⁶⁵ The reference to happy bees is made in hashtags #blijebijbommen and #blijebijen such as in Guerrillagardenersnl, ‘Heerlijk Bezig Tijdens de Eerste van Vijf Workshops’; Guerrillagardenersnl, ‘Maak Je Eigen Blij Bijen Paradijs!’

¹⁶⁶ De_wilde_wereld, ‘GUERRILLA GARDENER Recently I Met Cerian van Gestel’; Magnoliatuinontwerp, ‘Geveltuinen in de Stad, Zie Jij Ze Vaak?’; Chickadeesnl, ‘Mooi He van Die Wilde Bossen’.

¹⁶⁷ Groenlinksalmere, ‘Omdat Wij Zo Blij Zijn Met Alle Nieuwe Leden En Vrijwilligers’; Guerrillagardenersnl, ‘Zin in Een Workshop?’; Groenisdvandoen, ‘Kan Jouw Tuin, de Voet van Een Boom of Een Stuk Braakliggend Terrein Wat Kleur Gebruiken?’

of other species mark their own organisation.¹⁶⁸ The biomaterial has the potential to ‘surprise us’ with what it will grow.¹⁶⁹ What is more, the glimpse into the places in which flowers are able to bloom and so not only create a relation with pollinator insects and provide ecological functions, but also they are good for “us.” The greenery and blooms will make people happy.¹⁷⁰

The third major finding was that some guerrilla gardeners in the Netherlands’ political expression through the flower bomb is closely related to DIY, to which the easiness of action-taking and education are closely linked. The majority of the images showed people making seed bombs, steps towards or the end result of making the seed bombs. Approximately ninety percent of the images with the seed bomb as its subject, showed self-made seed bombs. This was accompanied by remarks that you could follow a workshop on this, read a blog about it, or that it was a nice activity to do, even, or especially with your kids.¹⁷¹ Finally, an additional finding is that in the Netherlands flower seed bombing is very informal. The praxis is surrounded by being open about taking such action. This became visible through promoting workshops and other individuals in making seed balls and throwing these. Also, posts limitedly showed the cheeky side of seed bombing. Making a contest of throwing freshly made seed bombs, or hash tagging ‘#naughty’ was interpreted more as presenting the practice interesting, cute, and in some way normal and “everyday.”¹⁷² It is something you can just do and something fun.

5.1 Implications of the findings in relation to the literature

Then, to move to how the aforementioned findings relate to the context of the discussed theory and literature at the basis of this research, the analysis has then shown that GG with flower bombs in the Netherlands is a very practical act: it is done to help nature in providing its flowers for the bees (and other insects). Thereby it is mostly used as a form of activism for bees, and negative climate and neoliberal impacts – such as the increase of stoning our cities – on nature and pollinators, rather than creating visible flowers which take over (urban) space.¹⁷³ Thus, it seems that it resists yet proposes, thereby the conceptualisation proposed within the theory chapter in this research, with its ties to slow nonviolence, seems reinforced: it is a stance pollinator decline, and grey spaces. Additionally, for a lot of people engaging in the form of GG it is more about a proposal of aid and an alternative to the living environment, pollinators, plants, and a sustainable or green future.¹⁷⁴ In the end, it is argued that this

¹⁶⁸ Tijdvoortamar, ‘Jippie!! Dit Was Zó Leuk Om Te Doen!!’; De_wilde_wereld, ‘GUERRILLA GARDENER Recently I Met Cerian van Gestel’; T.u.i.n.f.l.u.i.t.e.n, ‘Zaai Je Mee Op 22 April?’

¹⁶⁹ Guerrillagardenersnl, ‘Maak Je Eigen Blijje Bijen Paradijs!’

¹⁷⁰ Inkstationzupthen, ‘Met de Lente in Zicht, Bereiden Wij Ons Alvast Voor Met Deze Bloembommen’.

¹⁷¹ Annasmoestuïn, ‘Ik Heb Een Superleuk Boek Gekregen van Mams’; Brigitta.nijssen, ‘Vanochtend Zaadbommen Gemaakt’; Civicamsterdam, ‘Tijdens de Week van de Participatie Werder Er Bij LOhuizen Guerrillazaadbommen Gemaakt’; Guerrillagardenersnl, ‘Heerlijk Bezig Tijdens de Eerste van Vijf Workshops’.

¹⁷² Isil_vos, ‘Vandaag Gooiden We Met z’n Viertjes #zaadbommen’; Pvddutrecht, ‘Vandaag Hebben We in Het Kader van #landelijkezaaidag “bloembommen” Gemaakt’; Guerrillagardenersnl, ‘Zin in Een Workshop?’

¹⁷³ Maatschapwijn, ‘Tegels Wippen, Bloembommen Maken (En Gooien) of Een Boomspiegel Adopteren’ shows the link to these challenges and ties to climate change; J. Marshman, A. Blay-Palmer, and K. Landman, ‘Anthropocene Crisis: Climate Change, Pollinators, and Food Security’, *Environments* 6, no. 22 (2019): 1–2, show for instance that the decline in pollinators and food security are related to human activity and climate change and that these links are increasingly established..

¹⁷⁴ For instance, marked by Lopiccolaeva, ‘We Zagen de Eerste Bij Op Het Dakterras’, *Instagram*, 10 April 2020, <https://www.instagram.com/p/B-zomq2DsYQ/?igsh=MXV3cWt6Yzl2ZHRwew==>; Tijdvoortamar, ‘Jippie!! Dit Was Zó Leuk Om Te Doen!!’; Chickadeesn1, ‘Mooi He van Die Wilde Bossen’; Annasmoestuïn, ‘Ik Heb Een Superleuk Boek Gekregen van Mams’.

would also aid the human as the greenery and flowers will lead to positive experiences of your living environment, and the importance of the bees and pollinating insects in relation to food security and ecosystem resilience.¹⁷⁵ On top of this, the “slow” part of the conceptualisation also seems fitting, considering the everydayness of the act and the workings of plant time, as Elton calls it: ‘plants operate in their own timeframe.’¹⁷⁶ Along these lines the political expression through the seed bomb is incremental (from sprouts to flower patches), related to time, and taking place in a space often deemed not political per se.

Then to move to how Reynolds states guerrilla gardeners use flowers instead of bullets as their weapon, and on the ways in which flowers are able to raise emotions, and are engaging politically, the findings relate to these topics as well. Although there was some exploration of the power of the metaphor of the flower bomb, an in depth exploration of the affect flowers can raise and how the flowers are political in light of seed bombing results was limited.¹⁷⁷ The thesis has then provided insights on these points. For one, the blooming of flowers and providing greenery as oases was shown through the images and the texts. Here it seems then indeed the seed bombs and their outcome have some metaphorical power then, as the outcomes still relate to calling it a bomb of seeds provides strength to the political power it exerts: the “weapon” proposes instead of destroys, the latter being what a bomb normally would result in. On top of this it seems that the flowers are political through its provision of a proposal through its ecological and material capacities. They are not only an emblem for positive outcomes, and brightness, they really do provide this in their environment. The green colours and brightly coloured flowers are said to create positive emotions and a nice environment to live in for humans, and provide a source of food for pollinators too.¹⁷⁸ A similar approach can be distinguished from images and a discourse on furthering seeding through the Netherlands with a bloom caravan and garlands of flowers through the state.¹⁷⁹ The use of this phrasing raises imagination of what this would look like, providing it productive power as it might help in promoting action. Yet, in the end the seed bombs and the results of flowers are not only political because of the metaphor. Rather the capacities the non-humans have as active agents are what makes them political too.

Then, the flower bombing with seemingly plants with a not directly useful or edible to use humans, also has implications when looking back on the research by Elton who showed how the existence of relational agency between people and edible plants marks how plants act politically in social realms. He said that additional research would be necessary to determine whether similar issues are present regarding ornamental plants.¹⁸⁰ Looking at the finding that flower bombs were put forward as

¹⁷⁵ Marshman, Blay-Palmer, and Landman, ‘Anthropocene Crisis’, 2–4.

¹⁷⁶ Elton, ‘Growing Methods’; Groenlinksalmere, ‘Omdat Wij Zo Blij Zijn Met Alle Nieuwe Leden En Vrijwilligers’; Bso_hetgrotehuis, ‘Wij Zijn Niet Bang Onze Handen Vuil Te Maken!’; Guerrillagardenersnl, ‘Yes! Twee Maanden (!) Na Het Gooien’.

¹⁷⁷ Badger, ‘Digging, Sowing, Tending, Harvesting (Making War-Fair)’; Pitts et al., ‘Learning with the Seed Bomb’.

¹⁷⁸ Bso_hetgrotehuis, ‘Wij Zijn Niet Bang Onze Handen Vuil Te Maken!’; Pvddutrecht, ‘Vandaag Hebben We in Het Kader van #landelijkezaaidag “bloembommen” Gemaakt’; Tijdvoortamar, ‘Jippie!! Dit Was Zó Leuk Om Te Doen!’; Guerrillagardenersnl, ‘Vandaag Is Het Nationale Zaaidag!’

¹⁷⁹ Inhettoverbosch, ‘Donderdag 22 April Is Het Nationale Zaaidag’; De_zorgdragerij, ‘BERMBLOMMEN EN ZADENSLINGERS’.

¹⁸⁰ Elton, ‘Growing Methods’.

having the ability to form a mutually beneficial interaction between pollinators, plants, and humans, the study than does hint at the idea that for ornamental plants as well vegetal politics and relational agency are in place. Plants depend to some extent on help from humans in being bolstered in other, or more places. Humans on the other hand depend on the plants for healthy living environments and ecosystem resilience.¹⁸¹

A further implication due to the finding that non-humans such as biomaterial of the flower bomb are active agents in the political expression, is that it reinforces the idea that it is necessary to acknowledge this in studies on GG. So, it substantiates the theory put forward by researchers like Tornaghi and Certomà that alliances are formed between humans and nonhumans in politically expressing oneself in a proactive way.¹⁸² In conclusion, the study and its findings then reinforce more generally the theory that flower bombing is a political practice flowing from a bottom-up approach, and showing slow nonviolence characteristics. The visual analysis has provided a way to establish this for flower bombing following an in-depth reading of rich data (images with captions, providing visual and textual data). Accordingly, detailed information has been collected about how some guerrilla gardeners politically express themselves through the seed bomb. Reasons for seed bombing were identified in the discourse, the practices surrounding seed bombing, and the workings together and of nonhumans have been uncovered through the images and their contexts.

Another result also stands out with regard to the visual analysis which aimed to zoom in on the biomaterial in comparison to the literature review. Namely, the way in which the making the seed bombs yourself, was the prevalent image presented by the posters relating to GG. It so creates a focus on the process with the biomaterial is already a matter of DIY-politics rather than only DIY in how there is acted with biomaterial (as a tool) in the social space to (re)make space, which was studied and noted already in relation to DIY urbanism.¹⁸³ Thereafter, it is also interesting to see how still there were also images showing commercial seed bombs, in this way marking how commercialisation of the seed bomb is also present in the Netherlands. Still, only three posts showed this presence in relation to naming GG in this study and selected data.¹⁸⁴

Finally, the findings also have implications on the literature pointing out that there is a prevalence of a heroic representation of GG and the human-centric bias within studies on GG in relation to this thesis. To start, a background of seed bombing, namely Fukuoka and the do-nothing-farming method is also visible in flower bombing in the Netherlands as it is presented in images and texts that

¹⁸¹ Elton; Marshman, Blay-Palmer, and Landman, 'Anthropocene Crisis', 1–4.

¹⁸² Certomà and Tornaghi, 'Political Gardening', 1125; Certomà, 'Critical Urban Gardening as a Post-Environmentalist Practice', 7, 9; Tornaghi and Certomà, *Urban Gardening as Politics*, 40.

¹⁸³ Bso_hetgrotehuis, 'Wij Zijn Niet Bang Onze Handen Vuil Te Maken!.' And DIY urbanism was for instance described in Baudry, 'Plants as a Tool for DIY Urbanism'; Spataro, 'Against a De-Politicized DIY Urbanism'; G.C.C. Douglas, 'Do-It-Yourself Urban Design: The Social Practice of Informal "Improvement" Through Unauthorized Alteration', *City & Community* 13, no. 1 (2014): 5–25.

¹⁸⁴ Chickadeesn1, 'Blossoms Zijn Kleurrijke Bloem "zaadbommetjes" Gemaakt in Nederland'; 'N A T I O N A L E Z A A I D A G'; Mijn_plantenwinkelte_atelier, 'De Zaadbommen van #kabloom Zijn Nu Afgeprijsd'.

the seed bomb will grow itself under good conditions.¹⁸⁵ In this regard the results show how the biomaterial is an active agent as well: it will grow itself and so provide its socio-ecological contributions.¹⁸⁶ Linking this to the argued human-centric bias this study wants to rework somewhat, it then is shown through the analysis that there is some interdependence between humans and non-humans, thereby showing how it is not only human political expression and acting. The visual analysis has then presented how the non-humans are active agents in several ways, so battling the bias.

Still, on the point of being mindful of the representation of GG, it is visible through the analysis the partakers and posters of flower bombing see their acting as heroic themselves. They present their acting as contributing to the environment and helping nature a little.¹⁸⁷ Then, the question remains whether the act and alliances with non-humans actually contributes that much to its aim. This is something this study cannot answer regarding the effects on ecosystem resilience and effects on mental health. Nevertheless captions indicate how users believe that plants promote enjoyment, and the spreading of greenery in neighbourhoods help bees survive here.¹⁸⁸ Besides, the study did show how political expression on the matters through biomaterial seems a viable route to generate resistance and a proposal towards promoting greenery locally. The practice then holds potential and power in proactively engaging – in a way that is relatively easy to undertake and promote – in matters of violence that are often not in sight directly, nor are regarded on top of the pyramid of important security questions. So, flower bombing can be seen as a political expression with value. I want to mark then that we should not be overly heroic of the practice, but even the small changes the practice brings might create benefits over time: not only the socioecological functions, but also bottom-up, proactive engagement with matters and promoting alliances with non-humans and their politicalness as well.

5.2 The significance and importance of the research study

To move to the significance of the findings of this thesis, firstly the study has presented academic contributions. It created an impulse to acknowledge the importance of setting the workings of plants and other nonhumans in political expression and action providing proposals central to inquiries into this type of activism. Also, another lens of flower bombing in particular flowing from a visual analysis has given visual insights into the shape flower seed bombing in the Netherlands takes, and concrete understandings of how precisely alliances are formed between humans and non-humans. Moreover, visual insights are rendered on the workings of biomaterial and plants, thereby creating awareness about how it is an active

¹⁸⁵ I.e. Guerrillagardenersnl, 'Vandaag Is Het Nationale Zaaidag!'; Guerrillagardenersnl, 'Yes! Twee Maanden (!) Na Het Gooien'; Groenisvandoen, 'Kan Jouw Tuin, de Voet van Een Boom of Een Stuk Braakliggend Terrein Wat Kleur Gebruiken?'

¹⁸⁶ The latter is visible in the connection between flower bombing and taking action for the bee, and creating food trails for them, i.e. presented in Guerrillagardenersnl, 'Vandaag Is Het Nationale Zaaidag!'; Demoestuinmeester, '22 April Is Het Nationale Zaaidag!'; De_wilde_wereld, 'GUERRILLA GARDENER Recently I Met Cerian van Gestel'.

¹⁸⁷ Guerrillagardenersnl, 'Op 16 November Pakken We Uit'; Guerrillagardenersnl, 'Heerlijk Bezig Tijdens de Eerste van Vijf Workshops'; Hetamsterdamskleibedrijf, '#bloembommetjes #happytohelp #gardeningwithkids #guerillagardening'.

¹⁸⁸ Guerrillagardenersnl, 'Vandaag Is Het Nationale Zaaidag!'; Groenlinksalmer, 'Omdat Wij Zo Blij Zijn Met Alle Nieuwe Leden En Vrijwilligers'.

agent, and how outcomes of the flower seed bombs are seen as relevant by people, which is again reinforced through the images and texts.

Further, what stands out in the result is how in the Netherlands flower bombing is prevalently linked to helping pollinators and politically expressing yourself on the matter of biodiversity. In other studies on GG and flower bombing mainly raised the understanding of it being a good tool for reaching places otherwise hard to attain. Besides, studies showed its origin and (metaphorical and literal) strength of disrupting spaces and property relations.¹⁸⁹ What then is new in the study and what it then adds to existing literature is foremost the detailed exploration of the case study of seed bombing in the Netherlands, and how it here is linked to taking action for pollinating insects. The mode of analysis has on this topic provided understandings through visuals and meaning-making through text, thus not only giving background information for why there is guerrilla gardeners with the flower bomb, but also how alliances with non-humans are formed and how they are active agents and vital to the politicalness of the act. Besides, it is then shown seed bombs are political in another way and on another topic next to challenging spatial justice: ecological resilience.

Also, I want to mark that the study makes a contribution academically in thinking on what acts can be considered slow nonviolence. As Piedalue has investigated slow nonviolence within a women's and sociocultural security matter, a very different social context is explored in this study which marks how the concept might not only hold value in relation to socio-political issues, but also for environmental questions and taking action here. Even though Boria has already coined nonviolence in relation to GG and food security, the study shows how temporalities and the context of political gardening are possibly important to regard in how there is made sense of the political expression.¹⁹⁰ On this point, the study then raises new questions, such as, is the nonviolence also incremental in its workings? Or, how does the political expression which starts in the private space (and can move into community action) influence public politics on the matters it aims to take action on? And, what role do non-humans have on the latter?¹⁹¹

Moreover, the study can be used as a springboard for further research on the contribution of seed bombing in terms of socioecological functions. Is the practice actually contributing to advancing pressures on biodiversity, or does it remain at the basis position: it provides small patches which can remind us of the importance? In extension of this, the study also raises questions regarding the function given to seed bombing in other places, as it is said that GG is very place-based in how the practice is formed.

Lastly, to reflect upon how the findings are significant when looking at the real world, GG and seed bombing seems a political expression within reach and with significance. It shows how in the

¹⁸⁹ Pitts et al., 'Learning with the Seed Bomb', 305–7.

¹⁹⁰ Boria, 'Guerrilla Gardening as Nonviolent Praxis: Existentialist Ethics in Food Deserts'.

¹⁹¹ A similar question/interest is put forward by Elton, 'Growing Methods', 109.

Netherlands there are guerrilla gardeners successfully engaging and aware of the value of proactively proposing change to contemporary challenges like ecological resilience and overly grey environments. Besides, it has shown how over time this has results marking how the action actually produces an outcome. Greenery in front of a façade or more colour in the neighbourhood are then rendered positive outcomes, which can be observed, while underlying to this the greenery also holds environmental potential (less visible). This can then serve to inspire action, awareness, and furthering political engagement in everyday spaces and life.

6. Conclusion

To conclude and answer the research question, the visual analysis focused on data on the Netherlands the past four years, has shown that here some guerrilla gardeners turn to the flower bomb to politically express themselves predominantly on issues surrounding the built environment, biodiversity and the survival of pollinators, and by extension sustainability and climate change. Furthermore, they express themselves through the flower bomb in relation to DIY. Moreover, the analysis has shown that the expression through the flower bomb is involved in relational agency, considering a major findings is that the flower bomb is an active agent to the expression. The seed bomb is growing itself and able to create greenery and colours as furthering greenery (against greyness and buildings) over time. Additionally, its socioecological functions are key in the way it establishes its active agent's capacities. Discourse on and images of the flower bomb present namely, that the plant's workings are crucial for another aim the practice pursues: furthering biodiversity and pollinator security. Subsequently, through the workings of the plants, flower bombing is not only resisting the issues it challenges, but also provide a proposal as it aids in improving issues. In this way, data and analysis has provided insights how within the political expression alliances are formed with biomaterial.

Moreover, in terms of what the research has uncovered about the case and the ambiguity surrounding flower bombing in the Netherlands, it then seems commercialisation might be present surrounding the seed bomb. However, in this study there was a focus on the self-proclaiming of being a guerrilla gardener, which lead to a limited examination of ambiguities surrounding this point. Nevertheless, the thesis has proved how in the Netherlands the practice is taken up in a way that marks acceptance and informality. Yet, further research on spaces within the "acceptance" might be interesting as some posts proposed how it is necessary to be aware of certain aspects of the practice like the type of seeds and place to throw the seed ball.

Still, the findings are specifically found in relation to the practice in the Netherlands. This makes that foremost the particular role of the flower bomb in relation to advancing biodiversity and political expression on the bee might be an aim different to those in other places. Besides, the results and findings of this study are strong in terms of zooming in on seed bombing as a practice of GG, but another

methodology might help to further understand and shift thinking on plants' agency and meddling in politics. Although a start is made in this thesis – thereby reinforcing the significance to address the human-bias in studies on GG, a central contribution of this study to the field of research –, it was based on images and meaning making of humans. More research on human-plant relationships and plant workings might be beneficial to further understand the importance of acknowledging plants and biomaterial as active agents (in socio-political realms). Lastly, regarding the ties to slow nonviolence, it seems interesting to deepen research on this point, especially on workings of time and how this is related to seed bombing and GG.

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Appendix

1. Oversight of the reviewed data

The oversight here is of the images, date of posting, location tagging (if applicable), and caption of the data which was analysed. See for the complete references the first part of the bibliography on ‘Selected empirical material.’ The annex is ordered similarly to the bibliography.

1.1 Instagram post by Annasmoestuïn, July 18, 2020.



“Ik heb een superleuk boek gekregen van mams. Zaadbommen maken en verspreiden (met beleid 😊) Braakliggend terrein, spoorwegen etc.(de wereld) opfleuren 🌱🌻🌸 dmv zaadbommen: klei, aarde, zand en natuurlijk zaad. Ook een leuk project voor/met de kinderen. [#zaadbommen](#)[#josiejeffery](#) [#bloemenpracht](#)[#guerrillatuinieren](#) [#insecten](#) [#vogels](#)[#bijen](#) [#vlinders](#) [#groenewereld](#)[#eetbaarbos](#)”

1.2 Instagram post by Brigitta.nijssen, April 23, 2020.

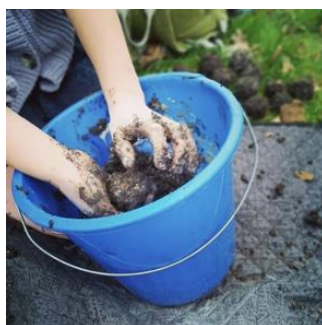


“Vanochtend zaadbommen gemaakt, nu al zin om ze te gaan verspreiden maar eerst moeten ze drogen [#geduldiseenschonezaak](#)[#zaadbommen](#) [#seedbombs](#)[#savethebees](#) [#reddebij](#)[#bloeiendebermen](#) [#biodiversiteit](#)[#guerillagardening](#)”

1.3 Instagram post by Bso_hetgrotehuis, March 26, 2024.

Location: “Scheveningen – Den Haag”

Slides 1-3 from left to right:



“Wij zijn niet bang om onze handen vuil te maken! Lekker met de handen in de aarde wroeten, fijn voor ons en fijn voor de bijtjes, vlinders en vogels. [#zaadbommen](#) [#guerrillatuinieren](#)[#savethebees](#) [#buitenschoolseopvang](#)[#antroposofischebso](#)[#vrijeschooldenhaag](#) [#scheveningen](#)[#hoofdharthanden](#)”

1.4 Instagram post by Chickadeesnl, April 21, 2022.

Slides 1-3 from left to right:



“Blossombs zijn kleurrijke bloem 'zaadbommetjes' gemaakt in Nederland met 100% natuurlijke ingrediënten en een biologische - speciaal voor bijen en vlinders - samengestelde zadenmix van wilde bloemen.

Gooi de Blossombs in de tuin, op het balkon wacht op de regen en na een paar weken genieten jij, de bij en de vlinders van de meest kleurrijke bloemen!

[#blossombs](#) [#bloemen](#) [#zaaien#moestuin](#) [#guerillagardening](#) [#intwild](#)
[#buitenleven](#) [#bloemenzaaien#bloembommetjes](#) [#zaadbommetjes#moederdag](#)”

1.5 Instagram post by Chickadeesnl, May 12, 2020.



“Mooi he van die wilde bossen die nu overal en nergens zomaar opkomen. Door vogels die t zaad verspreiden, de wind.. en zaadbommetjes!

Hoe je die zelf kunt maken lees je in mijn nieuwste blog!
Link in bio [↑](#) [→](#) Blog
[#wildtuinieren](#) [#guerillagardening#zaadbommen](#) [#zaadbommetjes](#)
[#diy#zelfmaken](#) [#voordebij](#) [#insecten#biodiversiteit](#)”

1.6 Instagram post by Civicamsterdam, June 17, 2022.

Slides 1-2 from left to right:



“Tijdens de Week van de Participatie werden er bij LOhuizen guerrillazaadbommen gemaakt. Een bloembom of zaadbom zoals veel mensen het noemen, is een rond pakketje bloemzaadjes, beschermd door klei en compost. Ideaal voor plekken waar je niet zomaar bij kunt, bijvoorbeeld

omdat er een hek omheen staat. Een bloembom stop je zo in je jaszak en haalt hem eruit als je een plek ziet die wel wat Guerrilla Gardening kan gebruiken.

Wil je zelf ook zaadbommen maken? Check deze link: <https://guerrillagardeners.nl/tips/bloembommen/>

1.7 Instagram post by Demoestuinmeester, April 8, 2021.

Location: "Utrecht, Netherlands"

Slides 1-4 from upper left to bottom right:



"22 april is het Nationale Zaaidag!! Met de [@guerrillagardenersnl](https://www.instagram.com/guerrillagardenersnl) zet ik mij deze maand extra hard in om de de wilde bij en andere bestuivende insecten te helpen overleven in de stad.

Volgende week dinsdag en woensdag geef ik in het kader van pilot Kids4Bees bloembommen workshops op vier basisscholen in Utrecht. De bloembommen bestaan uit compost, klei, water en inheemse bloemenzaadjes. De Vrije School Utrecht (2 locaties), Paulusschool en kbs de Jazzsingel zijn de scholen die meedoen.

In de workshop kneden de kinderen de bloembommen zelf en leren ze over waarom de bij belangrijk is en hoe ze de bij kunnen helpen door de bommen te gooien op kale plekken in de stad.

Kis4Bees wordt gesubsidieerd door Utrecht4GlobalGoals in de gemeente Utrecht en gebeurt in samenwerking met [@brightmeadowfoundation](https://www.instagram.com/brightmeadowfoundation) [@koningshofutrecht](https://www.instagram.com/koningshofutrecht) [@oosterspoorbaan](https://www.instagram.com/oosterspoorbaan) [@guerrillagardenersnl](https://www.instagram.com/guerrillagardenersnl)

Meer weten over de Nationale Zaaidag op 22 april? Check [@guerrillagardenersnl](https://www.instagram.com/guerrillagardenersnl) of op Kids4Bees fb voor meer info.

[#utrecht](https://www.instagram.com/utrecht) [#nationalezaaidag](https://www.instagram.com/nationalezaaidag) [#pollinators](https://www.instagram.com/pollinators) [#lentekriebels](https://www.instagram.com/lentekriebels) [#bloembommen](https://www.instagram.com/bloembommen) [#biodiversiteit](https://www.instagram.com/biodiversiteit)"

1.8 Instagram post by De_wilde_wereld, September 8, 2020.

Slides 1-5 from upper left to bottom right:



“GUERRILLA GARDENER Recently I met Cerian van Gestel, the first ‘guerrilla gardener’ I had ever met in my life! Cerian is a biologist and campaigner; together with her partner at foundation Guerrilla Gardeners, she is trying to make the urban environment a bit greener. For this purpose she creates special ‘flower bombs’, little balls of clay, compost and seeds of plants that are endemic to the area. You simply throw them in a place that could use some botanic brightening. They will not only cheer up your neighborhood, but they will also make lots of insects happy! On the website, www.guerrillagardeners.nl, you can order flower bombs but you can also find instructions to make them yourself. This season is a good time for sowing! [#guerrillagardening](#)[#guerrillagardens](#)[#guerrillagardeners](#)[#flowerbombs](#)[#seedbombs](#)[#levendarchief](#)[#bloembommen](#)[#stedelijkevergroening](#)[#de_wilde_wereld](#)”

1.9 Instagram post by De_zorgdragerij, February 13, 2022.

Slides 1-3 from left to right:



“🌱🌱🌱 BERMBLOMMEN EN ZADENSLINGERS: HET VOORJAAR WORDT EEN FEESTJE! 🌱🌱🌱

Elk jaar staat onze Kloostertuin in volle bloei. De meest prachtige kleuren, vormen en geuren zijn

een feestje voor ons én voor alle insecten! Daar willen we zoveel mogelijk mensen van laten meegenieten.

Meer weten of bestellen? Klik op onderstaande link!
<http://www.dezorgdragerij.nl/2022/02/13/bermbloemen-en-zadenslingers-het-voorjaar-wordt-een-feestje/>

[#eigenoogst](#) [#zaden](#) [#eenjarigebloemen](#)[#meerjarigebloemen](#) [#recycling](#)[#upcycling](#)
[#zetdebloemetjesbuiten](#)[#guerillagardening](#) [#zaadbommen](#)[#zadenslingers](#) [#bermbloemen](#)”

1.10 Instagram post by Edith.vandenbroek, May 15, 2021.



“[#zaadbommen](#) [#zaadbommenmaken](#)[#natuurlijkekleurstoffen](#)
[#biologisch](#)[#bijen](#) [#vlinders](#) [#guerillagardening](#)”

1.11 Instagram post by Eentuintjeinlochum, March 31, 2020.

Location: “Bosrijk Ruighenrode”



“[#zaadbommen](#)
[#bloembommen](#)[#bloembommetjesmaken](#) [@guerrillagardenersnl](#)
ter voorbereiding van 22 april”

1.12 Instagram post by Esthers.tuin, May 10, 2022.



“Zomaar iets liefs! 🦋🌸🐾

Wat een leuk pakketje vond ik gisteren in de bus: zaadbommen met vlinderbloemenmix en een zakje bijenmix. Ik denk dat ik een paar zaadbommen in mijn eigen tuin verspreid en een paar als guerrilla-actie in de buurt ga rondgooien 🐾

Dank voor het leuke pakketje [@zaadbom](#) 🦋 Resultaatfoto volgt 🌸





[#zaadbom](#) [#seeds](#) [#zaden](#) [#vlinders#bijen](#) [#pollinators](#)
[#pollinatorgarden#butterflies](#) [#bees](#) [#wildflowers#flowergarden](#)
[#seedbom](#) [#seedbombs#zaaien](#) [#sowingseeds#guerrillagardening](#)
[#sowing](#) [#gardening#gardens](#) [#tuinieren](#) [#bloementuin#insects](#)
[#pollination](#) [#savethebees#vlindertuin](#) [#gifted](#)
[#zaadbommen#gardenlovers](#)”

1.13 Instagram post by Groenezorro 2021.

Location: “The Netherlands”

Slides 1-2 from left to right:



“Pas vorig jaar kennis gemaakt met de paarse Angelica. Een 2 jarige plant die van mij de wereld over mag nemen, samen met de Blauwe Regen (Wisteria) en de Wilde Wingerd (Parthenocissus). Stel je voor.... 😊. Angelica, If it were up to me, this plant will take over the world, together with Wisteria and Parthenocissus. Imagine... 😊 Zijn deze ook te verwerken in een bom? Is it possible making bombs with Angelica seed? [#angelica](#) [#engelwortel#guerillagardening](#) [#seedbombs#bloemzaadbommen](#)”

1.14 Instagram post by Groenivandoen 2020.

Slides 1-7 from upper left to bottom right:





“Kan jouw tuin, de voet van een boom of een stuk braakliggend terrein wat kleur gebruiken? Gooi een zaadbom! Leuke activiteit voor jong en oud!

Het enige wat je nodig hebt is potaarde, water en bloemzaadjes. Laat de regen zijn werk doen en zie wat een prachtig kleurenpallet! [#groenisvandoen](#) [#zaadbommen](#) [#kleur#bloemen](#) [#guerillagardening](#) [#cruydtboek](#)”

1.15 Instagram post by Groenlinksalmere, September 7, 2021.

Location: “Almere”

Slides 1-5 from upper left to bottom right:





GROENLINKS



GROENLINKS

“Afgelopen zaterdag hebben wij met onze nieuwe leden en vrijwilligers een huis-aan-huis ronde gelopen in Eilandenbuurt, met een workshop bloembommetjes maken bij VINDplaats Zenit als afsluiter. 🌻🌿

Uit een van de gesprekken met bewoners hebben wij de gouden tip gekregen om problemen zoals losse stoeptegels en zwerfvuil te melden via de app [@buitenbeter](#). Via deze weg geef je eenvoudig deze wijkproblemen door aan de gemeente! 📱

Het was een zeer leerzame en gezellige dag en wij willen ook iedereen bedanken die met ons meedeed! ❤️🌿

[#GroenLinks](#) [#Almere](#) [#Raad036#NieuweLedendag](#) [#Workshop#GuerillaGardening](#)
[#Bloembommen#HuisAanHuizen](#)”

1.16 *Instagram post by Groenlinksalmere, August 28, 2020.*
Location: “Almere”



“Omdat wij zo blij zijn met alle nieuwe leden en vrijwilligers, organiseren wij op zaterdag 4 september om 13:00 een nieuwe ledendag! 🌻 Tijdens deze editie gaan wij kort huis-aan-huizen in de Eilandenbuurt, gevolgd door een ontzettend leuke workshop bloembommetjes maken bij VINDplaats Zenit! 🌿

Gooi de bloembommetjes in je tuin, op een braakliggend stukje grond, in een kale berm, langs een sloot of in een pot op je balkon. Na een paar weken groeien er de mooiste bloemen waar bijen, vlinders en hommels, maar ook mensen, van zullen genieten. 🐝🌿

Wil jij graag meedoen tijdens deze nieuwe ledendag? Laat dan een comment achter of stuur ons een DM! 📧

Kan jij helaas niet meedoen tijdens deze dag? Op 18 september organiseren wij voor World Clean Up Day een huis-aan-huis en schoonmaak dag, met een vegetarische BBQ als afsluiter! Houd onze sociale media of de nieuwsbrief hiervoor in de gaten. 🗣️

[#GroenLinks](#) [#Almere](#) [#Raad036#NieuweLedendag](#)
[#Workshop#GuerillaGardening](#) [#Bloembommen](#)”

1.17 *Instagram post by Guerrillagardenersnl, June 23, 2020.*
Slides 1-3 from left to right:



“Heerlijk bezig tijdens de eerste van vijf workshops [#bloembommen](#) maken in [#Groningen](#). We geven deze op initiatief van [@grunneger.power](#) tijdens de [#energieweek](#). Nienke van [@magnoliatuinontwerp](#) neemt je mee in de wereld van bloembommen. 🌸🌻🌺🌷🌹

[#bloemexplosie](#) [#guerrillagardenersnl#workshop](#) [#anderhalvemeter#zetjebuurtinbloei](#)
[#alternatieftuinieren#blijebijbommen](#) [#lekkerbezig](#)”

1.18 *Instagram post by Guerrillagardenersnl, April 16, 2022.*



“Maak je eigen Blij Bijen Paradijs!

Hier is de opdracht van week 5: Bloembommen maken.

Vorige week ben jij op jacht gegaan naar de meest grijze en kale plekken in jouw buurt. Deze week gaan we de eerste stap zetten om die grijze plekken vol groen te krijgen...

Deze week ga je bloembommen maken. Een bloembom is een pakketje bloemzaadjes, beschermd door klei en compost. Het zijn kleine ronde bolletjes met daarin verstopt de potentie om mensen te verrassen met tientallen bloemen!

We hebben ook een speciale variant voor je - een PAAS bloembom! Gemaakt van een blij ei natuurlijk. 🐣

De instructies voor het maken van de twee soorten bloembommen vind je in de mail van deze week. Ontvang je de mail niet, geen zorgen, in ons blog vind je dezelfde info.

In onze blog vind je ook een cadeau, pro tip en nog veel meer! Kijk op onze site via de link in bio.

Veel plezier met de opdracht van deze week. 🌸🌻🌺🌷🌹👍

[#kids](#) [#kinderen](#) [#basisschool](#) [#BSO#gezin](#) [#bloembom](#) [#zaadbom](#)

[#pasen#buurtvergroeners](#) [#zetjestraatinbloei#school](#)
[#nationalezaaidag](#) [#zaaidag#blijebijen](#) [#bloemexplosie](#)”

1.19 *Instagram post by Guerrillagardenersnl, April 30, 2022.*



“Maak je eigen Blijebijen Paradijs!

Hier is de opdracht van week 7: Op stoeplantjes expeditie!

We gaan op zoek naar kanjer stoeplanten om deze te beschermen. Deze planten groeien op plekken waar de meeste planten niet kunnen groeien. Ze groeien tussen stoeptegels of in kieren van muren. Het zijn dus echte kanjers en ze zorgen voor groen op grijze, kale plekken.

Stoeplanten zijn belangrijk voor bijen en andere vliegende insecten. Helaas denken mensen vaak dat stoeplanten onkruid zijn en worden ze weggeplukt.

Jij kunt de stoeplanten beschermen. Pak je stoeperkrijt erbij en maak een wandeling door de buurt. Met krijt schrijf je de naam bij de plant. Door de stoeplanten een naam te geven vallen ze meer op en worden ze hopelijk niet geplukt.

In onze blog vind je naast de stoeplantjes expeditie ook een cadeau, pro tip en nog veel meer! Kijk op onze site via de link in bio.

Veel plezier met de opdracht van deze week. 🐝🌸👍

Met dank aan [@hortusleiden](#) en [@stoeplantjes](#) voor het supergoede idee!

[#kids](#) [#kinderen](#) [#basisschool](#) [#BSO#gezin](#) [#bloembom](#)
[#zaadbom#buurtvergroeners](#) [#zetjestraatinbloei#school](#)
[#nationalezaaidag](#) [#blijebijen#bloemexplosie](#) [#stoeplantjes](#)
[#cadeau](#)”

1.20 *Instagram post by Guerrillagardenersnl, October 26, 2022.*



“Op 16 november pakken we uit, want die avond gaan we bloembommen én bloeipapier maken!

👉 Leer oud papier recyclen om vellen te maken waarin zaadjes zijn verwerkt. Perfect voor de kaarten die je in de aankomende vakantie periode wil gaan sturen! Zo krijgen je favoriete mensen er ook gelijk een bosje bloemen bij. Oké, wel pas in de lente 🌿🌸🍌

👉 Leer hoe je onze groene wapens maakt: bloembommen.

Je mag zelf zaadjes van huis meenemen, of je kiest leuke zaden uit onze uitgebreide voorraad.

Daarna gaan we (in het donker) op bloembomexpeditie door de naburige wijk. Welke plek gaan we in bloei zetten? Natuurlijk mag je de bommen (en het papier) ook mee naar huis nemen om daar de boel te verrassen met een bloemexplosie.

Doe de bijen dubbel plezier met dit dubbel zaaifeestje! 🐝

Waar: Hoofdkwartier Guerrilla Gardeners, Vlampijpstraat 84, Utrecht

Wanneer: 16 nov, 20 - 21:30u

Wat: bloembommen expeditie + bloeipapier

Kosten: 7,50 als bijdrage aan materialen

Voor deze workshop is het nodig je in te schrijven. Hij gaat door bij minimaal 6 deelnemers, maximaal 14.

Schrijf je in via het formulier dat je vindt via de link in bio.

ps: deze workshop is deel van een reeks workshops die de komende tijd in onze hoofdkwartier zullen plaatsvinden!

[#workshop](#) [#utrecht](#) [#groenbezig#bloeipapier](#) [#zaadpapier](#)
[#bloembom#zaadbom](#) [#gezellig](#)
[#neemvriendenmee#HofvanCartesius](#) [#duurzaam](#)"

1.21 Instagram post by Guerrillagardenersnl, April 22, 2022.



“Vandaag is het Nationale Zaaidag! En daar hebben we in onze serie voor een eigen Blijje Bijen paradijs de perfecte opdracht voor: bloembommen gooien.

Door zo bloemen te zaaien op grijze plekken help je de bijen. Ze hoeven niet ver naar eten te zoeken en kunnen in jouw buurt blijven wonen. Gezellig, vliegende burens.

We krijgen vaak de vraag: "hoe moet ik bloembommen planten". Maar bloembommen zijn geen zaden die je moet zaaien. Zo'n bom is het wapen van Guerrilla Gardeners, en ooit verzonnen om op moeilijk bereikbare plekken bloemen te zaaien. Dus: gooi de bloembom naar een plek die je lastig kunt bereiken. Bijvoorbeeld een plek die ver weg ligt of achter een hek.

Gooi de bloembom niet op gras, dan komen de zaden lastig op. Deze en nog meer tips voor het verspreiden van je bloembommen vind je in de mail van deze week.

Ontvang je de mail niet, geen zorgen, in ons blog vind je dezelfde info. In onze blog vind je ook een cadeau, pro tip en nog veel meer! Kijk op onze site via de link in bio.

Veel plezier met de opdracht van deze week. 🐝🌻👍

[#kids](#) [#kinderen](#) [#basisschool](#) [#BSO#gezin](#) [#bloembom](#)
[#zaadbom#buurtvergroeners](#) [#zetjestraatinbloei#school](#)
[#nationalezaaidag](#) [#zaaidag#blijebijen](#) [#bloemexplosie](#)”

1.22 *Instagram post by Guerrillagardenersnl, June 11, 2020.*



“Yes! Twee maanden (!) na het gooien kun je aan deze bloembom wat voorzichtige kiemplantjes zien ontspruiten. De regen van de afgelopen tijd heeft heel veel goed gedaan! Want die zaadjes in zo’n balletje met klei en compost moeten natuurlijk wel de goede omstandigheden vinden om te kunnen gaan groeien, en water is behoorlijk essentieel. ☺

Soms zie je pas na jaren effect van een bloembom. Zo had ik twee jaar geleden bloembommen met stokrooszaad langs een gebouw gegooid. Nu pas zie ik er een stokroos groeien. 🌻🌻

Ons nieuwste blog gaat over de vraag „wanneer komt mijn bloembom uit?“ Ook lezen? Zie de link in de bio.

Wat zijn jouw ervaringen?

[#guerrillagardenersnl](#) [#bloemexplosie#zetjebuurtinbloei](#)
[#groenevingers#meergroenzelfdoen](#)
[#flowerpower#zappyourplanet](#) #tip [#bloembom#zaadbom](#)”

1.23 *Instagram post by Guerrillagardenersnl, October 13, 2022.*



“Zin in een workshop? We gaan er de komende tijd een aantal plannen in ons hoofdkwartier in Utrecht.

Nu onze knallende landelijke campagne het Boomspiegelfeest achter de rug is kunnen we weer vooruit kijken. Zin in!

Hier de aankondiging van de eerste workshop uit de serie. Op 9 november geven we een workshop waar je gaat leren hoe je groene wapens maakt: bloembommen (zaadbommen). Je mag zelf zaadjes meenemen, of je kiest uit onze grote voorraad zaadjes. Daarna gaan we (in het donker) op expeditie door de naburige wijk om ze te gooien.

Met planten en bloemen om je heen krijg je een beter humeur en red je wilde bijen. De Guerrilla Gardeners helpen je om jouw buurt om te toveren in een groene oase. 🌻🌿🐝

Waar: Hoofdkwartier Guerrilla Gardeners, Vlampijpstraat 84, Utrecht.

Wanneer: 9 november, 20u-21:30u

Wat: workshop bloembommen en expeditie door de wijk

Kosten: 7,50 als bijdrage aan materialen.

Meer info en aanmelden, zie de link in bio.

[#workshop](#) [#opinschrijving](#) [#meldjeaan#doemee](#) [#groenewijk](#)
[#groenebuurt#buurtvergroeners](#) [#Utrecht#meergroenzelfdoen](#)
[#zetjebuurtinbloei#groenstraten](#) [#tuinieren](#)
[#bloembom#zaadbom](#)”

1.24 Instagram post by Hetamsterdamskleibedrijf 2022.



“🌱🌻🌸🌼🌿🌾🌾
[#bloembommetjes](#)
[#happytohelp](#)
[#gardeningwithkids](#)
[#guerillagardening](#)”

1.25 Instagram post by Inhetverbosch 2021.

Location: “Den Haag”

Slides 1-4 from upper left to bottom right:



“Donderdag 22 april is het Nationale Zaaidag en wij doen mee met De bloeikaravaan van de [@guerillagardenersnl](#) ! Samen maken en verspreiden we op de Nationale Zaaidag zo veel mogelijk bloembommen en creëren we een bloemenzee door Nederland.

Kinderen leren over de wilde bij, maken bloembommen en gaan in hun eigen omgeving op zoek naar plekken die groen en kleur kunnen gebruiken – op bloembom-jacht!

Workshop: van 15:30-17:00 uur, vergoeding €1,50 pp. voor het materiaal (PIN).

Aanmelden via info@inhettoverbosch.nl, vermeld het aantal deelnemers en hun leeftijd. Er zijn max 20 plekjes. [#bloeikaravaan](#) [#nationalezaaidag](#)[#bloemzaadbommen](#) [#zaadbommen](#)[#bloembommen](#) [#guerillagardening](#)”

1.26 Instagram post by Inkstationzutohen 2021.



“Met de lente in zicht, bereiden wij ons alvast voor met deze bloembommen. Werp bollen met inheemse bloemenzaad op een stuk braakliggend grond, onder de boom in je straat of in je eigen tuin. Na enkele weken heb jij, de bijen, vlinders en de buurt er een lange tijd plezier van een fleurige bloemenpracht.

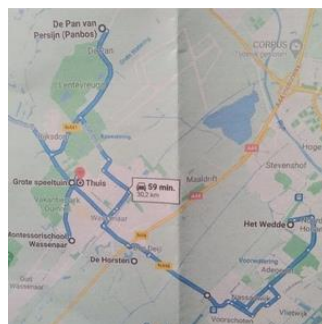
.
. .

[#inkstationzutphen](#)[#spitaalstraat47](#)[#zutphen](#)[#dewinkelmetdehuisjes](#)[#inkville](#)[#bloembommen](#)
[#lente](#) [#bijen](#) [#vlinders](#)[#inheems](#) [#guerrillagardener](#) [#blijebijen](#)”

1.27 Instagram post by Isil.vos 2021.

Location: “Wassenaar”

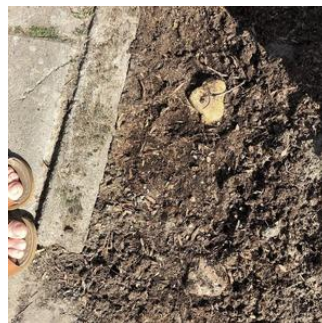
Slides 1-4 from upper left to bottom right:





“Vandaag gooiden we met z'n viertjes [#zaadbommen](#) met vergeet-me-nietjes op alle plekken die we gaan missen in en om [#wassenaar](#) beetje verdrietig, maar ook heel leuk!
 .
[#countdown](#) Nog maar 3 weken en dan vertrekken we naar [#drenthe](#)
 .
 .
[@houtvaneijk](#)
[#guerillagardening](#) [#seadbombs](#) [#stout#afscheidnemen](#) [#verhuizing#nieuwleven](#) [#spannend](#)
[#ritueel](#)”

1.28 *Instagram post by Lapidicolaeva 2020.*
 Slides 1-4 from upper left to bottom right:



“VE We zagen de eerste bij op het dakterras. We probeerden te zien hoe ze haar lange tong in de bloesem van de blauwe bes stak. Daarna lasen we over de bijen en hoe ze honing maken. ‘We moeten meer bloemen, mama! Voor de bijen.’ En dus schoffelden we een perkje langs de stoep om en strooiden er de zaadjes die we de vorige zomer hadden verzameld uit. Ze doneerde ook nog haar zelf gemaakte zaadbommen.
 Doen jullie ook aan guerrilla gardening?”

GB We spotter the first bee on our terrace. We tried to see her long tongue, as she stuck it down the

blueberry blossoms. We then read about bees and how they make honey. ‘We need more flowers, mommy. For the bees!’ So we prepared a patch along the curb and sprinkled the seeds we collected last Summer. And she donated the flower bombs she made. Do you do guerrilla gardening too? [#kleingeluk](#) [#livethelittlethings](#)[#themagicalmundane](#)[#childhoodunplugged](#)[#evenmeteenkleuter](#)[#lifewithatoddler](#)[#toddlerlife](#) [#reddebij](#) [#savethebees](#)[#savetheplanet](#)[#guerrillagardening](#)[#zaadbommen](#) [#seedbombs](#)”

1.29 *Instagram post by [_Lous.tuin_](#), April 22, 2021.*



“🐝 NATIONALE ZAAIDAG 🐝
[#NationaleZaaidag](#)
[#BloemBom](#)
[#BloemBommen](#)
[#BloemBombarderen](#)
[#LousTuin](#)
[#LouLekkerLand](#)
[#Moestuin](#)
[#Volkstuin](#)
[#VolkstuinVereniging](#)
[#VolkstuinVerenigingMaastricht](#)
[#GuerillaGardening](#)
[#KidsGarden](#)
[#VegetableGarden](#)
[#SeedBomb](#)
[#GuerillaGardener](#)
[#GuerillaGardeners](#)
[#BloeiKaravaan](#)
[#VoedselbankVoorBijen](#)
[#VoerDeBijBij](#)
[#ThePollinators](#)
[#BijenStichting](#)
[#StichtingBijenvrienden](#)
[#SeeYouLaterPollinator](#)”

1.30 *Instagram post by [_Lous.tuin_](#), April 22, 2021a.*



“Voer de bij bij 🐝! Kom bij mij een zakje biologische zaadjes ophalen en draag je steentje bij 🐝! Vandaag is het nationale zaaidag, dus wip die steen eruit en begin te zaaien! Dan kunnen binnenkort bijen en andere bestuivende insecten lekker smullen van alle bloemen ! See you later pollinator!



[#NationaleZaaidag](#)
[#BloemBom](#)
[#BloemBommen](#)
[#BloemBombarderen](#)
[#LousTuin](#)
[#LouLekkerLand](#)
[#Moestuin](#)

#Volkstuin
#VolkstuinVereniging
#VolkstuinVerenigingMaastricht
#GuerillaGardening
#KidsGarden
#VegetableGarden
#SeedBomb
#GuerillaGardener
#GuerillaGardeners
#BloeiKaravaan
#VoedselbankVoorBijen
#VoerDeBijBij
#ThePollinators
#BijenStichting
#StichtingBijenvrienden
#SeeYouLaterPollinator”

1.31 *Instagram post by Maatschapwij, September 28, 2022.*



“Tegels wippen, bloembommen maken (en gooien) of een boomspiegel adopteren: het vergroenen van je buurt is makkelijker dan je denkt.

Met de tips van bioloog en guerrilla gardener Cerian 'Jenny' van Gestel (link in bio) geef je vandaag nog de #biodiversiteit en je eigen gezondheid een boost.

♥ @guerrillagardenersnl

#groen #duurzaam #duurzaamheid#vitaal #bloembommen #tegelswippen#boomspiegel
#vergroenen#vangrijsnaargroen #groenestad#gezondestad #gezondheid #buiten#klimaat
#klimaatverandering”

1.32 *Instagram post by Magnoliatuinontwerp, June 25, 2020.*
Location: “Groningen”



“Geveltuinen in de stad, zie jij ze vaak? De eerste 30cm aan je gevel mag je ‘ontstenen’ en vergroenen. Kijk maar ns hoe sfeervol dat lijkt!
[#stadstuin# groningen](#) [#guerillagardening#groenmoetjedo](#)
[#bloembommen#grunnegerpower](#)”

1.33 *Instagram post by Mijn_plantenwinkeltje_atelier, April 23, 2020.*

Location: “Voorlopig Rotterdam”



“De zaadbommen van [#kabloom](#) zijn nu afgeprijsd bij [@voorlopigrotterdam](#) naar maar 4 euro 🍷

De varianten zijn;
[#butterfly](#) bom voor vlinderplanten
[#feather](#) bom voor vogel planten
[#pollinator](#) bom voor [#bijen](#) planten [#wilderbom](#) voor mix wilde planten

[#Zaadbom](#) [#bloemen](#) [#zaaien](#) [#lente#guerillagardening](#)
[#kadootjes](#) [#liefde#botanisch](#) [#duurzaam](#)
[#localbusiness#mijnplantenwinkeltje](#)”

1.34 *Instagram post by Moesmaatjes, April 8, 2021.*

Location: “Utrecht, Netherlands”

Slides 1-5 from upper left to bottom right:





“Zelf ZaadBommen maken! Inheemse- en biologische bloemen. Binnenkort gaan we deze bommen gooien... wordt vervolgd!
[#permaculture](#) [#zaadbommen](#)[#bloemzaden](#) [#gurillagardening](#)[#buitenleven](#) [#buitenplezier](#)”

1.35 *Instagram post by Pvddutrecht, April 22, 2022.*
 Slides 1-4 from upper left to bottom right:



“Vandaag hebben we in het kader van de [#landelijkezaaidag](#) 'bloembommen' gemaakt bij [@guerrillagardenersnl](#) bij het [@hofvancartesium](#), en we deden een wedstrijdje wie ze het verste kon gooien 🍷 Het Hof wordt hierdoor steeds groener en insectvriendelijker, leuk! 💚

[#bloembommen](#) [#bloembollen](#)[#bloemen](#) [#zaaidag](#) [#groen](#)”

1.36

Instagram post by Samsamzwarluis, April 21, 2020.

Slides 1-6 from upper left to bottom right:



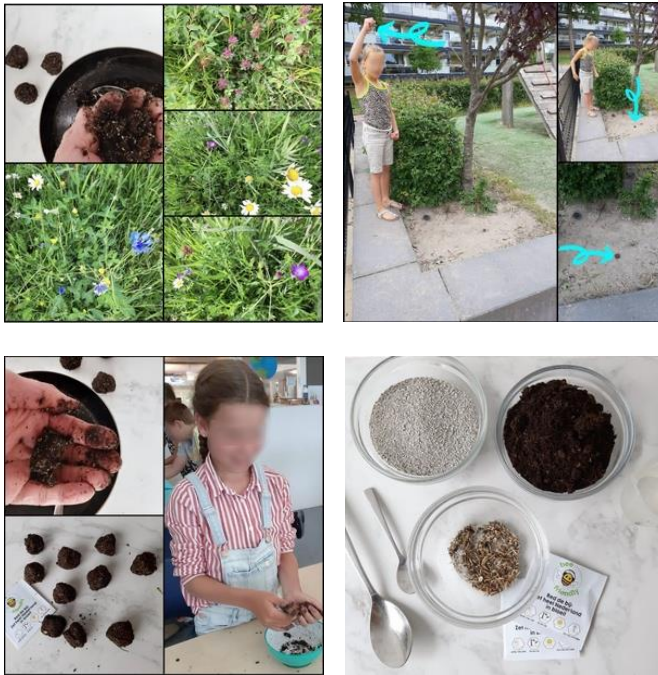
“N A T I O N A L E Z A A I D A G

Morgen is het nationale zaaidag. Hét moment om zo'n zaadbommetje (aan jezelf) cadeau te geven.

Morgenochtend doe ik een bezorg-ronde. Bestel je vandaag dan heb je het morgen in GRATIS huis (Zwartsluis en directe omgeving)

- [#seedbomb](#)
- [#zaadbom](#)
- [#duizendbommenengranaten](#)
- [#helpsavethebees](#)
- [#reddebijen](#)
- [#bringonthebutterflies](#)
- [#laatdevlindersmaarkomen](#)
- [#growawilderbom](#)
- [#feedthebirds](#)
- [#voerdevogels](#)
- [#shakeit](#)
- [#soakit](#)
- [#throwit](#)
- [#growit](#)
- [#enjoyit](#)
- [#guerillagardening](#)
- [#tekoopbijsamsam](#)
- [#samsamzwarluis](#)
- [#deleukstewinkelvanzwarluis](#)

1.37 *Instagram post by Tijdvoortamar, June 17, 2020.*
 Slides 1-4 from upper left to bottom right:



“Jippie!! Dit was zó leuk om te doen!! Ik maakte zelf zaadbommen... leuk ook om samen met kinderen te doen. Verspreid meer groen en bloemen in je (stads)buurt. Wát zie je liever: grauw en grijs beton of groen met kleurexplosies van prachtige bloemen? Check mijn blog voor méér.... [#blogger](#) [#bloemen#guerillagardening](#) [#guerillagardener#zaadbommen](#) [#kinderen](#) [#idee#tamarkookt](#) [#tijdvoortamar](#) [#voorjaar#spring](#) [#kleurexplosie](#)”

1.38 *Instagram post by T.u.i.n.f.l.u.i.t.e.n, April 10, 2020.*



“Zaai je mee op 22 april? Landelijke zaaidag 2020. Ik schreef er deze week mijn tuinblog over. Link in bio [@bijenstichting@guerillagardenersnl](#) [@the_pollinators@planet1st](#) [#bijen](#) [#bijenplanten#bloembommen](#) [#zaadbommen#landelijkezaaidag](#) [#bijenlint](#) [#reddebij#boomspiegel](#) [#guerillagardening](#)”

1.39 *Instagram post by Wereldvanesther, June 13, 2020.*



“Enorm aangetrokken tot dit boekje, heb ik het gekocht. Hierin staat o.a. dat de natuur weer terugkomt waar t was verdwenen, door het gooien van een zaadbom. Hoe mooi is dat.

Deze zaadbommen kunnen ook gewoon in je tuin worden geplaatst. En dan kijken hoe en wanneer de inhoud exploiteert.

Sommige zaadbommen zijn ontworpen om door militairen te worden geworpen, omdat ze de mankracht, vaardigheden en technologie hebben. Wat een mooi symbool!

Nu het harde zo zichtbaar is in de wereld, kan het door zachtheid weer worden hersteld. Tenminste dat vind ik, i.p.v hard tegen hard. En dat begint met iets kleins, zoals een zaadje.

[#zaadbommen](#) [#josiejeffery#guerrillatuinieren](#) [#liefde](#)
[#lente#hardzacht](#) [#tuinieren](#) [#zon](#) [#regen#evenwicht](#) [#balans](#)”