

Les “Jardins Partagés” in Paris: cultivating visions and symbols

Monica Caggiano

Istituto Nazionale Economia Agraria–INEA, via Barberini 36, Roma, Italy, caggiano@inea.it

Abstract: *The paper suggests some reflections emerged from the results of a field research on the “Jardins Partagés” (JP) in Paris. A JP designates a community garden, set up and animated by local associations on small public plots, made available by the local authorities. In Paris, over 50 JPs have been created with a great success among citizens. The JPs’ role exceeded the simple “way for people to get down in the dirt”. Through the creation of shared community spaces, they became real social and cultural hubs, fostering between local residents a community-sense sorely missing in modern cities. They become a major player in the urban-renewal agenda, improving environmental quality as well as re-creating social life in their neighbourhood. Taking part of a JP, or merely visiting it, in an urban high-density European city, creates a sort of estrangement effect or V-effekt (“Verfremdungseffekt” in German) used in the Brecht’s theatre to promote social change. This artistic effect aims at pushing the audience not only to think about the play, but also to leave the theatre with a task to accomplish in the real world. Equally, we might say that the JPs could suggest scenarios for sustainable futures beyond their confinements and beyond the rural urban relationship, promoting a community management of public goods.*

Keywords: *Commons, community garden, urban agriculture.*

Introduction

Urban agriculture plays a critical role in public health in the urban context, where the majority of the world population is concentrated, helping to assure food security in developing countries and providing ecological services everywhere (FAO, 2000). However, the new interest for urban agriculture covers different and multifaceted needs and tendencies, as demonstrated by the remarkable urban agriculture experience in the densely built city of Paris.

In the French capital, about 57 “Jardins Partagés” (referred as JPs in this document) have been created and show a great success among citizens. A JP is a collective garden, set up and animated by local associations on small public plots, granted by the local authorities.

“C’est la culture à la culture!” (“It is culture gardening!”)—as it has been mentioned by the President of the “Auguste Renoir Square” garden—“The JPs are spaces where material and intellectual culture mix up”.

This paper presents the results of a field survey, performed in autumn 2008, with the Proximities Team (INRA-SAD Paris) support. More than 30 JPs have been visited and 15 JPs referents have been interviewed, using an open questionnaire. In many cases, the interviews involved different garden members. Other qualified witnesses have been consulted: politicians, members of the associations that help the JPs and other persons who have developed a special expertise on the subject.

Cultivating Paris: the experience

The JPs stand in the strong French tradition of “Jardins Ouvriers” (literally: workers gardens), named since 1952 “Jardins Familiaux” (literally_ family gardens). However, this *new urban space-sharing* form draws its inspiration from the New York and Montreal “community gardens”. In 1997, The “Fondation de France” referred precisely to this latter experience in her invitation for bids that ended up with the creation of the first community garden in Lille.

Historically in Paris, they installed the workers and family gardens along the old city walls, in the suburbs. The intension of the JPs, on the contrary, is to place the gardens inside the city, close to the buildings, to facilitate their exploitation and above all, to promote the concept of collective management of local environment.

In 2001, after the election of the current Paris Mayor Bertrand Delanoë, the City Hall launched the “*Charte Main Verte*” (Green Hand Pact) project with the objectives of regulating, sustaining and promoting the community gardens within the city area. This project was embedded into a larger “City Greening” program, sustained by the Left-Wing coalition with a strong ecologist component (“Les Verts”/green party). However, as Alice Le Roy¹ explains: “The JPs were a response to a structured and precise citizens request. The project started under the first administration of Delanoë, but some gardens had been formerly created. In some cases, the garden spontaneously rose up on public plots squatted by the inhabitants. Through the *Main Verte* program we tried to discipline it and to provide a legal and institutional framework to this phenomenon.” In fact, if the solicitations for public space use and green areas were so numerous, it is due to the fact that the new administration has adopted public participation in decision processes as a key point of its electoral program.

The City Hall created a convention signed by the associations in which the users were granted a plot to garden, for a variable duration from one to five years, respecting some constraints such as: weekly openings, public events organization, management plan creation and communication and environmental respect with the use of biological/organic cultivation. On the other hand, the municipality provides the garden with adapted soil, guarantees water supply and garden enclosing. A specific office was then created at the City Hall “Green Space and Environment” Department, in charge to support these initiatives, by helping to create gardens and perform the successive follow up activities: training sessions, gardeners seminars (Les “*cafés-jardins*”), seed and know-how exchange days and so on.

JPs are little pieces of land, varying from 70 m² (“*1001 Feuilles*” garden) to around 1000 m² (“*Jardin de l’Aqueduc*” garden, one of the largest inner-city gardens), with creative names such as *Le Poireau Agile* (The Agile Leek), *Papilles et Papillons* (Papillae and Butterflies) *Potager des Oiseaux* (The vegetable garden of Birds), *Aligresse* (the garden is next to Aligre square, so the name it’s a pun based on the meaning of the French word *allégresse* = joy), etc.

Sometimes the JPs are situated in public parks to stimulate citizens to care about it.

The JPs are usually managed by neighbourhood associations, pre-existing or created on an ad hoc basis, either following the citizens or the quarter council initiative or sometimes under the direct local municipality solicitation. These associations, if pre-existing, have other activities in the quarter (animations, social integration and training); otherwise, they are limited to the strict garden management.

The number of associates ranges from 20 to 200 persons, or even more for some associations, but in that case, managing the garden is just a little part of the whole association activities, as for the JP Alligresse. The number of gardeners “getting down in the dirt” usually is lower, an average of 35 for a single JP. The gardens stand on public areas that are usually property of the Paris municipality, in other cases, on plots belonging to public real estate entities, for instance “Paris Habitat”, or to “Réseau Ferré de France” (state-owned entity managing France’s railway infrastructure). The sites had been often abandoned, in some cases just temporarily, on stand-by before a planned construction or new assignation, for example. In this case, they form a real and proper ephemeral reality, sometimes reminded in their name itself, “Nomad Garden” or “Ephemeral garden”; they succeed, nevertheless, to gather attention and energies.

The JPs are mainly located in the Northern and Eastern parts of Paris, inhabited in the past by the working class and nowadays by a new middleclass including many immigrants, mostly administrated

¹ Alice Le Roy is an environment consultant at the Paris City Hall, Interview November 2008.

by left-wing municipalities². Observing the JP's map repartition, we can notice the striking co-location with the last barricades of the "*Commune de Paris*".

Cultivating symbols: the social impacts

"The JPs are highly symbolic places where people can re-connect with Nature, in a magical and surreal context, between buildings and asphalt"³. Paris' inner walls, with its 24,500 ha/km² density, illustrate the "*Compact City*" model, within it the JPs offer, indeed, an oxygen breath. They give an opportunity for all citizens, and in particular for children, to receive an alimentary and environmental education re-discovering food origins and seasons cycles.

An association affiliated to the "*Main Verte*" pact agrees to practice an ecological management, adopting concrete actions, such as: biological/organic agriculture, rainwater recuperation, organic waste composting, material recycling or bird watching. The JPs, thus, could turn into effective laboratories to experiment and transfer to the citizen's environment respectful and biodiversity conservation practices. "Very often it happens that people who approach a JP start wondering about food provenience, agriculture and the rural world."⁴ Frequenting a JP helps to find and adopt sustainable everyday practices and behaviours, such as consuming low environmental impact products or using a short food supply chain. These different approaches towards a higher awareness could inter-contaminate: I am participating to a JP creation in my quarter; the original group comes from an AMAP⁵. We started wondering: instead of getting supplied directly from a producer we should better produce something ourselves"⁶.

Usually, agriculture becomes a mean to create and strengthen social links between citizens. This objective, explicitly assumed in the "*Main Verte*" pact, as well as in some association statute, could be more or less strong and evident, and rather often is prioritized: "As far as we are concerned, gardening is an alibi, a pretext to recreate what the city took off from us: a meeting place. We are less interested in counting the carrots we have produced than the number of persons we have cut in. We want this garden to become a space for meeting and dialogue among different generations and cultures"⁷. In the past, the "*Jardins Ouvriers*" were also driving both the tracks, the more materialistic objectives linked with food cultivation/production, as well as the moral/political ones, synthesized by famous sentence of Priest Jules Lemire, the french "*Jardins Ouvriers*" pioneer: "The garden is the mean, the family is the purpose"⁸.

One of the most obvious indicators of the JPs ability to promote social integration is its diversity of actors, from the pensioners preparing soups and crepes in the association office, to the young squatters. The JPs involve a rich and varied archipelago of individuals: seniors, children, managers, unemployed, professionals and illegal immigrants and so on, all of them linked by their common gardening passion. The richness of this situation confirms the agriculture transversal nature, enabling intercultural and intergenerational unions. In addition "To run the garden activities, there's no need for appointed animators, everyone could at his/her turn, take the animator role"⁹.

² The City of Paris is divided into twenty *arrondissements municipaux* -administrative districts- (referred as municipality in the document). Each *arrondissement* has an *arrondissement* council (*conseil d'arrondissement*) and an *arrondissement* mayor. The *arrondissements* of Paris form a clockwise spiral or snail pattern beginning from the first in the centre. Usually their numbers indicate them, also they have names, but nobody uses them, not even the Paris administration.

³ Madame Kleyber, Jardin de Falbala, Interview October 2008.

⁴ Alice Le Roy, Interview November 2008.

⁵ An AMAP (Associations pour le maintien d'une agriculture paysanne) is basically a group of customers who buy directly from one or more particular farms.

⁶ Alice Le Roy, Interview November 2008.

⁷ Grégory Coadou e Cécile Buquet-Marcon, Les Haies Partagés, Interview October 2008.

⁸ The sentence summarizes the fact that gardening is not only an alimentary and economic resource, but also a sane and honest way to spend time with the family, in contact with nature, and it is a refuge from the alcoholism temptation, largely diffused in the late 19th century.

⁹ Yann Viala, Archipel Association, Jardin Rue des Envierges, Interview October 2008.

Gardeners participate to the project with his/her own agricultural vision, depending on their culture, social origins, personal background and experiences. It is remarkable, for instance, the high feminine presence from Southeast Asian countries (like Vietnam and Cambodia), where traditionally women are in charge of the family garden.

For some people the JP is “a home extension, the garden that we don’t have, a little paradise in a quarter with sparse green spaces”¹⁰. They enjoy its relaxing and therapeutic nature, or the possibility to do physical exercises outdoor. Others have even highlighted how much this activity could have a deepest value: “gardening is a vital need”¹¹ or “it concerns the relationships between mankind and nature, popular culture and beauty. Cultivating tomatoes is learning back the original human values, making by oneself what one’s need, finding back a value in earth caring, in the flowers beauty”¹². For other participants, being either French natives or foreigners, from a rural origin, cultivating means meeting their own roots. They bring in the JP their past know-how and experience: the one from Maghreb cultivates mint, the Breton artichoke and so on. The JPs, thus, are also a tool to preserve and transmit knowledge and traditions among different generations and cultures.

The majority of gardeners, however, do not have experience in gardening. In every JP there are one or two persons with real know-how, who become referents for the group. They all remain nevertheless very eager to obtain information and suggestions, thus the other fellow associates, the family, the bystanders, and, sign of the times, internet, are mostly used as alternative sources of information.

Each JP is unique and the local government admits this high variety: “Each JPs is very different from each other, with which the City Hall does not have a dogmatic attitude towards, but recognizes the existence of deep differences in their management and organization”¹³.

The gardeners’ social structure reflects the area where the garden is located. Some JPs are cultural and ethnical melting pots; others are characterized by a unique people typology that does not plainly represent the socio-cultural local context. “It’s not outright that many of the Africans or Asians living in this quarter would take part in the garden activities, as well as in other association activities, maybe due to the fact that the bureaucratic and associative mechanisms require language and certain modalities that are typically occidental.”¹⁴ Even if they do not directly take part in the gardening activities, all cultural groups frequent the JPs, even if only as spectators: “Those Kabyle ladies always meet on that bench, and could remain hours observing the JP, it is the part of the park they prefer the most. We invited them to cultivate their own plot, but they declined.”¹⁵

In the foreign citizens’ integration process, the communication channels have a critical role. A part of this population can hardly have access to the information, sometimes deepened by their little knowledge of French language, which is not always a blocking issue since “Among some JPs members I have seen extra communitarian ladies, completely analphabet or maybe in the Latin alphabet, who asked others to place their own signature”¹⁶. In general, the project sponsors who manage and take official responsibilities in the associations are well-integrated middle classes persons, able to deal with the institutions.

Cultivating change: the political implications

The JPs assume a role of third space, positioning itself in-between the family space and the professional one, opened to informal social relations: “Nowadays, living in a city means being considered as a user or a consumer, in a JP everyone could be himself.”¹⁷

¹⁰ Nathalie Flis, Association Cultures et Potager 17/18, Jardin des deux Néthes, Interview November 2008.

¹¹ Madame Kleyber, Jardin de Falbala, Interview October 2008.

¹² Yann Viala, Archipelia Association, Jardin Rue des Envierges, Interview October 2008.

¹³ Alice Le Roy, Interview November 2008.

¹⁴ Yann Viala, Archipelia Association, Jardin Rue des Envierges, Interview October 2008.

¹⁵ Gilles Roux, Le Poireau Agile, Interview October 2008.

¹⁶ Laurence Baudalet, Graine de Jardins, Interview December 2008.

¹⁷ Raphael, Petit charmant campagne urbaine, Interview December 2008.

A JP, despite the fence, remains a public space. When the gate is open, everyone can pop in. This open-space encourages conviviality and dialog: “There’s always someone who passes by the garden, comes in, asks something, then we start chatting about any subject, not only gardening, but also about the quarter life, politics and so on.”¹⁸

Moreover, the JPs are frequently the stages of shows, parties, children activities, opportunities to implicate other citizens, especially the neighbourhood residents, who often contribute to the garden’s life by donating plants, gardening tools and other furniture: “The JP is a component of the quarter life and is regularly frequented by some people that are not associated but are very active in the garden’s management.”

“Our slogan is “Here, nothing to take, everything to share.” Any visitor could plant something, no need to be a registered member.”¹⁹ This “sharing vision” is not homogeneously present among JPs, as clear differences arise starting from plots management strategies to begin with. The JPs plots in fact could be individual, collective or mixed where individual areas are next to collective ones, often reserved for the schools and neighbourhood children. Besides, there are also semi-collective areas, cultivated by two to four people with different assignment criteria. In the JP “Cité Prost”, for instance, “we have a waiting list from which we gradually assign the plots, the interesting thing is, that people sharing the same space don’t know each other, so this is a way to meet.”²⁰

Concerning the collective plots, usually, the key management rules are set during a general assembly or other informal meeting, and then, each member could freely implement his/her own solutions, variable according to each case. “We have the vegetables plot, the one for medicinal plants, the one for minerals and so on...Every parcel has a responsible who, let’s say, manages and coordinates the others’ work.”²¹ The collective management works well wherever a high sense of common goals between the associates exists, and efficient communication tools such as board diaries, are used.

Switching from the individual to the collective plots is a path followed by several gardens: “We now want to transform some individual areas into collective ones, devoted to a common and shared project, to which everyone could stick to. That means to increase the conviviality in the relationships between the associates, and to enable the participation of the many others in the waiting line.”²²

This trajectory evidences a maturation process and a rising consciousness of the idea of sharing, however sometimes in a painful way, with the resistance of some members that are unwilling to abandon their own plot. “I garden this parcel with my daughter and for her it would be bizarre to share it, our sentimental and emotional investment placed in it is too important to give it up.”²³

In some cases, the evolution to a collective gardening is due to practical reasons: “There are almost ten individual plots and the rest is collective, in the beginning, we decided to let the members choose their option. Now on the contrary, we are urging them to make the second choice. It has been a natural evolution since some families didn’t take care about their individual plot. Above all, the collective management is more likely to fulfil our objective which is to meet each other and not only harvesting.”²⁴

In some cases, the JPs logic could be misunderstood, with a real risk of public space privatization “Some gardeners’ vision is very deep influenced from the tradition of the “Jardin ouvrier” in France. In that case, they contact us to be granted a plot that they can exploit in an exclusively private way, they start to create many defence barriers, rarely interact with others and never participate to the associative life.”²⁵

¹⁸ Olivier Nacfer Jardin Fessart, Interview October 2008.

¹⁹ Grégory Coadou e Cécile Buquet-Marcon, Les Haies Partagés, Interview October 2008.

²⁰ Jerome Lomè, Jardin Partagé Cité Prost, Interview November 2008.

²¹ Olivier Nacfer, Jardin Fessart, Interview October 2008.

²² Nathalie Flis, Jardin des deux Néthes, Interview November 2008.

²³ An associate during a “Cultures et Potager” Association Meeting 17/18, Jardin des deux Néthes, November 2008.

²⁴ Madame Kleyber, Jardin de Falbala, Interview October 2008.

²⁵ Alice Le Roy, Interview November 2008.

Different visions could generate various conflicts within the JPs, especially concerning the general management, the community life and the reception of unattended children: “The JPs are frequented by many African kids, the parents very often work, and cannot attend them during the day, some gardeners don't want to welcome them in the garden.”²⁶ Other conflicts concern the cultivation vision: “There are those persons who would like a perfect garden without a mere herb blade and others who would prefer curing the biodiversity and let more space to spontaneous herbs.”²⁷

These conflicts, if well managed, could become an opportunity for the whole community to mature and have a constructive dialogue, not only in a personal, but also in a political point of view.

The JP often evolves to a catalyzing place for the participation in public life, hosting debates around local issues. In some cases, this political mould is more conscious and claimed. “The JP, as far as we are concerned, is a social network factory for local resistance. It is a shared and direct democratic space; we are convinced that only a small geographic stage could be a landscape for possible social changes. The JP makes it possible for people to re-appropriate the public awareness.”²⁸

Sometimes, the political connotation is obvious from its origin; often the JP is a result of a long lasting social mobilization to conquest public green spaces, like for the JP “Cité Prost” situated in the middle of a public park: “On this field, there was a project for a 7 floors popular residences building. Since 1996, we began organizing demonstrations and petitions to request the creation of a garden in this densely inhabited neighbourhood poorly provided with green spaces. When the city administration changed, we thought that times had come to give a legal form to our movement and to negotiate with the public authorities. This process succeeded and in a short time, we obtained a public park, in the middle of which a space for the JP.”²⁹

The JP of “Rue des Coulmiers” is another “hard” mobilization place: “A neighbourhood resident managed to create a pressure group, posting notices on the fence of an abandoned land owned by the French Railways company, inviting the residents for an appointment every Saturday morning to squat and re-appropriate it. During these appointments, the plot was being invaded by the inhabitants who started to plant different things. In the beginning, the activities were performed under the railways officers and police watch, and indeed, the railway company intended to sue the group for private property violation. But after a long negotiation with the mediation of the XIVth municipality that supported the project, the JP was officially created, in May 2008, after almost one year of saturday illegal gardening sessions”³⁰.

The JPs could even affect on the citizenship concept, improving the life quality of the inhabitants as well as their civic sense. “Very often, those who first approach the garden don't have the slightest idea of how to deal with institutions, how the city is organized and what are the institutions that manage it.”³¹

The JPs sometimes could arouse an interest to the community life and trigger learning mechanisms on how to take part to it: “Thanks to the JPs, the citizens realize that working together, they could gain voice and power. Many persons, who frequented the garden, started getting interested into the municipal life, attending the quarter councils, in short to find back self confidence as citizens.”³²

Although the JPs are embedded into an institutional framework, the relationship with the city authority could be very conflicting as illustrated the “Jardin Solidaire” experience. Although it became a reference in the quarter for its critical role in the local animation and social integration, it has been closed after a long struggle between the population and the authorities. Another illustrative example is the JP l'Alligrasse: “In the beginning, it was very hard, the XIIth Municipality was

²⁶ Alice Le Roy. Interview November 2008

²⁷ Laurence Baudalet, Graine de Jardins, Interview December 2008.

²⁸ Cecile Petit, JP Alligrasse, Interview November 2008.

²⁹ Jerome Lomè, Cité Prost, Interview November 2008.

³⁰ Célia Blauel, Conseillère d'arrondissement chargée des jardins partagés et de la collecte sélective, Mairie du 14^e Interview December 2008.

³¹ Laurence Baudalet, Graine de Jardins, Interview December 2008.

³² Célia Blauel, Interview December 2008.

opposed to the project, we made pressure on the central City Hall and managed to obtain a plot. Then they turned us out and we got another plot only after a hard fight. We organized petitions and demonstrations in the neighbourhood then finally, the XIIth Municipality gave green light.”³³

The public institutions should show a great interest in promoting the JPs that not only guarantee a positive image feed-back, but also represent a social and economic investment, as they improve the city's life quality, insuring the enjoyment of green spaces often saved from negligence and social degradation: “Before the garden, there was a playground for kids, little by little its frequentation declined and it became a drug traffic place.”³⁴ In addition, the municipality saved money on the area cleaning and maintenance. “For the municipality, maintaining a free space has a cost, people throw away everything, and it becomes a garbage container. With a JP, in the contrary, people get involved in the space management and cleaning, moreover they organize activities for the quarter animation.”³⁵

The necessary costs for a JP could vary from case to case, for example “In our municipality the investment was between 20.000 and 60.000 Euros”³⁶. There are some factors that particularly impact the costs, “it depends if the plot is public or has to be acquired. However, the main impact is due to draining costs, depending on the plot's pollution level. Recently, we made an evaluation in a JP which resulted in an estimated cost of 5000 Euros for 100m²”. In any case, considering the long term, the initial investment is inferior to the recurrent maintenance cost for a green space.

Another element to be considered, is the fact that vandalism acts registered in JPs are far less, compared to those impacting the other public assets, green spaces included. “In Paris, vandalism episodes on public properties are very frequent; we can cite the public bikes example. The JPs, however, are much more respected, probably because they are created by the inhabitants, therefore considered as peers, marking a clear difference with what is created by institutions.”³⁷

In addition, the JPs are often the fruit of children's work, so there's an awareness campaign in action, also through the schools. The direct participation, thus, produces a civic consciousness and a social control. “The garden is open and accessible to everybody even when the associates are absent, we've never had damages or any other problems, I'd rather say that the more open a garden is, the less it is a target for vandalism, as people feel more responsible.”³⁸

The JPs are nourished, and reproduce the social capital that avoids the so-called “tragedy of the commons”³⁹. The JPs community management contributes, then, to the experiences indicating a third way in between the State and market in the public asset management (Commons) and in the local governance.

Several studies, like those of the Economy Nobel prize laureate Elinor Ostrom, have enlightened the collective management validity and the community's ability to generate endogenous institutional arrangements (community rules systems and tools), compliant with an environmentally and economically sustainable management of common-pool resource.

Taking part of a JP, or merely visiting it, in a high-density European city, creates a sort of V-effect (*Verfremdungseffekt*) used in the Brecht's theatre to *turn the spectator into an observer, arousing his capacity for action, forcing him to take decisions*⁴⁰.

³³ Cecile Petitot, Aligresse, Interview November 2008.

³⁴ Madame Kleyber, Jardin de Falbala, Interview October 2008.

³⁵ Olivier Nacfer, Jardin Fessart, Interview October 2008.

³⁶ Célia Blauel, Interview December 2008.

³⁷ Laurence Baudalet, Graine de Jardins, Interview December 2008.

³⁸ Grégory Coadou e Cécile Buquet-Marcon, Les Haies Partagés, Interview October 2008.

³⁹ The tragedy of the commons refers to a dilemma described by Garrett Harding, a situation in which multiple individuals, acting independently, and exclusively and rationally consulting their own self-interest, will ultimately deplete a shared limited resource even when it is clear that it is not in anyone's long-term interest for this to happen.

⁴⁰ Bertolt Brecht. *Brecht on Theatre*. New York: Hill & Wang, 1964. p.37. Der Verfremdungseffekt (*The Alienation Effect*) provides a 'bond' of alienation between performer and audience. Its purpose is to "...alienate the social gesture underlying every incident—the mimetic and gestural expression of the social relationships prevailing between people. (Bertolt Brecht. *Brecht on Theatre*. New York: Hill & Wang, 1964. p.36.) The V-effekt involves the use of techniques design to distance the

“The JPs enable people to get disconnected from any surrounding event”⁴¹, it is typically for their ability to break-up with the surrounding environment, that they push forward citizens to think about the usual natural, cultural and social degradation. “A JP is a privileged space of exchange, a way to open and make life places. This is a place where we can enjoy staying with the other people. If these same persons meet in a bus, they would not talk to each other; however in the JP they do, because it's a special place, also for its beauty.”⁴²

As the *V-effekt* should lead the audience to see the possibilities for actions in the world outside the theatre, the JPs awareness action should arise a critical stand and a will of change that goes beyond its limits.

JPs, instead of only giving a temporary vent to the cities uneasiness, suggest scenarios for sustainable futures, promoting community management “*where the urban agriculture becomes an urban planning tool able to sustainable urban planning*” (Donadieu, 1998).

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audience from emotional involvement in the play through jolting reminders of the artificiality of the theatrical performance. The audience will then identifies himself with the actor as being an observer, and accordingly develop his attitude of observing or looking on. This style of acting should lead the audience to see the possibility for action in the world outside the theatre.

⁴¹ Madame Kleyber, Jardin de Falbala, Interview October 2008.

⁴² Catherine Choumeurthe and Françoise Piraud, Potager des Oiseaux, Interview October 2008.