Community gardens as possible challengers of (eco)gentrification?

A comparative study between Berlin and Madrid

Andrea Merino Mayayo
930620559050
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MSc Thesis Environmental Policy Group
Supervisors:
Kris van Koppen
Arjen Buijs

WAGENINGEN
UNIVERSITY & RESEARCH

Environmental Policy Group
WAGENINGEN UNIVERSITY

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Summary

Community gardens have become interesting bottom-up green spaces in cities in Europe in the last decade. In parallel, the sustainability discourse is on vogue in cities throughout the world; many initiatives and practices carried out by cities aim towards sustainability – by, for instance, increasing urban green infrastructure– and building up that green brand to attract capital in the form of investors, tourism and residents from social classes with higher income and greater purchasing power. In this context, important questions arise pertaining community gardens, as a type of urban green infrastructure, and (eco)gentrification. This study researches the role of these community gardens as possible drivers or challengers of this phenomenon within their neighborhood. Tackling the research question on the extent community gardens challenge (eco)gentrification effects in their initiatives may have within their neighborhood, a comparative study was conducted between community gardens in Berlin and Madrid was done. Qualitative data was collected through expert interviews, document analysis, observation, and eight semi-structured interviews that looked into selected case studies per city, investigating their context, their values and motivations vis-a-vis gentrification processes, the actions they may be taking to face these processes (if they do) and the effects they hope to have in their community. Based on the qualitative data collected, it was concluded that community gardens in Berlin and Madrid are generally against the process of gentrification and try to resist it to the extent that their means allow it. They challenge it if they are aware of it and are affected by it. In Berlin, both community gardens saw gentrification as a threat; to their existence and their land security. Therefore, they organized talks and screenings to discuss the issue, connected with other community gardens throughout the Berlin and Germany, used their social media to call attention to the issue, and made changes in their gardens to make them more accessible to an ample public. In Madrid, however, community gardens are only aware of and challenge gentrification if they are in an "area of dispute" – that is, one that is already going through the process of gentrification. The case here is that most community gardens in Madrid are not in areas of dispute, so (eco)gentrification is not in their radar. Yet, for one community garden, ¡Esta es una Plaza!, which is in an area of dispute, it showed a similar approach to the issue as the ones in Berlin.

Table of contents

1. Introduction

1.1. Sustainable Development

The idea of sustainability came from the concept of "sustainable development" and was popularized after the 1992 United Nations Earth Summit. The concept of sustainable development was defined in the Brundtland Report as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (Bruntland, 1987). It rested on three pillars, with the goal to balance and achieve economic growth, environmental quality and social equity (Pearsall & Anguelovski, 2016a). Since then, there has been a rise in the interest for the environment and sustainability which has been instrumental in reaching international agreements on environmental protection, as well as shaping national policy and local plans for intervention (Cucca, 2012).

At the same time, the last two decades since the Earth Summit have proven sustainability as a challenge. Some authors suggest that "economic endeavors tend to dominate sustainability efforts" and consequently "[reinforce] existing power relations, and deliver little to the marginalized and vulnerable populations who would benefit most from sustainability" (Pearsall & Anguelovski, 2016a; p.1). With this, sustainability is thought to be "far from being an effective paradigm, being too broad, vague and economically centered, and with no specific environmental or social dimensions clearly set out" (Cucca, 2012; p.1). Some even suggest that "sustainable development" has become almost an apolitical discourse (Cucca, 2012; Gould & Lewis, 2017; Pearsall & Anguelovski, 2016a). In addition, the notion of sustainability is also said to be promoting "green growth," a concept that brings together the trade-off between economic growth and environmental conversation, or as Cucca (2012b; p.2) says "a sort of green competitiveness in the market economy."

1.2. Cities

The push for "greener" and more "sustainable" practices from environmentalists and grassroots activists has led to more efforts for ecologically responsible urban development (S. Smith, 2013). At the same time, governments around the world have included sustainable development in their planning. Cities have been instrumental actors in delivering "greener, more sustainable" models as they "represent important social and economic systems, polluting and consuming resources, and are social organizations potentially more oriented towards sustainable modernization" (Cucca, 2012; p.2). Additionally, "cities are actually places where social, institutional, economic and technical innovation is more likely to occur" (Ibid.).

Most people worldwide live in cities. Currently, the United Nations estimates that more than half of the world's population live in cities, and that this number is expected to increase up to 66% by 2050 (*World Urbanization Prospects: The 2018 Revision*, n.d.). In Europe alone, approximately 75% of people live in urban areas (World Bank 2013). Therefore, as Haase et al. (2017; p.1) explain, "one of the major challenges for future urban planning is, thus, to prepare urban spaces for an increasing number of people while developing and maintaining cities as sustainable and livable places."

The idea that the need for more sustainable cities "has been considered a key point of global strategy for the future," has turned sustainability into an "effective urban brand" for cities "competing in the global arena, especially in terms of their ability to attract investment, international events, highly skilled workers, tourists and students" (Cucca, 2012; pp.2-3). The introduction of more leisure opportunities; greener means of transportation, including city bikes and natural gas and electric buses; artistic and cultural amenities; as well as public services, including better waste management through recycling; and a green environment, by planting more trees, green roofs and walls and other types of green spaces, add on to a city's sustainable brand and attract "the tastes of the new professional elite" (Cucca, 2012).

Cities are mostly occupied by buildings, roads, sidewalks, and squares, making some seem more like "concrete jungles." Thus, under this discourse of sustainability, the urban green has become one of the main focus points in the discussion. Urban green infrastructure is an important element of well-being for urban dwellers physically and psychologically, but also relevant in terms of supporting the "ecological integrity of cities" (Wolch, Byrne, & Newell, 2014). "Urban green infrastructure helps cities increase their resilience to climate change and to improve their attractiveness by offering a cleaner and healthier environment" (de Sousa Silva, Viegas, Panagopoulos, & Bell, 2018).

The benefits abound: Wolch et al. state that "green spaces may filter air, remove pollution, attenuate noise, cool temperature, infiltrate storm water and replenish groundwater" (Wolch et al., 2014). Many studies (see Wolch et al., 2014 for summary) have shown that green spaces are linked to decreased health problems, as they can help reduce blood pressure and cholesterol, as well as stress levels, as it provides a sense of peace and tranquility (EEA, 2017). Moreover, a well-managed and connected network of green infrastructure elements favours the quality and functioning of the urban ecosystems contained in them. These, in turn, increase shelter for biodiversity (Ibid.).

As mentioned earlier, many initiatives and practices carried out by cities that aim towards sustainability and that build up that green brand, like increasing urban green infrastructure or providing greener transportation means, attract capital in the form of investors, tourism and residents from social classes with higher income and greater purchasing power (Cucca, 2012; p.3 ; de Sousa Silva et al., 2018; p.2). By consequence, property values where these strategies are deployed increase, which end up contributing to gentrification processes. This ends up potentially displacing low-income residents, and limiting their access to the green spaces and cultural amenities and other resources that were geared towards a more sustainable and greener city.

This specific process is known as *ecogentrification*, and represents "one of the most obvious unintended results of sustainability, combining aspects of ecological modernization, environmental protection, and urban growth" (Cucca, 2012; p.3), and one that raises question on social injustice, inequality and reduced access to housing and green spaces within cities.

1.3. Eco-gentrification

Eco-gentrification, also known as environmental or green gentrification, is a process that occurs when green amenities cause an increase in the attractiveness of an area, resulting in the rise of property values and displacement of the original residents (see Curran & Hamilton, 2012; Dooling, 2009; Gould & Lewis, 2017; Pearsall & Anguelovski, 2016). It was coined by Melissa Checker, who noticed this process to be especially sensitive in areas where green provisions are few or not well maintained, and where property values are low and there is an 'opportunity' for redevelopment. It is a concept that is considered as a hybrid of gentrification and environmental justice (See Checker, 2011; Gould & Lewis, 2017; Smith, 2013).

1.4. Gentrification and environmental justice

Gentrification is generally defined as the process by which a neighborhood – usually working-class that has suffered from abandonment, degradation and, in some cases, disinvestment – is transformed by the means of real estate investment and is reevaluated, thereby attracting new higher-income residents, with the consequential displacement of its traditional inhabitants (del Rosal Carmona, 2017). This displacement refers to a process by which residents are forced or choose to move from where they live to a different neighborhood (Mullenbach & Baker, 2018; p.2). Thus displacement can be physical – meaning material displacement – or psychological – when residents feel as if they were displaced from the social and cultural environment of their neighborhood (Mullenbach & Baker, 2018).

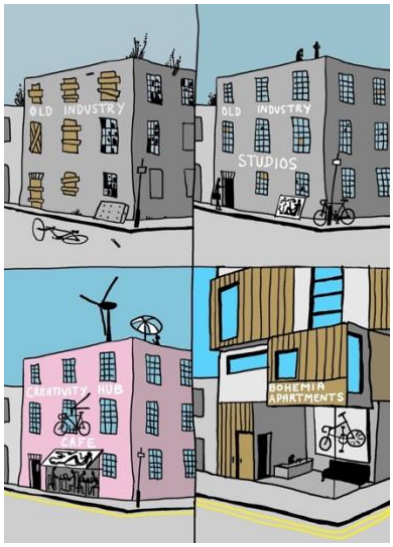

Figure 1. *A view on the gentrification stages. Source:* G. Perry (2015)

As it is defined as a process, gentrification is not a particular event that occurs immediately, it rather takes place over time, sometimes decades.
Even though the process differs in each case, Philip Clay, an American urban theorist, developed "one of the first stage models of gentrification" that broke down the process intro four stages (Lees, Slater, & Wyly, 2007; p.30). The first one, *pioneering gentrification*, portrays how middle-class people moving into a working-class or low-income neighborhood who slowly renovate their properties and work to improve their environment. The second stage, *expanding gentrification*, shows how the area grows in popularity, attracting more middle-class people to move into the neighborhood and investments from real estate developers. It is in this stage that the first signs of displacement may appear, as "stock of available housing fall and rents begin to increase" (Batalo, 2013). The third stage, or *adolescent gentrification*, illustrates how property values start to increase dramatically and "full-scale displacement of original residents occurs, as mass media pays attention to the area" (Yoon & Park, 2018; p.2). Finally, in the fourth stage, or *mature gentrification*, because of the good reputation the area has achieved, competition for property ensues among the middle class, causing an increase in property investment and property speculation. And so, "those who initiated the change, relocate to other areas" (Yoon & Park, 2018; p.2). This can lead to what

Loretta Lees refers to as “super-gentrification;” the process by which the upper class start to move into an already gentrified area, and driving away the original middle-class *gentrifiers* (Lees et al., 2007; p.130).

Although gentrification processes have not typically been conceptualized as environmental justice issues (Bryson 2012), it can be argued that the environmental justice frame is essential to understanding the social impacts of urban greening initiatives.

What some consider the “second half” of what eco-gentrification is, is environmental justice. The concept, in the realm of the urban space, defends the idea of equally distributed green infrastructure without discrimination (de Sousa Silva et al., 2018). Its relation to eco-gentrification is when environmental *injustice* occurs. As de Sousa et al. (2018; p.2) explain, “although it is well-established that the relationship between green infrastructure and the urban environment is essential for improving wellbeing and population health, in many developed countries, the availability of green space is limited, or its distribution across the city is uneven.” Therefore, this concept becomes an “essential frame” to “understanding the social impacts of urban greening initiatives” (Gould & Lewis, 2017; p.13).

1.5. Community Gardens

In this context, an interesting question arises as to the impact of community gardens, as bottom-up green initiatives adding on to the urban green infrastructure of a city, on eco-gentrification processes.

A basic way to define community gardens is as a collective gardening initiative set up by a group of people on a piece of land that can be either public or private, and who have common purpose or motivation behind it. Some of the usual goals behind setting up a community garden include “[learning] from and communicating with others, to commune with nature, to exercise, and to grow food for themselves and other members of the community” (Eshelman, 2016; p.1). In terms of ownership, they tend to be managed by non-profit associations or owned in trust by local governments, and are open to general public in terms of access (Ibid.).

Community gardens differ in many ways amongst each other, taking up different forms and having different goals. Some set up raised vegetable beds for individual care, others only have communal beds where to grow plants and vegetables. Some community gardens share the vegetables they produce amongst themselves and other communities share it with the wider community or donate them. Some community gardens do not even grow food, and prefer to create a more or less traditional garden space (Eshelman, 2016).

Community gardens have become interesting bottom-up green spaces in cities in Europe and the United States. They are the result of grassroot neighborhood activists subscribing to different social movements calling for food sovereignty and security in cities, promoting the idea of the commons, and encouraging environmental sustainability. They are also “lauded and promoted as interventions that can […]

improve nutrition and health, help alleviate poverty, engender cooperation and foster sustainable community development" (Barron, 2017; p.1). A strong reason why community gardens have become so interesting is because, as Barron (2017, p.1) explains, "they bring to the fore some of the tensions that characterize our era, particularly in terms of how land and property are values; how nature and public space are understood in cities; whose needs are served by urban agriculture and public space; how such spaces are produced, and who can participate in these processes. Accordingly, many authors have identified community gardens as key sites of social contestation, having to do with the ongoing redefinition of the public sphere, as it relates to neoliberal interests, community membership, citizenship, and the state."

With all this, important questions arise pertaining community gardens and (eco)gentrification. In his study about community gardens and their effects on gentrification in San Francisco, Marche (2016) highlighted important questions surrounding this. Is there a way for community gardens to resist this process from happening or expanding in their neighborhoods or is their activity and existence actually contributing to gentrification processes with their "alternative" greening practices and sustainability actions? Or perhaps, community gardens are the byproducts of gentrification, with *gentrifiers* starting these projects to "improve" their environment and as a way to deploy their sustainability agenda? Or do community gardens even have that much influence? (Marche, 2016; p.3).

1.6. Research questions

After investigating the topic, reviewing the concepts and the knowledge gaps, the following research questions were set up:

Main research question

To what extent do community gardens challenge the eco-gentrification effects their urban greening initiatives may have within their neighborhoods?

Sub-questions

1) What are the **contextual factors** in which community gardens find themselves and how do these factors influence their motives, actions and effects?
2) What are the **framings** (including motivations) of the initiative in general and about (eco-)gentrification more specifically?
3) What are the **spaces and strategies** they take for the (unintended) (eco-)gentrification effects their initiatives may cause?
4) What **pathways** do the community gardens want to achieve through those actions?

2. Theoretical Framework

In this chapter I will explain the theoretical framework that is used for this study. This framework will help to see the research questions in a broader context and it will also help to answer them. I will be using insights from *social movement theory*, to better understand community gardens and where they stem from, and through the analytical framework used to study grassroots innovation movements.

2.1. Insights from Social Movement Theory

The level of urbanization we see nowadays is unique, yet scholars and philosophers have been exploring the power struggles between citizens, the state and private entities within the urban context for centuries (Eshelman, 2016; Parker, 2004).

Discussing community gardens can go hand in hand with questions of power dynamics and land availability struggles within the city. As an example of urban activism to challenge those who control the *land*, community gardens can be seen as a social movement (Eshelman, 2016; Nettle, 2014). Of course, when saying this, I am referring to the idea of community gardens as a response to the small role they play in decision-making to shape the landscape of their community; as a way to create different, public and communal spaces within the city (ibid). Interestingly, the involvement of citizens in the management and governance of urban green has significantly increased over the last decades across the European Union (Mattijssen et al., 2017).

Disputes over land, limited access to green space, and a call for equal rights to the city have made urban gardens a symbol of community activism and empowerment (Wolch et al., 2014). Many of them are part of a contemporary grassroots movement supporting environmental justice, collective action, biodiversity, and equitable access to nutrition and good health (Clausen, 2015). The creation of this kind of space and activity - community gardening - within the urban arena is a way of acting with others to do 'something positive' towards environmental and social goals; a way of enacting social change (Nettle, 2014).

Community gardens have often been "situated within, or claimed by, a number of social movements: the broad environmental movement, the organics movement, permaculture, and community foods or alternative agri-food movements" (Nettle, 2014; p. 40). Interestingly, social movement theory has been rarely applied to study community gardens directly, yet it can provide "a way of looking at community gardening that [goes] beyond the benefits analysis that has dominated academic writing on community gardening, and enable[s] [exploring] an important but underrecognized aspect of community gardening practice: its role as a form of collective social action" (Nettle, 2014; p.39).

Social movement theories examine the conditions under which collective action emerges and develops to promote social change around a specific issue, and provides a range of analytical tools that help understand and facilitate these processes (Tremblay et al., 2017).

Doherty (2002) came up with four elements that characterize social movements, after synthesizing different definition of social movements that focused on different aspects (e.g. resource mobilization, political opportunities and possible culture change) (Nettle, 2014; p.45). These are:

- Taking action outside of political institutions
- A consciously shared collective identity
- A network structure that is broader than membership of formal organisations
- Rejection of or challenges to dominant forms of power and culture

In addition, to study the ways in which social movements enact change, Tilly introduced the concept of *repertoires of collective action* which he defined as "the whole set of means [a group] has for making claims of different kinds on different individuals and groups" (Nettle, 2014; p.47). In her book, Claire Nettle explains that the study of repertoires of collective action within social movement literature is "the field that engages most with the strategies and tactics – of what social movement participants actually do, and how they choose to enact change" (Nettle, 2014; p. 47).

Since this thesis aims to look at *if* and *how* community gardens are involved in tackling eco-gentrification, the theoretical insights of social movement theory can serve as a lens to explore this research question.

2.2. Analytical Framework

Smith et al. (2017) have come up with an analytical framework to study grassroots innovation movements, which they define as networks of community groups, activists and researchers that identify issues and questions neglected by formal science, technology and innovation strategies, and that innovate grassroots solutions for these issues, usually social justice and environmental sustainability (Smith et al., 2017; p.i). They combine ideas from social movement theory, science and technology studies, and theories of innovation, especially grassroot innovation, to develop the framework to understand the movements' historical antecedents, motivations and strategies for innovation and development, as well as their engagement or disconnects with "conventional innovation approaches and mainstream development pathways" (Smith et al., 2017; p.16).

This framework introduces interrelated concepts that are useful for thinking about the aspirations, activities and consequences of grassroots innovation movements. These are Context, Framings, Spaces and Strategies, and Pathways.

Context

This concept is crucial to understand what shaped the opportunities for the movement to arise, flourish or diminish. It is described by Smith et al (2017) as:

> *"[…] the historical circumstances in which the movement arose, the issues and situations that were generative for the movements, and the opportunities available to the movement within those contexts"* (Smith et al., 2017; p.30)

Political opportunities, historical background, cultural factors and ideological discourses all form part of the context, and they may shape initiatives in different ways, for instance by creating situations activists deem problematic, thus "motivating them for the creation of alternative visions and directions; by creating windows of opportunity; or by presenting constraints to the development of an initiative.

An example given by Smith et al. (2017) is sustainability as a powerful discourse that can bring about change within the existing regimes. New social demands and structural conditions arise, thus opening windows of opportunity for social movements, entrepreneurs and research institutions to find different configurations to be able to meet these new needs (Smith et al., 2017; p.21).

Smith et al. state that looking into the context concept is done by "adopting an outsider's ontology and describing how the broader contexts shape opportunities for grassroots innovation movements" (Smith et al., 2017; p.22).

In terms of its applicability into the research topic, looking into the context in which the community gardens started and continued their work is important to get a sense of the environment and the opportunities they have had or will have. Additionally, it can provide interesting insights into the analysis of their relationship to gentrification.

Framings

This concept refers to the shared meanings, interpretations and narratives that hold the movement together and guides its agenda. In contrast to *context*, this one should be explored through an insider's ontology, as it aims to examine how these movements problematize the broader contexts and, consequently how they frame opportunities and alternative possibilities (Smith et al., 2017; p.22).

In Social Movement theory, it is important to look at the glue that holds the actors together other than just grief. In other words, it is the collection of ideas that creates bonds of solidarity between actors and guides their coordinated action and collective identity. Framings are important because they "involve the process of meaning production" that may feed from powerful narratives and eventually create the mobilization processes (Smith et al., 2017; p.23). A frame can link to a bigger narrative such as sustainability, social inclusion, participation, etc.

I employ the concept of framings empirically to examine what specifically motivated the initiative's origins, what bigger narratives they subscribe to (e.g. sustainability, social inclusion, participation), how they might problematize eco-gentrification, what alternative visions and aims they develop and promote, and potentially informs about what types of actions might be employed to address the problem.

Spaces and Strategies

In essence, these concepts ask how different spaces – physical, social, institutional and discursive – are used by movements to make their desired changes, and the strategies they use in order to be able to do so. More specifically, Smith et al. portray it as*:*

> *"[…]. examining how framings and wider discourses are mobilized in each case, alongside other resources, in order to open and further these spaces; and how the experiences in these spaces, and the success or otherwise of influencing the wider context, prompt reflection, reframing and some renegotiation of strategies."* (Smith et al., 2017; p. 27)

Smith et al. point out three key points for opening up spaces. *Intermediaries and networks*, the array of different actors sharing knowledge and communicating, coordinating and representing the framings behind the movement. It is used instrumentally to achieve their agenda (Smith et al., 2017; p.25). *Repertoires of action*, meaning the forms of organization and activism that movements develop and use to gain access to the spaces and challenge opponents (Smith et al., 2017; p.26). And *mobilization of resources,* which can be material (e.g. financial, good or services) or other, such as outsider support or linkages with other groups or organizations (Ibid.).

In this analyzing these concepts, it is important to highlight the agency of the social actors involved. In this it differs from context, where the structural conditions restrict or favor the opportunities laid out for the initiatives. Spaces and strategies refer to understanding how movements can also be proactive in opening up new spaces or actively (re)shape platforms for alternative innovation activity (Smith et al., 2017; p.27).

The concepts of spaces and strategies will be employed to explore each community garden's relationship with other community gardens and different networks related to their work; whether they are actively involved in any sort of anti-gentrification movement or groups; and to explore what sorts of resources and tools they have to fight against gentrification.

Pathways

The final concept considers the "development of the movement over time, both in discursive terms (the fate and influence of its ideas and aims) and in material terms (the creation of new artefacts and new development trajectories)" (Smith et al., 2017; p.30).

Understanding pathways means looking how the framing and strategies end up constructing a development pathway for the future, or, as Smith et al. put it, how the innovation movements will contribute to alternative developments over time (Smith et al., 2017; p.28).

This concept is interesting for exploring the effects aspect of each community garden's existence in particular, but also for exploring what awaits for these sorts of initiatives and projects in the future, and what do they hope to achieve in the next five to ten years within their cities.

3. Methodology

In this chapter, I will describe the study design for this thesis and will explain the usefulness of the methods and how they were used in practice in order to understand the agency that community gardens have in potentially challenging (eco)gentrification processes in their neighborhoods.

3.1. Cities and community garden selection

To be able to perform this research, I chose to compare community garden projects in Berlin and Madrid. Berlin and Madrid are two large, highly urbanized and populous capitals in Europe, both of which are experiencing gentrification processes and have community garden projects, and are therefore suitable for my study. Besides this, the two cities were very practical choices for me as a researcher due to covered accommodation and, in the case of Madrid, speaking the local language.

For the selection of the community gardens, I started by setting up selection criteria set forth in Table 1. Because I am aiming to understand the agency of community gardens in Berlin and Madrid in challenging eco-gentrification, I wanted to select gardens that are a result of grassroots initiatives and that have a socio-political component to their aims. They also had to be fairly recent in their establishment; this way we could see how their goals match the current discourses. It was also indispensable that they are run in a not-for-profit manner, that they are self-determined, that they provide open access and that they envision their commitment and existence as a long-term project.

Table 1: Selection criteria for community gardens

Factor	***Level***	***Specifications***
By whom	Bottom-up	Individuals Activists Community groups Grassroots organizations
Where	Capital city	Preferably subject to ongoing gentrification processes.
For how long	Minimum of 5 years	Recent enough to have relevance, yet old enough to have had effects on the community and neighborhood. The initiatives chosen must have a similar time-span, as well as similar 'era' of existence.
Type of initiative	Green provision	Community garden, Urban gardening, Urban agriculture
Purpose	Motivations	Political and social are mainly of interest, but can be in hand with educational, recreational, nutritional, etc. Advocating for open access green and blue spaces in the city.
Commitment	Long-term	Established with the idea to remain.
How it is run	Self-determined Not-for-profit	As much as possible.
Ownership	Collective and public character	There can be support from local government, yet the ownership must be held by actors of the initiatives. (Public in the sense of open)

With this criterion in mind, I chose the community gardens by going through different websites that collected the gardens in each city; for Berlin, I used the compilation done by *Anstiftung*, a foundation that promotes DIY (Do It Yourself) in the city by sharing knowledge and by building strong communities. After making a smaller selection of the gardens that met the criteria, I consulted professor Haase from Humboldt University in Berlin on which ones would fit best my research, which ultimately resulted in *Himmelbeet* and *Prinzessinnengärten*. For Madrid, a similar process was taken. I consulted Red de Huertos de Madrid, the official website of the Network of Community Gardens of Madrid, and spoke with two experts on community gardens in Madrid. This resulted in choosing *¡Esta es una plaza!* and two other gardens in the peripheries of Madrid; *Huerto urbano de Lucero* and *Huerto urbano comunitario Adelfas*. The first one I was able to visit and had an informal talk with two main organizers; the second one I was not able to visit, but had an in-depth interview with one of the main organizers, who is also part of the network of community gardens of Madrid.

3.2. Data collection methods

3.2.1. Interviews

The primary recruitment method for my study involved snowball sampling. One of the first interviews was with two academics from the Berlin that was facilitated by one of my supervisors. They were able to give me contacts that could be of interested for my study, however I was unsuccessful in reaching them. When it came to the community gardens, I always initiated contact with them first via email. In some cases, I visited the gardens to let them know I was interested in speaking with them and ask if they were interested too. Once this was done, it was easier to set up an interview with them. Other times, people preferred the interview to be done via phone, in which case I would initiate the call. For Madrid, I was put in touch with the *Esplai Foundation*, who facilitated interviews with relevant academics, activists and community garden members and organizers.

In every interview, I would ask the interviewee if it was okay for me to record the conversation on my phone, and that I would not be using their personal names in the study if they wished so. At the end of each interview, I asked participants if they had any recommendations for others who I could interview, which also resulted in additional interviews or at least directions for research that were interesting.

Throughout the course of my research and fieldwork, I conducted eight semi-structured interviews with people connected to community gardens in Berlin and Madrid. These interviews were audio recorded and transcribed manually. I spoke to ten individuals throughout the course of my research, eight of which were in the form of official interviews. In total I visited four community gardens; two in Berlin and two in Madrid. The purpose of going there was to examine the ways the gardens were set up and utilized, the interactions that went on in the garden, as well as to see the area in which they were situated within the neighborhood.

My interview subjects included mostly academics and community gardeners (i.e. people who worked and were deeply involved in the running of the community gardens). I developed a general interview guide; however, I did create separate interview guides for each of these groups of people. Each interview guide was structured according to my different research questions and had a total of 23 questions. These questions served as probes to prompt additional details and or elaboration from these research subjects. Even though I usually started interviews asking questions from the interview guide and always kept it as an aid, sometimes interviews would take a different trajectory and other questions or topics would arise. However, all research participants were asked questions related to questions outlined in the interview guides. Most interviews lasted approximately between 45 minutes to an hour, although one was limited to 20 minutes, as requested by the interviewee.

For the interviews done with *Himmelbeet*, it was agreed that the names of the participants would not appear, thereby granting them Himmelbeet A and Himmelbeet B pseudonyms. The names of the other interviewees appear as such, with the clarification that José Luis Fernández Casadevante, who is regularly referred to as "Kois," will be referred to as such in this thesis.

3.2.2. Secondary Data

In order to grasp the state of gentrification of an area, I had to resort to other academic studies that commented on this very issue for the communities in which the gardens were situated. I also conducted a content analysis of relevant news articles, blogs, or reports written about or by the community gardens I studied in Berlin and Madrid. I also specifically searched for any news articles that had been written about the community gardens I focused on in Berlin and Madrid.

3.2. Data Analysis

My data is narrative data consisting of field notes, transcripts of interviews and documents, reports and news articles published online, which is subjected to a content analysis in this thesis.

I transcribed interviews in a verbatim way, only leaving out parts of the interview that became small talk or not relevant to the topic, and can be found in the appendix. I coded the transcripts by taking the four relevant elements of the analytical framework – i.e. context, framings, spaces and strategies, and pathways – and identifying themes or patterns that fell under these categories. I used Microsoft Word to create color-coded matrixes that housed the relevant information under the four different categories.

4. Analysis

In this chapter, I will proceed to analyze and compare the situation between community gardens in Berlin and Madrid and I will be doing so by using the analytical framework by Smith et al. (2017) to explore if and how community gardens may challenge eco-gentrification. I will be looking at the context, framings, spaces and strategies, and pathways.

4.1. Context

In this section, I will go through the origins of urban gardening and the background of community gardening in both Berlin and Madrid.

4.1.1. Berlin

The history of urban gardening in Berlin originates in the 19th century. The industrialization of German cities, plus the aftermath of the two World Wars had a big impact in the development of urban gardening in Berlin. In this section I will do a historical run-through of urban gardening in Berlin, going from the *Schrebergarten*, to the allotment gardens, to finally the community gardens (also referred to, in some cases, as intercultural gardens); from their composition, to the values and motivations behind their conception, to finally the situation they are faced with nowadays.

The Dawn of Urban Gardening in Germany

Urban agriculture appears in Germany as a result of social tensions and inequality in working class neighborhoods, like in the rest of Europe during the 19th century. This situation forced the government to provide cultivation spaces for workers, which were also supported by factory owners and the railway company. These urban agriculture initiatives that emerged as a result were come to be known as “gardens for the poor” (Morán Alonso, 2011; p.89).

In 1894 the first community garden appeared in Leipzig, Germany. Instead of having goals of food production, it was a result of a demand for outdoor space for city children, due to an increase in illness caused by pollution as a result of industrialization. This was inspired by Daniel Gottlieb Mortiz Schreber (1808-1861), an orthopedic doctor, who was the first to call attention to the need for city children to have places to breathe fresh air, play and reconnect with nature (Turowski, 2002). There was the idea to subdivide the playground and provide the children with small garden vegetable beds. However, this did not generate much traction among the kids, but it attracted the parents, who soon after enlarged the beds and began getting more involved in urban agriculture practices (Morán Alonso, 2011); p.90. These gardens became known as *Kleingarten* (small garden) or *Schrebergarten* (Schreber garden). This kickstarted the municipal interest in urban gardens, which would spread all over Germany (Groening, 1996).

The World Wars and their aftermath

During World War I, there were more than 130.000 *Schrebergärten* throughout Germany that provided a substantial increase in domestic food production (Wunder,

2013; p.6). The government approved several emergency decrees aimed at preserving these urban allotment gardens – mainly to avoid the increase in their rents – as they provided food and shelter (Morán Alonso, 2011; p.90).

After the First World War, the *Lease of Small Gardens and Land Law* was passed in 1919. This zoning law was essential for the legal recognition and protection of allotment gardens because it meant they were integrated into the network of free spaces in cities, thus facilitating their public access (Zimbler, 2001; p.13). The law entrusted the local authorities with several tasks, including providing new land for allotment gardens and providing long-term rentals whose price was to be calculated based on agricultural use and not on the potential the land could yield in the urban context (Morán Alonso, 2011; p.90).

The rules on allotment garden management and operation changed in 1933, when the National Socialist Party took power. Since elections were illegal and government leaders were chosen based on the "purity of their blood" and ideological adherence, they dissolved the associations of allotment gardens that are not willing to sacrifice their democratic functioning and succumb to their demands (Morán Alonso, 2011; p.90).

After World War II, the allotment gardens took on the same use of housing the displaced and homeless due to the wartime destruction throughout Germany (Turowski, 2002). However, during the economic recovery of the following decades after the War, the land that once housed many of these allotment gardens became interesting for the real estate market, and thus gardens came under pressure (Groening, 1996; p.90).

In order to protect the allotment gardens from urban development tendencies, the *Federal Law on Allotment Gardens (Bundeskleingartengesetz)* was passed in 1983. It secured low rents and established the rule that one third of the garden must be used to grow food. This helped secure allotment gardens and established them as places for food production and recreation that contribute to serve public interest (Wunder, 2013; p.6).

In East Germany, farmers also practiced peri-urban agriculture. It was regulated in a way that provided a significant incentive to produce food for one's own consumption and sale; if farmers were members of an agricultural production cooperative (*Landwirtschaftliche Produktionsgenossenschaft*) they were suitable to receive land-use rights for small parcels of land (0.5 ha per family) for individual production, and the income generated from the sale of fruits and vegetables was exempt from taxation (Wunder, 2013; p.6).

However, the reunification of Germany brought many changes to society, one of them being an amendment to the 1983 law in 1994 (Morán Alonso, 2011; p.90). The main modification was the change in the concept of rent; it now allowed the valuation of the rent based on the concrete urban location, but it established a limit of no more than fourfold the value of what an agricultural lease would mean. This amendment

was made mainly due to a change in function of the allotment, from horticultural to recreational (Zimbler, 2001; p.14).

Community Gardening in Berlin: Then, now and in-between

Community gardens in Berlin have part of their roots in the existence and expansion of allotment gardens, as they opened the door to urban gardening and urban agricultural practices. Yet, there is a clear difference between allotment gardens and community gardens (Rosol, 2010; p.552).

Allotment gardens, called *Kleingärten* or *Schrebergärten* in German, are private and are defined as plots of between 200 and 400 m^2 used mainly for cultivation of flowers vegetables for self-consumption, many of them with a small shed in which to store the tools. It is not allowed to have animals or spend the night in the gardens. According to the statutes of the associations, the plot must devote at least two thirds of the land to the cultivation of vegetables (Morán Alonso, 2011; p.92).

Regarding their management, contracts are made between the town hall and an association of gardeners (*Kleingartenvereine*) instead of being made directly with private individuals. The municipality provides the land, creates the water supply system, and other infrastructures related to accessibility and hygiene (such as services or drinking water). Local associations rent the land, divide it into individual plots, collect the rent, organize tenant changes and maintain the common areas (Zimbler, 2001; p.15). Each association is independent and self-managed, organized and grouped in different levels: community, district, municipality, region and state ("Bundesverband Deutscher Gartenfreunde e.V.," n.d.).

In Berlin there are 800 local associations, which are organized into twelve groups (by administrative districts of the city). Its function is to be the intermediary between local associations and the town hall. Since Berlin is both a municipality and a state, these twelve groups form the coordinator *Landesverband Berlin der Gartenfreunde* (Berlin Allotment Garden Association), which acts at the regional level, being responsible for the study of policies related to gardens, and advising on the general rules of design, leasing, and management (Morán Alonso, 2011; p.94). The different regional associations constitute the Bundesverband Deutscher Gartenfreunde (Federal Association of German Gardeners), which together with the federal unions of France and Poland created the *Office International du Coin de Terre et des Jardins Familiaux* in 1921. This European (plus Japan) union of national allotment and leisure garden federations lobbies the European Parliament for garden preservation on behalf of all the nations that are part of it (Zimbler, 2001).

However, the *community gardens* in Berlin are referred to as the "new" form of urban gardening (Wunder, 2013; p.4). Marit Rosol (2010) defines them as "public green spaces run by volunteers" (Rosol, 2010; p.552). They do not follow such a structured system as allotment gardens do and they come with a wide range of characteristics. They vary quite a lot in size and appearance, they are community managed, open to the public and rely heavily on volunteer work (Rosol, 2012; p.243).

Perhaps what characterizes them the most are their goals and motivations, as well as their struggles for acknowledgement and securing funding (Wunder, 2013; pp.1-2). Additionally, as Rosol (2010) points out, "most of these gardens have both an economic function (food provision) and a social function (provision of social contact)" and that these urban gardening projects are often also "political battles around the power of disposition over (urban public) space" (Rosol, 2010; p.552).

Community gardens have their roots in the leftist social and environmental movements in West-Berlin in the late 1970s and early 1980s that criticized the paternalistic welfare state in Germany and the administrative control of urban greenery (Rosol, 2010; p.551). Protesters and activists in the 1980s responded to these issues by guerrilla gardening in patios and in the backyards of apartment buildings, lobbying for more urban green spaces, and even publicly squatting in open spaces so as to protect them from being developed (Rosol, 2010; p.551).

One early example of community gardening activism in Berlin happened in 1981, when the *Kinderbauernhof Mauerplatz e.V.* association was founded with a similar aim as the *Schrebergärten*; to "create a supervised green space for small children for educational purposes in the midst of a densely urbanized inner-city borough" (Rosol, 2018; p.3). This project subscribed to "a broader social movement of squatters and other social activists against the predominant urban renewal policies of that time – *Kahlschlagsanierung*, the clearance of turn-of-century buildings to make way for new high-rise buildings" (Rosol, 2018; pp. 2-3). It wanted to show an alternative way of creating a city –a direct criticism to the misguided urban development policy.[1]

Yet the late 1990s and early 2000s saw back-to-back events that propelled the establishment of community gardens throughout the city of Berlin.

In 1997, an informal working ground on small scale agriculture was established at Humboldt University (now Free University Berlin), with the aim of discussing the social and environmental impact of small-scale agriculture and community gardens in towns and rural areas all over the world. Also during 1997, the "Roundtable for Sustainable Development in Berlin and Brandenburg" is set up as a result of Berlin's Agenda 21 Process, which had begun in 1993 (Wunder, 2013; p.7).

One of the first community gardens established in Germany was in Göttingen in 1998. Its core motivation was to foster solidarity towards political refugees and immigrants (Berlin Senate, 2010; p.26). The idea behind it was to create a safe space where immigrants and refugees – who often came from small farming communities – could apply their farming knowledge in Germany. It was hoped that by creating this space, they would be motivated to become more active and learn German, and that such a

1 The project was grounded in a squatted plot of land of 1ha for 20 years until 2001, when they obtained a five-year contract from the borough of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg after a long battle with the politicians and administrators of the borough. This was achieved thanks to the members of the project, who had been actively engaged in local politics, apart from environmental and educational topics. This shows how the Kinderbauernhof remained highly contested for over 20 years (Rosol, 2018).

space would connect refugees, immigrants and natives ("Internationale Gärten e. V. Göttingen," n.d.).

Inspired by the Göttingen garden, one of the first community gardens was established in 2003 in Berlin, the *Wuhlegärte*n, with similar goals and motivations. It fell under Berlin's Agenda 21, thus when it was granted a land permit, it became Berlin´s first intercultural garden (Wunder, 2013; p.8). This event also coincided with the establishment of the *Interkultur Stiftung* in Berlin, a foundation created to support community and intercultural gardens throughout Germany (Wunder, 2013; p.8).

With the success of the Wuhlegärten in Berlin, community and intercultural gardens became the pilot project within Berlin's Local Agenda 21 in 2005, granting them financial support. With this, Berlin saw a surge of these initiatives with the creation and establishment of 23 community and intercultural gardens (Wunder, 2013; p.8). As a response, "urbanacker.net" was created as the first online platform where to find information on community gardens, and as a way to exchange knowledge on urban agriculture.[2]

In 2011, the "Allmende-Kontor" community garden project was established on the former airfield of Berlin-Tempelhof. It aimed to "contribute to the debate on property regimes and the re-production of the urban commons by being a learning-ground for the collective self-governing of an urban common" (Rosol, 2010; p.8). Since its foundation, it has served as "a main node in the community gardening network in Berlin, and Germany in general," that aims to create "spaces for alternatives to the hegemonic consumption, growth and throwaway society" (Rosol, 2010; p.8).

A year later, in 2012, the "The city is our garden" manifesto was presented as a way to bring attention to the growing movement of community gardening in Germany, and as they put it, "to express the political location of the urban garden movement and contribute to the discussions about the future of the city and the importance of the commons" ("The Background," n.d.). It was started by the Allmende-Kontor and other similar projects throughout Germany.

It came about because their spaces were being branded as "cool" and "hip" places by large companies who looked to profit off this aesthetic. Thus, the urban garden movement wanted to make their own stance public and clear; the importance of freely accessible public spaces, of urban nature for a livable and fair city in the world, and to proclaim urban gardening as "communing" and as "right to the city." In line with this, the manifesto defines community gardens as "common goods, opposing the increasing privatisation and commercialisation of public space" ("The Background," n.d.). It also aimed to shed light on the lack of financial and legal support from the urban administration, leading them to a precarious legal status (Rosol, 2018; p.8). About 150 gardening groups and some other organizations in Germany have signed the manifesto ("The Background," n.d.).

[2] "Urbanacker.net" would eventually be replaced by "stadtacker.net" in 2012, which would continue and broaden the work done by "urbanacker.net."

As of today (2019) there are more than a hundred community gardens in Berlin according to Stadtacker.net. In addition, Berlin has been lauded by some as the "international capital of urban community gardening" for its openness and activism within the idea of reclaiming the city and addressing sustainability issues; from social aspects of social integration and education, to environmental ones regarding organic agriculture and the importance of biodiversity, to economic perspectives of food sovereignty and access to good food to the underprivileged (Wunder, 2013; p.2).

However, the situation of these urban gardens is precarious, as they face many barriers that challenge their existence. For one, many gardens are established in land that can only be used temporarily. In addition, there is also a lack of financial support, forcing many gardens to open cafés and do other for-profit activities to keep up with their expenses. This has been a core demand from urban gardens in Berlin for several years and it has yet to be realized (Rosol, 2012; pp.250-251). On top of that, there is a lack of acknowledgement by public administration of the contribution and the services gardens provide, as well as a lack of legal structures to define rights and duties of urban gardeners (Wunder, 2013; pp.1-2).

4.1.2. Madrid

The particularities of the history of Spain means that the social dynamics that drove the community gardens around Europe arrive with a few decades of delay to the Iberian geography. While the movement of community gardens extends across the United States and Europe, driven by countercultural and environmental movements in the 1970s, the emergence of community gardens in Spain takes place in a different context. In this section I explain the history behind urban agriculture in Madrid; including briefly the factors and social movements that drove the creation of community gardens until the pivotal development of the Red de Huertos Urbanos de Madrid (Network of Urban Community Gardens of Madrid hereinafter), and what that has meant for community gardens all over Madrid.

4.1.2.1. The Dawn of Urban Agriculture in Madrid

The Civil War and the Franco Dictatorship

During most of the Spanish Civil War, Madrid was the epicenter of combat. Thus, there was no food production, like there was in London, Amsterdam or Berlin during the Second World War. In addition, the geographical position of Madrid, being surrounded by farmlands, did not make it imperative to create urban agriculture (Morán Alonso, 2011; p.95). This need not mean that Madrid did not see any urban gardening activities after the Civil War and thereafter. We start to see the first legislation on urban agriculture in the 1940s, when urban gardens were called family gardens and they were, in essence, allotment gardens done to please the imperative needs of peasant populations in Madrid and to better the image of dictator Francisco Franco for these factions of society (Fernández Casadevante & Morán, 2016; p.95).

Therefore, urban agriculture was tightly linked to poor peasants of Madrid; it was a recognition of their status as the poor class, since it was granted to them as a means to feed themselves (Casadevante, 2012; p.50). These allotment gardens were highly regulated by the state, which did not want to see peasants making any profit out the

sales of their yield and interrupt the bigger agricultural operations. The idea was to rent the allotment to the peasants who could one day buy the piece of land (Fernández Casadevante & Morán, 2016; p. 96).

However, it seemed that this initiative did not gain much traction as only a few plots were assigned due to the obstructionist and speculative positions of the large land owners. The general scope of the program of allotment and family gardens was limited, it did not play a big role in the crisis of traditional agriculture, nor did it stop the rural exodus (Morán Alonso, 2011; p.96).

Transition to Democracy

Until the mid 1980s urban agriculture was considered as a marginal and precarious activity that was constantly sought to be eradicated because the post-war migrations from the countryside to the city and the growth of self-construction settlements in the peripheries of the cities, produced a landscape of low houses with small vegetable gardens and farmyard animals (Casadevante, 2012; p.96).

In 1983, the COPLACO (Commission for Planning and Coordination of the Metropolitan Area of Madrid) commissioned a study on the state of peri-urban agriculture in the peripheries of Madrid. It analyzed the situation of the urban gardens at that moment, in which the occupation of public lands for use as private gardens was widely happening, and a proposal was made to legalize this use of public land for urban agriculture and include it in municipal planning (Morán Alonso, 2011; p.96).

This investigation defined these urban gardens as "the farmhouse of the poor, the plot of the unemployed, the false villa and garden of the worker who cannot buy land, the private green zone of the retired" as said by the researchers Gaviria and Baigorri in 1985 (Casadevante, 2012; p.50). The gardens were said to be used by the unemployed, retired and marginalized, who desperately needed the food to feed themselves and their families and who, in addition, maybe missed the countryside lifestyle. These gardens were informal settings that would pop up in the city's periphery, where the poor and migrant communities resided.

> *"If in rich Europe urban gardens are the playground for the worker and social-democratic employee without serious economic problems, in Madrid the urban gardens are the sustenance in the face of scarcity."*
>
> Ballesteros, 1984 (cited in Morán Alonso, 2011).

According to the study, these gardens were not appreciated by the administration because they were reminiscent of shanty towns (Morán Alonso, 2011; p.97). The first public policy kickstarted in the 1980s to legalize urban gardens (Casadevante, 2012; p.51). This process went well for a few years thereafter and a lot of people were involved and excited. However, as the city demanded vacant space to expand and develop, the first plots of land to go were the spaces that held the gardens, and the process to create urban agricultural gardens slowed down (Casadevante, 2012; p.53).

4.1.2.2. The Sprouting of Community Gardening in Madrid

There are two waves in the emergence of urban agriculture in Madrid. The first one within the 1980s, after the COPLACO study was done, and the second one in the early 2000s with the creation of community gardens. The first one is linked to the poor and to economic crisis, and the second one is linked to student, ecology and neighborhood movements (Fernández Casadevante & Morán, 2016; p.55). We see more gardens appearing in universities for the purpose of studying agroecology and in schools as a versatile teaching instrument, but also as a result of movements that reclaim the urban voids for its conversion into citizen managed gardens (Fernández Casadevante & Morán, 2016; p.260). After COPLACO in 1983, the first public policy was designed surrounding urban agriculture, through community gardens.

In addition, from 1978 until 1985, the municipality of Madrid ran an ambitious residential innovation project that profoundly transformed its southeast periphery neighborhood (López de Lucio, 2012; pp. 173-174). This area was inhabited by the low-income citizens that had resided in slum housing settlements (shacks and public housing in ruins) that had been expanding in the preceding decades as a result of the strong rural immigration experienced in the 1950s and 1960s (Castro & Molina, 1996). This process of urban remodeling, where the Neighborhood Associations took leadership, affected 30 neighborhoods of very different characteristics with a total of 39,000 homes built for a population of around 150,000 people (Castro & Molina, 1996). Remarkably, those who used to live in the shantytown-like settlements, were able to move into the new and improved housing provided by the Administration, and reap the benefits of this large-scale urban development (P. Martín, 2019). A process of 'contra-gentrification', if you will (P. Martín, 2019).

However, the end of an economic crisis in Spain and the beginning of a growth cycle after joining the European Union, the intensification of the consumer society, the growing importance of the media, the disregard of social movements for these issues, and changes in social expectations (leaving behind the veggie patch for a fancy decorative garden in the backyard of the townhouse) are factors that explain the decline in urban agriculture initiatives in the 2000s (Fernández Casadevante & Morán, 2016; pp.260-261).

This break lasted around a decade, after which some urban agriculture initiatives started to slowly pop up. Most of these initiatives were driven by social movements (such as the Okupa movement) and some were innovative bets made from public policies (Casadevante, 2012; pp.55-54). Both stemmed from the generalized feeling in Spain for a generational change in the way of doing politics, as well as from a shared perception of the strategic virtues that urban gardens could have in urban rehabilitation, highlighting their contribution to environmental sustainability, their contribution to design on a human scale and the development of the social and relational dimension of the city (Fernández Casadevante & Morán, 2016, pp.261-262).

As identified by Fernández Casadevante (2012), there are five variables that explain this surge in urban community gardening in Madrid in the early 2000s:

1. Public policy that stayed in place for urban gardening and that penetrated the school industry to use gardening as a means to teach.
2. Cultural and educational institutions that want to teach in informal ways about urban and ecological agriculture.
3. The growing discomfort of large sections of society with the current food and agricultural system
4. The rise of the ecological movement
5. The rise in the want to bettering the quality of life in the urban environment, mainly pushed by neighborhood associations in an integral way.

There are a few examples of community gardens in Madrid since 1999, but it is in 2006 when the first community garden appeared in the city center of Madrid, in the El Pilar neighborhood. This was as the result of the action of a neighborhood associations movement (Fernández Casadevante & Morán, 2016; p.269). They started the work of cleaning and conditioning a degraded, dirty and disused space, to turn it into a community garden. Since then this space has established itself as a benchmark in the neighborhood that has allowed the development of neighborhood relationships (Casadevante, 2012; p.55). In addition to the environmental improvement and the embellishment of the space, the garden has invigorated the coexistence in a space that allows planting and caring for plants and social relations, carrying out cultural activities or preparing 'popular meals.' It is a modest initiative that, however, is well known outside the neighborhood due to its pioneering character and which has become a reference and stimulus for the experiences that would be launched later in the city (Fernández Casadevante & Morán, 2016; pp.269-270). There is also the example of the community garden used as a case-study in this thesis, located on a plot of the street Doctor Fourquet in the neighborhood of Lavapiés and driven by the collective, *¡Esta es una plaza!* (translates to *This is a square!*) that started two years later in 2008 and that has become a reference (Casadevante, 2012; p.56).

4.1.2.3. The Situation Nowadays

The year 2010 marked a turning point for community gardening in Madrid, as the Network of Urban Community Gardens of Madrid was created. This network is a commitment to coordinate the set of community garden projects in the city to give them visibility, encourage the exchange of experiences (visits, meetings), share resources (community seed, exchange of seeds, purchases), as well as create mechanisms for mutual support, provide advice and promote training spaces (seminars, seminars, courses) (Fernández Casadevante & Morán, 2016; p.271).

Their existence, together with the positive treatment offered by the media, has allowed for the successful insertion of gardens in the political agenda of the Madrid City Council ("Red de Huertos Urbanos de Madrid," n.d.). Their strategy to transfer the issue of urban gardening to the public sphere was to generate enough critical mass of experiences, consolidate the coordination of actions and establishing alliances with spaces, such as the university. In addition, following the strategy of accumulating legitimacy and achieving visibility for community gardens, the network was selected in the Good Urban Sustainability Contest of the UN Habitat Committee of 2012 (Fernández Casadevante & Morán, 2016; p.272).

The following years were defined by neighborhood associations and other social movements looking for the recognition of urban community garden as a category within the green network of the city by the City Council. It is worth mentioning that the neighborhood associations played the key role in the impulse and multiplication of the number of community gardening initiatives in Madrid. Taking advantage of the organizational structure of the neighborhood movement has served both to multiply initiatives quickly, making them resonate in hundreds of associations and neighborhoods, to enable broader alliances (cultural centers or environmental education, university, social intervention cooperatives ...) and has facilitated dialogue with municipal administrations (Fernández Casadevante & Morán, 2016; pp. 272-273).

At the end of 2014 and after several years of conversations, disagreements, the dismantling of some gardens and new occupations of plots, media presence and international recognition, the Madrid City Council (at the time governed by the Popular Party, the conservative party of Spain) proceeded to regularize the first 17 community gardens. The community gardens are located on soils classified as green areas, and their assignment is granted by public tender (Fernández Casadevante & Morán, 2016; p.273). In the conditions, a balance was struck between respect for the uniqueness and autonomy of citizen initiatives, while providing legal security to the community gardens for the City Council, with an innovative procedure that could be replicated in other cities (Fernández Casadevante, 2019).

This was a giant step that allowed the consolidation and expansion of the number of community gardening initiatives in Madrid. So much so that ever since, the procedure has been repeated several times, increasing the number of community gardens included in this program from 17 to 70, as of April 2019 (Madrid Diario, 2016).

Experiences of community gardens in Madrid can be said that nowadays are concentrated in the popular neighborhoods of the city center (such as Lavapiés and El Pilar) and especially in the former worker peripheries (such as Carabanchel and Vallecas) where the neighborhood movement has the greatest presence, and generally in pending urban development areas.

All in all, the Network of Urban Community Gardens of Madrid has played a key role in the development and securing of land and achieving legal status of community gardens in Madrid, as they have helped regularize their legal status with the City Council and has pushed for their recognition as part of the urban green landscape of the city of Madrid**.**

4.2. Framings

In this section, I will be looking into the motivations, values and larger narratives that the community gardens in Berlin and Madrid adhere to, following the definition on what framings are by Smith et al. (2010). In addition, I will also be looking at what the community gardens of each city think about (eco)gentrification and how they relate to it.

4.2.1. Motivations, values and narratives: Shared meanings and ideas

In their analytical framework to study grassroots innovations movements, Smith et al. (2017) say that the concept of framings is "key to understanding how, beyond shared grievances, social movements are held together by a collective production of ideas and meanings that create bonds of solidarity between actors and informs their coordinated action" (Smith et al., 2017; p.23). Thus, it is their ideas and values that are pillars to and guide their activities. I will do a run-through of both Berlin and Madrid in the following paragraphs.

4.2.1.1 Berlin

Berlin has a rich history of urban gardening as we have seen in the *Context* section above. However, whereas allotment gardening is a staple activity and very much regularized all throughout Germany, community gardening is seen as a "new" way of gardening in the city that comes with a handful of values, narratives and demands that deepen and expand debates surrounding topics such as climate change or urban planning (Müller, n.d.).

Through my research, I have found that there are three basic motivations that drive community gardening in Berlin. These are for environmental reasons, for social development and to exercise the idea of the commons. These motivations are broad and each community garden tips the scale on one more than another, yet it can be said that above all, most gardens have sustainability as their umbrella concept.

Firstly, we find the motivation for **environmental reasons**. Community gardens are seen as a way to raise awareness on the importance of biodiversity and on bringing (more) nature to the city; as a laboratory to experiment with different food system options that are more sustainable and environmentally friendly; to learn how food is grown and plant old and rare varieties, doing so organically and by introducing permaculture principles; and as a space to practice sustainability by reusing and recycling and providing organic and fair-trade products.

Founders of the *Prinzessinnengärten* put a strong emphasis on this motivation. It was inspired by the idea of becoming self-sufficient by planting vegetables in the city ("Prinzessinnengarten," n.d.). As co-founder Marco Clausen mentioned in an interview with ARCH+, they wanted "to create a garden where you can experience practically how our food is made and what biodiversity means" (Calderon Lüning & Clausen, 2018). Today, the *Prinzessinnengärten* is a mobile garden that holds around 300 beds and cultivates more than 500 different types of vegetables and herbs, all grown organically ("Prinzessinnengarten » About Prinzessinnengarten," n.d.).

They use their own but also local seasonally grown vegetables in their café and restaurant as a means to sensitize people about where the "products come from, under what conditions they are produced and what that means for the landscape and the farmer" (Calderon Lüning & Clausen, 2018). They suggest that when one starts growing its own food, it is inevitable to start asking questions about where the food supply of your city comes from and what sort of impact it has on the environment in

terms of the waste and emissions produced through transport. Since its opening in 2009, Clausen points out that the *Prinzessinnengärten* has become "a starting point for many other initiatives throughout Berlin that deal with urban ecology and ecological education" (Calderon Lüning & Clausen, 2018).

As part of the community garden movement, at the *Prinzessinnengärten* there is a common political agenda: "while the Prinzessinnengarten is a platform for different kinds of practical social, ecological, and educational activities, we also address political issues. Developing a wide network with other organizations and initiatives, we often stand together fighting against rising rents, the privatization of public property and the industrialization of agriculture" (Clausen, 2015; p.1). This shows up the in the Urban Manifesto they co-engineered in 2012, *The City is Our Garden*. Out of the 11 points that they say define them, five are about biodiversity and the environment, one of them saying that urban community gardens are "a contribution to a better climate, quality of life and environmental justice" ("Urban Gardening Manifesto," n.d.).

This Manifesto was also signed and backed by *Himmelbeet*, a community garden in Wedding whose initial idea was to set up a garden as an environmental educational center on top of a parking lot, which would set up beds with organically grown vegetables following permaculture principles and chickens (Himmelbeet B, 2018). However, due to issues related to German fire regulations about the site, a different space was offered to them by the municipality, a public space, with the condition that *Himmelbeet* was to offer social services and activities (Himmelbeet B, 2018).

This changed *Himmelbeet*'s initial idea of being an environmental educational center into becoming an intercultural community garden; open to people of all ages, nationalities and ethnicities, where gardening, upcycling, cooking, workshops on environmental education and nutrition and cultural events take place ("Himmelbeet Berlin Wedding," n.d.).

This connects to the second type of motivation, community gardening for the **social aspect**. This motivation aims at creating spaces where the community can meet, socialize and work together on a common project. It also wants to provide a safe space for integrating refugees, ethnic minorities, people with disabilities and the underprivileged, as well as for children. And of course, to be a place for knowledge sharing and education through workshops and volunteering days. Within this motivation, economic motivations also fit, such as the establishment of a shop, a café or a bar, where these social interactions can occur while providing visitors with the possibility to consume organic, local and fair-trade products.

Here, at *Himmelbeet*, they went from an urban garden to a *community* garden, where they "more or less split the activities of the garden between […] the social part, the environmental part and the economic part," (Himmelbeet B, 2018) and "which is the main force within *Himmelbeet* at the moment" (Himmelbeet A, 2018).

Like the *Prinzessinnengärten*, *Himmelbeet* also hosts a garden café that offers food and drinks all with organic and fair-trade origins at low prices and they reiterate there is

not consumption obligation if you come into the garden (Himmelbeet B, 2018; "Himmelbeet Berlin Wedding," n.d.). Their motto is "the good life for all" and their values include *more justice* for education and access to good food, where money should not be a barrier; being *more together*, to create a space that fosters cooperation and community; and having *more perspective* on social and ecological issues ("Himmelbeet Berlin Wedding," n.d.). They work intensely on topics of social transformation and the future of the city, and they prioritize social values over money ("Himmelbeet Berlin Wedding," n.d.).

How this aspect translates to in reality depends on the types of activities community gardens do. For instance, *Himmelbeet* provides half of their beds to charities for free and organize different projects that incorporate social institutions, schools and kindergartens (Himmelbeet A, 2018). As one of the respondents of *Himmelbeet* puts it, "we do a lot of inclusion work, like with people with disabilities and we realize that that's our access to be part of the neighborhood. So, it's working to try to bring people together but it's always work; it's not going to happen by itself" (Himmelbeet A, 2018).

For the *Prinzessinnengärten*, the garden is more than for just growing vegetables in the city, it is a space where diverse activities and cultural events take place. As they put it, "urban gardens practically demonstrate an ecologically and socially different approach to urban spaces and their inhabitants, enable the social empowerment of marginalized communities, and are places where opportunities for local micro-economies and other economic models are being tested. In an unobtrusive and pragmatic way, such gardens raise the question of how we want to live in our cities in the future" (Paulick-Thiel, 2012).

For the *Prinzessinnengärten*, the way this motivation translates into reality is more complex. The community garden is run by two organizations. One is the non-profit Nomadische Grün that is in charge of everything that happens on the ground in terms of gardening, volunteering and the café and restaurant. The second one is Common Grounds e.V., set up in 2013 with the goal of promoting "cooperative forms of self-organized and self-managed resources – "commons"" by providing a platform to help set up and develop similar initiatives as the *Prinzessinnengärten* ("common grounds," n.d.).

Among the projects Common Grounds has been involved in are the creation of the Neighborhood Academy, a self-organized open platform for "knowledge exchange, cultural practice and activism;" a tool-kit to facilitate the creation and development of urban community gardens; it was involved in the engineering of the Urban Garden Manifesto; and, most recently, the demand for a long-term lease of 99 years of the Moritzplatz space to develop the *Prinzessinnengärten* as a common place; as common property.

This demand to the city of Berlin is a way to make a statement to potentially help the more than 100 community gardens in the city (as of 2019) that lack legally binding forms of protection that foster their existence (Klügell, 2019b). It also advocates for the transformation of public spaces (like the Moritzplat plot) into open and free urban

commons because they are “an important part of the social-ecological development of neighborhoods” (Klügell, 2019a).

This connects to the final motivation; community gardens as a place to exercise the **idea of the commons.** By making use of empty, unused or underused plots of land in the city and transforming them into self-managed community gardens, some of these projects hope to create an alternative public green space. The idea of commons refers to “specific forms of social agreements to collectively, sustainably and equitably use of common resources” (Halder, 2014; p.29). They follow the principle that everyone benefits from participating and being involved and by sharing knowledge in a productive way (“ The Wealth of the Commons,” n.d.).

This idea of community gardens as part of the “commons” has been thoroughly expanded within the City is Our Garden Manifesto a call against the privatization of public space and embracement of alternative green public spaces, like community gardens.

When asked about this topic *Himmelbeet* said that “we believe that the work that we’re doing belongs on public land. This is community work, this belongs on a public space. […] And that’s why we’re doing it; to have spaces like this: You don’t find spaces like this where you don’t have to pay entrance, where you don’t have to buy anything, where you can just be and bring your own food, whatever” (Himmelbeet A, 2018).

However, this idea of the commons contradicts with the commercial activity that happens in the garden through the shop, café and restaurant. At *Prinzessinnengärten*, they explain that this concept has developed over the years and the conversation over how this would be developed is still ongoing; “we are reaching a limit to what is possible with current forms of politics and administration” (Calderon Lüning & Clausen, 2018). What they mean by this is that there is no administrative category in which to position community gardens. Therefore, they are in constant conversation trying to develop new structures within which these spaces can be allowed. This opens up conversations about ownership (Calderon Lüning & Clausen, 2018).

4.2.1.2. Madrid

As it has been mentioned earlier, community gardens in Madrid have a shorter history in comparison to Berlin, yet they have been rapidly spreading in the last decade. This is due to contextual factors, but also to the rise of certain discourses and narratives.

Through interviews with experts, I have determined there are three motivations that drive the creation of community gardens in Madrid. The first two – for ecological and social motivations – are similar to those of Berlin, since they are two basic pillars in the urban gardening movement (Nettle, 2014; pp.39-46). The third is more particular, as community gardens are seen as a way to connect to past generations.

First, community gardens in Madrid want to focus on the **ecological aspect** of growing food in the city. They grow food according to permaculture and organic standards, and try to revive local and seasonal varieties (Fernández Casadevante, 2019). At the same

time, the community gardens also see themselves as laboratories for sustainability practices in the city; to explore ways in which a city could be self-sufficient and food secure through urban gardens.

Second, community gardens were created as an extension of a willingness from the neighborhood associations to have more places where to connect, meet, discuss, and **develop the social fabric** of the neighborhood's community. The social aspect of the community gardens is key here, it allows a space to impulse community-led projects and educational activities, also specially to "regain the knowledge that was lost" related to urban agriculture (P. Martín, 2019).

This second motivation is very much inspired and driven by two important social movements. The first is food sovereignty, calling for the need to guarantee sustainability and equity in production, distribution and consumption, at the same time that promotes the economic viability and dignifying the living conditions in the rural world, as well as a territorial and economic rebalancing between the countryside and the cities (Fernández Casadevante & Morán, 2016; p.262).

The second one is referred to the new social urban movements of the 1990s that started the Okupa movement in Spain, which turned abandoned properties into socio-cultural spaces (Fernández Casadevante & Morán, 2016). These spaces were usually found in working-class neighborhoods with urbanistic issues (no public clinics or quality green amenities) or in declining industrial areas more susceptible to urban restructuration. These occupied spaces became communication hubs that bridged the different social movements of the cities. This dynamic made it possible to reunite with the neighborhood movements –that have been fighting for forty years to improve the living condition of these neighborhoods – in the last decade, and propel again their work. The community garden of Barrio de Lucero and *¡Esta es una Plaza!,* among many others, are both supported by the neighborhood associations (Fernández Casadevante, 2019).

At ¡*Esta es una Plaza!* they highlight that the social motivation is the key driver to the project, and the one that allows the environmental one to thrive within it. "*Esta es una Plaza!* […] [is] a very nice project for the neighborhood because […] it started to develop another type of neighborhood relationship, very friendly, very collaborative, with a construction in common, with a very friendly discourse of ecology, sustainability, and a strong social fabric" (Joe, 2019). Generally, their vision of what community gardens are is one that views them as "spaces where to collaborate, learn to relate and coexist, to be kind, to respect, to build together" (Joe, 2019).

The third motivation, that of creating the community garden as a way to **connect to past generations**, to go back to the roots of those who migrated from the country side to the city in search of a better future. This is emphasized by Pedro Martín, who says that "under the bricks, one can find the lands that were cultivated in the past," referring to early 20th century Madrid, and that "this should not be forgotten; where we come from, that we do not lose the positive elements there" (P. Martín, 2019).

Though this particular motivation is more implicit than otherwise, it is felt very strongly in many community gardens in Madrid because of where they are located and the history these places hold. As mentioned earlier, the majority of the community gardens in Madrid are located in the periphery of the city, in districts that were historically very poor and that were transformed by the state-led urban development. Community gardening in Madrid was born attached to very demanding social movements stemming from the neighborhood associations, so they are "like a form of neighborhood activism, a process of participation, a hobby," as Kois explains (Fernández Casadevante, 2019).

4.2.2. Views on (eco)gentrification

As part of the Framings section and in relation to the sub-questions, it was important to know what the community gardens from both Berlin and Madrid thought about (eco)gentrification and their potential role within the process in their respective cities.

4.2.2.1. Berlin

Berlin's "unique history as a divided city, the [gentrification] process has developed at times and in patterns that are markedly different from other global cities" (Rosol, 2010). This is why, unlike many Western capitalist cities, gentrification in Berlin was not a big issue until the mid-1990s. Gentrification has become a central issue in Berlin in recent years, appearing at the forefront of political debates, news outlets front pages and reports and everyday conversations on urban redevelopment in the city (Rosol, 2010). Since most inner-city districts have some form of gentrification, many protests are organized by neighborhood activists and residents fighting against furthering capitalistic ventures in Berlin.

Both of the community gardens that were interviewed were asked about their view on gentrification processes in their neighborhood; how they were affected by them and the role they thought they played in this process. What came up was two views that seemed to resonate among the two community gardens.

The first view is that they recognize that they, as community gardens, need to reflect on their role within the gentrification processes.

Figure 2. *Graffiti "Still not <3 gentrification!" at the Himmelbeet community garden in Wedding, Berlin.* ***Source:*** *Medea, 2018*

In this *Himmelbeet* explains that they did not have a "political thought or anything like that behind it" at the beginning of the project. This gradually changed over the course of five years, when the garden became a spot to "connect and talk about things that matter to the neighborhood," like gentrification, which has

become “a massive problem in this area at the moment” (Himmelbeet A, 2018). This is the case because they know of people who visit the garden who have lost their homes and cannot find a place to live because rent has increased. At the same time, the graffiti that looks over the garden “Still not loving gentrification” appeared in 2016. Interviewee A said that she finds this graffiti “perfect” because it starts the conversation about the role of the gardens within the process.

She mentioned that people often blame them for being part of the gentrification process *because* they are an urban garden. Yet she insists that pointing fingers at community projects like *Himmelbeet* takes away the responsibility from the city council, who has much more power to curb these issues (Himmelbeet A, 2018). The topic of the beautifying effect of the community garden also came up, which Interviewee A said people are complaining about it, as they see it as a risk for increasing rents. In her opinion, this is unfair “because what you’re basically saying is [that] you live in a not-so-much developed neighborhood [that] should stay this way; it shouldn’t get more beautiful because otherwise it’s going to be dangerous for you to leave or to not be able to afford rent anymore” and that that basically means that “areas that are not so beautiful have low rent and other areas must have high rent because they’re beautiful… I think that’s quite unfair. This resonates with the study done by Curran and Hamilton (2012) in Brooklyn, where they saw that “neighborhood residents and business owners seemed to be advocating a strategy we call “just green enough”, in order to achieve environmental remediation without environmental gentrification” (ibid).

In the *Prinzessinnengärten*, the interviewee said that they unintentionally play a role in gentrification of the area, highlighting that it is “definitely not intentional” (Svenja, 2018). She said that because the community garden attracts around 50,000 people every year, that the garden has obviously become a big part of the process in the area. However, at the same time, they say the community garden is “one of the only places in Berlin where you can just go for free, do stuff for free, hang out, meet people” and she thinks that that is “also a wonderful anti-driver against gentrification too” (Ibid.).

The second view is that they see gentrification as an issue that is threatening their existence, as land becomes scarcer, more in demand, and more expensive.

At *Prinzessinnengärten* they see gentrification affecting the existence of the garden in the sense that there is now more pressure on the plot of land they are in. “When we started here in 2008-2009 the real estate bubble in the [United States] had just burst and yeah, real estate prices were high, but there wasn’t a hot market like there is now in Berlin” (Svenja, 2018). They saw this fate in 2012, when an investor wanted to buy the land. According to their contract with the *Liegenschaftsfonds Berlin*, the garden would have to dissolve immediately if there was a development plan, investors and capital. However, thanks to mobilization from their part in launching a campaign that attracted 30,000 supporters and the debates and conversation they started related to the long-term consequences of the Berlin privatization policy, they managed to persuade the Senate, and were offered a contract for another six years. Even if this was seen by the *Prinzessinnengärten* as an incredible win, they quickly realized that six

years go by quickly, and that this could mean an endless loop of fighting for contract extensions for the land and against investors and capital.

Himmelbeet is experiencing a similar situation since the spring of 2016. The Amandla eduFootball foundation expressed their interest on the plot of land to develop their own social project. After years of negotiations and conversations between the foundation, the community garden and the local government, the plot of land was been given to the Amandla Foundation. However, they granted *Himmelbeet* the possibility to stay at the same location in Ruheplatzstrasse until construction begins in 2020 (Latz, 2019) . Though this news secures another season for the community garden, it means they will have to find a new space where to continue their activities and in essence, their existence.

This situation is not necessarily a result of gentrification, as Interviewee A says. However, finding a new plot of land is what is so challenging because of the rising real estate prices and the privatization of many plots of land. At *Himmelbeet*, they have been searching for new spots where to move, but have realized that "most spots in the city are sold and not owned by the council anymore; it's not public land. It's actually quite shocking. So, talking about how like this whole idea of who owns the city, who is allowed to use which space in the city, who is not allowed to use certain spaces in the city, I think is one of the main aspects within gentrification we're talking about" (Himmelbeet A, 2018).

Therefore, community gardens in Berlin understand gentrification as an inevitable part of their existence; they may contribute to it and at the same time are affected by it. And they trace the root of the problem back to the city of Berlin and how urban land is being managed.

4.2.2.2. Madrid

In Madrid, gentrification as a concept has recently appeared in the mainstream media, attached most of the time to the tourism boom, or as the call it *touristification* of Madrid (Gil, 2017). The actual process has been ongoing for at least two decades (Mariño, 2018). However, the process has not only been noticed in central neighborhoods, but also in some peripherical areas, like the case of Madrid Río (see (del Rosal Carmona, 2017). In this context, there has been great mobilization against gentrification processes by neighborhood association and activists, calling for protection of basic housing rights, including increasing the social housing supply (Núñez, 2019).

When asked if community gardens contribute to eco-gentrification processes, professor Pedro Martín expressed that community gardens by themselves do not, but are rather one more element of the gentrification process. As previously mentioned, most of the community gardens in Madrid are located in the peripherical neighborhoods, which have a strong history of fighting social struggles and where the neighborhood associations were born, as well as where the big urban and housing remodeling project took place in the 1980s. Pedro Martín pointed out that the people who initially lived in those neighborhoods before the remodeling took place, where

able to stay there afterwards, a process he likes to call “counter-gentrification; or how people are not expelled so that others with greater purchasing power come to acquire those capital gains that the former have generated, but rather that [the original] people stay there and take advantage of the capital gains generated there” (Martín, 2019). Because of this, “community gardens [are] on top of the foundations of this whole process of neighborhood renovation, meanings of counter-gentrification” (Ibid.).

Additionally, he states that community gardens appear as an extension of community fabric; as another meeting point to discuss, chat, celebrate and share knowledge. He concludes he does not know of community gardens influencing eco-gentrification because he knows the opposite effect: “how the capital gains remained in the possession of the people who created them” (Ibid.).

To this, professor Kois adds that he believes that there is currently no evident case that connects urban gardens and eco-gentrification in Madrid. “Urban gardens as such have not yet played this role [of] a “Trojan horse” element of gentrification in neighborhoods that may be in dispute” (Fernández Casadevante, 2019) Following the research Isabel Anguelovski conducts (see Anguelovski, Connolly, Masip, & Pearsall, 2018; Cole, Garcia Lamarca, Connolly, & Anguelovski, 2017; Gorostiza, 2014; Pearsall & Anguelovski, 2016a), he says that green infrastructure is not in itself the cause of gentrification, rather an element that enhances it. In other words, a gentrification process is ongoing for this situation to take place.

Interestingly, *¡Esta es una plaza!* expressed that they see the community garden as having contributed to the gentrification processes of the Lavapiés neighborhood. Mimi Joe, who is part of *¡Esta es una Plaza! ,* explains that Lavapiés is a very central neighborhood that was “always working-class, and for the last 20 years or so […] with a lot of immigrant population.” She added that it’s a neighborhood “that always had a lot of problems. Let's say that the land did not have much value here because housing was not very good. Despite being central there was always a level of social conflict between disadvantaged classes” (Joe, 2019).

In addition, at the end of the Movida Madrileña[3] “a lot of drug addicts and such were typical” to find. Mimi Joe expressed that ten years ago, when *¡Esta es una Plaza!* started, it “developed another type of neighborhood relationship, very friendly, very collaborative, with a construction in common, with a very friendly discourse of ecology, sustainability and a strong social fabric” (Joe, 2019). Therefore, she thinks that the community garden had something to do with the gentrification process of Lavapiés. transgression

However, Lavapiés was going through a process of rehabilitation itself through the gentrification process, which “meant the consolidation of a large population [in the

[3] The “Movida Madrileña” (or Madrid Scene) was a countercultural movement that took place in Madrid during the transition to democracy after Franco’s dictatorship. It coincided with Spain’s economic growth, and was characterized by freedom of expression, transgressive behavior and breaking taboos imposed by Francoist Spain, the use of recreational drugs and the creation of a new Spanish identity.

neighborhood] and the improvement of substandard housing. That is to say, it greatly improved the living conditions of the people in Lavapiés" (Fernández Casadevante, 2019). Kois adds that this rehabilitation was not ultra-gentrifying. It was rather the "space gain[ing] in centrality and [the] global dynamic moving to Madrid, which is in of all the big cities because popular/working class spaces have become attractive and they are central, generating a dynamic expulsion." Therefore, "anything that improves the quality of life of a neighborhood and makes it attractive is likely to be read in those terms," that is, as gentrifying actors. He states that the gentrification dynamic "was already underway and the garden is an actor that is conditioned by this dynamic and should be aware of it to try not to enhance it, as far as possible" (Fernández Casadevante, 2019).

To this, Mimi Joe agrees. She says that the community garden has been "instrumentalized" by different actors, e.g. local government, real estate investors, local business owners, and the media; "they have used us to wash the image of the neighborhood, to attract investors of another type" (Joe, 2019).

¡Esta es una Plaza! is involved in supporting many local initiatives and projects, and lend their space for artistic, cultural and social activities. It is common to see on their websites their support to documentary projects that talk about gentrification of Lavapiés. They also co-organize assemblies of the neighborhood association and other activists to talk about issues surrounding gentrification –new higher rents, displacement, investors– and sharing demonstrations against further development and displacement.

4.3. Spaces and Strategies

In this section, I will be looking into the different strategies used to potentially challenge (eco)gentrification. I will do so by making use of the three key points Smith et al. (2017) propose–intermediaries and networks, or "the array of different actors sharing knowledge and communicating, coordinating and representing the framings behind the movement"; repertoires of action, "meaning the forms of organization and activism that movements develop and use to gain access to the spaces and challenge opponents"; and mobilization of resources, "which can be material (e.g. financial, good or services) or other, such as outsider support or linkages with other groups or organizations" (Smith et al., 2017; p.26). Ultimately, the purpose of this section is to understand the agency these community garden can have in challenging (eco)gentrification.

4.3.1. Berlin

Intermediaries and networks

Himmelbeet and the *Prinzessinnengärten* have been active over the years in articulating their frustration with the City of Berlin regarding their neoliberal policies on the land (Hartmann, 2019). They see (eco)gentrification in a negative light and understand that they have to revise the role they play (and have played) in this process within their neighborhoods. At the same time, it is an issue that affects them, as land in Berlin is becoming scarcer. As interviewee A of *Himmelbeet* mentioned, their case is

not so isolated in Berlin so they have developed a close relationship to other community gardens who find themselves in similar situations (e.g. *Prinzessinnengärten*, *Prachttomate* and *Allmende-Kontor*). As an example, they got together at the beginning of 2018 to demonstrate in Neukölln, a district of Berlin, because *Prachttomate*,[4] an urban garden in Neukölln, had "disappeared" (Himmelbeet A, 2018).

Additionally, initiatives like drafting the Urban Gardening Manifesto in September 2014, by activists of the *Prinzessinnengärten*, the *Allmende-Kontor*, the *Kiezgärten*, *Neuland Köln* and others calling for the support of community gardens as important public space and green/nature areas in the city, showcased an important strategy from organizing like-minded community gardens into making their voices heard ("Urban Gardening Manifesto," n.d.). It has already 80 signatories from all over Germany and it serves as an important network for urban gardens to fall back on, not only in Germany but also worldwide (Himmelbeet A, 2018). "We have like a Berlin-wide network of urban gardens who meet regularly and discuss these kinds of developments within the areas and also what it means for community projects, or urban gardens in particular. We talk to other community gardens in other cities, who are facing the same problem" (Ibid.).

Another important actor within the urban gardening movement is the *Anstiftung* foundation. They offer support and information for community gardens, and a space where to find other community gardens throughout Berlin and Germany. The foundation has also been part of the Urban Gardening Manifesto, and holds an annual conference of the network of intercultural gardens (Anstiftung, n.d.).

Repertoires of action

When it comes to the actions the community gardens can take, they can be grouped in two categories: first, by mobilizing and demonstrating, and second, by making changes in their community gardens to make it more accessible to everyone and not just to those drawn to the "Instagram factor" of their garden (Himmelbeet B, 2018).

Related to the first type of action, *Himmelbeet* met with the local government to negotiate their tenancy agreement for the plot of land. Interviewee A states that "it's difficult, because we're always out here building things, and we have to adjust and learn how we're going to argue with them. And that means also something for the administration; that a lot of people can't access the work that they do because it is very difficult to understand it. But after three years we made it, we understand and we can negotiate" (Himmelbeet A, 2018). Interviewee A said that they received a lot of help from Christ Müller, a sociologist and one of the founders of *Anstiftung*. This is relevant because they bring it to the attention of the local government that the work they do should be on public land and should be recognized, in addition to pointing out

[4] The community garden Prachttomate e.V. is still open as of July 2019 but has lost half of its garden area to the Bo11 building, which plans to build a building with exclusive condominiums there (Hartmann, 2019).

that it has become increasingly difficult to find an alternative plot of land to move to once the eduFootball project begins (Himmelbeet A, 2018).

There is a similar situation at *Prinzessinnengärten*, as their tenancy agreement is coming to an end soon. Currently, they are negotiating with the Senate of Berlin to create an alternative type of contract with community gardens that would grant them a tenancy of 99 years, what they call the "Dauergärten Contract," to regulate the future of community gardens in Berlin as important communal green spaces. They are basing it in on the model of the permanent forests agreement of 1915, which secured large forest areas that Berlin bought at the time to be permanent recreation areas for its citizens (Klügell, 2019b).

As an additional example, *Himmelbeet* and *Prinzessinnengärten* have been active in promoting their participation and support for demonstrations against gentrification and increasing rent prices. Both community gardens shared in their Facebook pages the "Together against repression and rent madness" demonstration that took place on April 4th 2019. *Prinzessinengärten* expressed "the city belongs to all of us, we don't let ourselves be pushed away for the profit of a few less [sic]" (Prinzessinnengarten, 2019).

In relation to the second type of repertoires of action, both gardens organize activities and make changes in their community gardens to make it inclusive to every crowd.

As Interviewee A (2018) from *Himmelbeet* said, urban gardens have an "Instagram factor." She added that "there're a lot of people who are very present in the garden and very present in the media about the garden, and are very visible. And I think that the more space they get in the garden, the harder it is for everyone else to be part of this community garden or to access the community garden. So, what we're doing is like constantly fighting to create a space for everyone." They do so by making communication easier; they have translated their message boards and website into more languages including Turkish, Arab and Farsi, and are thinking about including Bulgarian as well, as there is an important Bulgarian presence in *Himmelbeet*. They also built a traditional stone oven that they fire up on Fridays that attract immigrant neighbors who bake their breads because it reminds them of their ovens back in their villages (Himmelbeet B, 2018).

Additionally, they received feedback from locals that the prices of the products they sell at the café were too expensive. So, they came up with three different prices for the same product; a solidarity price, a normal price and a donation price. "According to your background you [pay what you can]. Trying to be more inclusive and attract other people" (Himmelbeet B, 2018). "Within a changing city, the work is actually to create a space that's accessible to everyone. And that's always hard work." (Himmelbeet A, 2018).

At the *Prinzessinnengärten*, they have made it a point to make the community garden where one can go and there is no need to consume, "[…] we are one of the only places in Berlin where you can just go for free, do stuff for free, hang out, meet people, and I think that's also a wonderful anti-driver against gentrification too. We teach people to

build their own stuff, there is a lot of DIY teaching going on and I think these are all small but important tools for reclaiming your city or yeah, I don't know, or in part stand against that" (Svenja, 2018).

Another way they sought to challenge the status quo was to start the Neighborhood Academy. The purpose of it was to create a"[much needed] self-organized space of learning that go beyond the established education system to practice new forms of urban action and acquire new knowledge in dealing with the current urban and global change processes" (Calderon Lüning & Clausen, 2018). More specifically, the idea behind it was "to have a direct geographical but also ideological proximity of the garden with other places and projects which lead similar fights as we do and to which we consciously want to establish a neighborhood" (Ibid.). Some of the topics the Neighborhood Academy engages with are local and global exchanges between urban and rural communities, commons, right to the city, socio-ecological transformation from the bottom-up, and self-organized learning (Nachbarschaftsakademie, n.d.).

Mobilization of resources

This section pertains the different types of material (e.g. financial, goods or services) or other (e.g. outsider support) resources the community gardens have at hand and make use of.

The two strongest resources both *Himmelbeet* and *Prinzessinnengärten* have are social media and the support from other like-minded organizations and individual supporters. Through the first medium they are able to communicate and share their frustration and struggles, as well as events and new activities that go on at the gardens. It is also through this channel that they are able to mobilize and get the support to protest or demonstrate.

This one was particularly useful for the *Prinzessinnengärten* back in 2012 when the Berlin Senate decided to put the land they were on for sale. They wrote an open letter to the Mayor of Berlin and started a petition online to salvage the land of *Prinzessinnengärten*, which gained more than 30,000 signatures (Clausen, 2015). It was through the social media networks that they were able to mobilize people and raise awareness to their issues, and actually achieve their goal – as their tenancy agreement was finally extended (Ibid.).

They use their social media platforms and to raise awareness on the issues that matter to them the most. These include garden related topics, such as composting or beekeeping, but also to share news articles, demonstrations, their own screenings and talks events that deal with topics surrounding the idea of the commons, gentrification and urban sustainability (Halder, 2014).

4.3.2. Madrid

Intermediaries and networks

The main networks community gardens in Madrid are linked to are the Federación Regional de Asociaciones Vecinales de Madrid (Regional Federation of Neighborhood

Associations in Madrid, FRAVM hereinafter) and the Network of Urban Community Gardens, which came about thanks to the first one. These two networks have been closely working together since 2010 to formalize the activities of community gardens in Madrid (Casadevante, 2012). As these urban community gardens were quite innovative in their nature, with no prior legislation nor municipal regulations in place to regulate these issues, the achievement of going from illegal take-over of land to legalized community gardens through the implementation of a Municipal Plan for Community Gardens by the City Council of Madrid was pioneering (Rodrigo & Fernández Casadevante, 2012).

This has shown that the Network of Community Gardens with the support of the FRAVM has a lot of weight, in terms of negotiating power to claim the needs of the community gardens. This allowed community gardens to present their projects to the municipality to use certain lots of unused land, which, if approved, is given a tenancy agreement for two years with the potential to extend another two years (Ferández Casadevante, 2019). In addition, what has also been achieved is that the land used by these community gardens is included in the city's green infrastructure network "and they will always be green areas," and also that urban community gardens fall within the "typology of green zones recognized by the city council" (Fernández Casadevante, 2019).

Therefore, community gardens have achieved a grounding in Madrid that has allowed them to proliferate throughout the city, mainly in the outskirts, and has given them a voice as legitimate socio-environmental projects that benefit communities (Casadevante, 2012; p.62).

Additionally, as Mimi Joe from *¡Esta es una plaza!* said, the community gardens are very tied to the neighborhood associations, who very much deal with issues of evictions and rising rent prices, among others. This relationship can prove instrumental in terms of protesting against gentrification processes happening in Lavapiés and other areas of Madrid (Joe, 2019).

Repertoires of action

As Kois mentioned, community gardens that are in "areas of dispute" are the most likely ones intensify an ongoing gentrification process in the neighborhood (Fernández Casadevante, 2019).

In the case of *¡Esta es una plaza!,* when asked about what tools or actions they can use to fight against their potential effect on (eco)gentrification processes of the neighborhood, Mimi Joe said that the best way was to not be vain; not making the garden a glamorous place and voice it out to the media by giving interviews and the like. "As I say, this process of gentrification can of course be resisted, you can resist - because the FRAVM resists, and tried to get a move on it and draw attention to all the injustices at the housing level that exist in the neighborhood, to get policies that protect the population and the people of this neighborhood. There are many things to do and what *we* [the community garden] can only do is support it and above all not enter into the game of superficiality" (Joe, 2019).

Adding to that, Kois argues that for the gardens not to become gentrifying actors they need to "guide and maintain their activities and citizen participation (which can be more environmentally focused) that they represent, and link with the sectors of the most vulnerable population in their neighborhood" (Fernández Casadevante, 2019). He adds that within any project there is going to be different aspects that are highlighted and different tensions that arise, but that it is important that one (as a community garden) evaluates the decisions that are making and the consequences that they will have.

An important aspect of the fight for formalization of community gardens was being involved in the design of the land concession contract. Kois mentions that two things were considered; "one was that when the land handed to the tenants [community gardens], was public land that was not being lost, and two, that the community garden management could not be private management; there [had] to be clauses that guarantee that the space has a schedule for the opening hours to the public, and is open to everyone who desires to participate" (Fernández Casadevante, 2019). This way, the community garden is, in some implicit way, shielding public land form being sold off, whilst including it in the city's green infrastructure network.

Mobilization of resources

Again, like in Berlin, the biggest resource that community gardens have is their network and the support from like-minded individuals and communities. In the case of Madrid, it was the networks of community gardens and neighborhood associations that allowed them to achieve the changes they wanted with the municipality.

For instance, when *¡Esta es una plaza!* initially started back in 2008, they had issues with the Municipality in terms of their tenancy agreement due to their unclear legal status at the time (see ecosistema urbano, 2010), which ended up with the community garden closing for a couple of months in May 2009. The member of the *¡Esta es una plaza!* project organized a "solidarity breakfast" in front of the closed garden to protest against the Municipality's actions. It made enough noise to attract the media and get the attention of local Planning Department to negotiate their terms and legality, which ultimately ended in the reassignment of the lot to *¡Esta es una Plaza!* in December 2009 (ecosistema urbano, 2010).

In connection to the general processes of gentrification and displacement that the neighborhood of Lavapiés is going through, *¡Esta es una Plaza!* regularly supports documentaries and films that talk about the changing and deteriorating social fabric of the neighborhood, the latest one being "Compramos tu barrio," which the community garden has been supporting by sharing its crowdfunding initiative on their blog. They also post their support for demonstrations related to displacement and rent increase, like the campaign #NosQuedamos (#WeStay) that protests against land speculation and calls for the community's right to housing ("Esta es una Plaza," 2011).

4.4. Pathways

The analytical framework developed by Smith et al. (2017) describes *pathways* as what "the innovation movements will contribute to alternative developments over time" both in discursive and material terms (2017; p.28). This section is meant to explore the effects the community gardens want to achieve through their actions, but also for exploring what they hope to achieve in their cities in the near future.

4.4.1. Berlin

In material terms, community gardens in Berlin face a long road ahead to achieve their main goals; to get the access to (public) land not only on a temporary basis, gain the public administration's acknowledgement on the services they grant to the community, achieve legal structures that define the community rights and duties rights, and of course, get public funding (Wunder, 2013).

Their current biggest fight is gaining access to land. In more specific terms, the Prinzessinengärten is hoping to get a tenancy agreement of 99 years, as they believe that a long-term project will positively impact the quality of the projects they can provide. It is a real, material demand, but it is also a way to create the framework conditions for this discussion for "creating new forms of ownership that secure the common good orientation of urban gardens" (Klügell, 2019b).

Additionally, they want community garden projects all over Berlin to be officially recognized and included in the city planning, as they still do not officially exist. As Marco Clausen from *Prinzessinnengärten* said; "we are dealing with very specific regulations, so that these places are kept free of building speculation and privatization in the long term" (Klügell, 2019b).

Though securing land and defining their legal status are the key demands community gardens in Berlin are asking for, getting funding would not only mean a recognition for the job that they do, but it would also alleviate the financial struggles that community gardeners may face, like those involved in *Himmelbeet*; interviewee A said that it is important to keep a positive attitude, "otherwise we couldn't continue doing these projects! You have to do it because you believe in it. Because we can barely pay our rent with the salary that we're getting here and it's a lot of extra hours. But we all do this because we believe in it" (Himmelbeet A, 2018).

In discursive terms, community gardens in Berlin wish for the further development of the idea of the commons, in which they see community gardens playing an important role as a third space that is self-managed and open to everyone.

4.4.2. Madrid

In material terms, community gardens in Madrid want to continue expanding and increasing the community garden count throughout the city. They additionally want to continue to negotiate with the Administration on specific matters, such as funding the cost of efficient irrigation systems (FRAVM, 2015).

However, discursively, community gardens are looking beyond themselves when asked about the future of urban gardening in the city. As they have achieved to formalize their legal status with the public Administration, and managing to include community gardens within the green infrastructure of the city, they look towards changing mentalities and practices in terms of urban planning to more sustainable and green ones.

When asked, Mimi Joe, Pedro Martín and Kois all said that it is important to "change people's mentalities on all that can be done within cities," and that becoming more familiar with the concept of sustainability and how to incorporate it into our lives is crucial (Joe, 2019; Fernández Casadevante, 2019; P. Martín, 2019). They also mentioned developing further the de-growth movement because cities are getting bigger, more anonymous and more consumption-driven. Mimi Joe argues that cities need to become more communal places, more humane and friendlier towards its citizens, and she adds that "it is important to get to know people in the city, to collaborate. Especially in the era of megacities" (Joe, 2019).

Kois takes the conversation further, looking into the possibilities of urban agriculture and how to explore its expansion throughout the city. As urban gardening "has just begun" in Madrid and it is still in its "laboratory phase," there is a lot of experimenting that can be done (Fernández Casadevante, 2019). "I would like to see community gardens involved in projects on how to feed the city from within, and how to include sectors of society like the unemployed into all of this." He would like to see a lot of advancements in making the city greener, like introducing green roofs, or roof-top vegetable gardens, and how this could have a ripple effect if it is introduced in the building codes of Madrid (Ibid.). Another aspect they look into is the idea of including community gardening in making the food system more sustainable and as a way to have food sovereignty in the city, in case of an energy collapse, as Mimi Joe points out (Joe, 2019).

Thus, there are a lot of ideas into how community gardening fit within Madrid's future, one that is greener, more sustainable and food sovereign. As Mimi Joe says, "the movement of community gardens is unstoppable" (Joe, 2019).

5. Comparison

In this chapter I will proceed to compare the experiences of the community gardens used as case studies in Berlin and Madrid, by looking into each of the four points provided in the analytical framework, putting the results in the light of the bigger picture that I described in the introduction and theoretical framework.

5.1. Context

The background of community gardening in both cities is very different. In Germany we see urban gardening as early as mid-19th century that is regulated with laws that allow access to plots of land to those in need. Laws regulating urban gardens continue to develop and evolve to meet the demands of the time and of constituents, e.g. making city halls secure land for urban gardening and opening their access to everyone and regulating rent prices.

However, this legislative process of regulating urban gardening does not happen in Spain. As previously explained, the first legislation appears in the 1940s for the family gardens, which were reserved for the poor. This legislation did not gain traction and was not further adapted to new social and political conditions. This means not only that German legislation on urban gardening precedes the Spanish one by a century, but also that Germany has continued to develop, adapt and apply allotment garden legislation over the years due to its continued practice, whilst in Spain the family garden law died out.

In addition, community gardening both in Berlin and Madrid have an activist background that stems from environmental and social and squatting movements generally, yet these movements took place roughly a decade apart. Local residents of both cities have been very active over the years to influence the development and establishment of community gardening. *They have been an expression of active and progressive appropriation of urban spaces by citizens and thus of 'grassroots urbanism'. Residents are not only the decision-makers of how to use an empty lot, but also responsible for the creation and maintenance of the open green space.*

These efforts were met with political will from the administration of Madrid, when in 2014 it regulated and formalized the legal and financial status of community gardens, paving the way for new community gardens to sprawl in Madrid. This has caused a surge of community gardens in Madrid, mostly in the peripheries, where there is more space. Whereas in Berlin, land-tenure, funding, acknowledgement from part of the administration and a legal structure to define their rights and duties is still an ongoing battle.

5.2. Framings

In terms of their motivations, community gardens in Berlin and Madrid have similar framings in their own objectives and discourses. They both have a focus on sustainability and the environment, as a means to share knowledge and bring nature to the city, and also wish to create a different and safe community space where social interaction can take place in. On top of that, they place a heavy emphasis on the issue

of land ownership and the commons, as they see the work they do should be hosted on public land.

In Madrid, however, there is an added factor which is respecting the ancestry aspect of the soil. It is about bringing back the traditions of ancestors and respecting the soil. This third aspect is not very explicit. It is after speaking to various people who are involved in the community gardening movement in Madrid that this comes out, especially when asking about gentrification. Additionally, community gardens in Madrid pop up in connection to neighborhood associations, so they are very much connected to the social fabric of the neighborhood and see it as an additional space to interact as a community, something that is not seen so much in community gardens in Berlin in their inception, even when later on, it has become an important goal that is actively pursued.

Regarding their views on gentrification, community gardens in both cities see gentrification as a negative issue. However, Berlin community gardens have a deeper connection to it; they have thought about their role within the gentrification of their neighborhood and also see it as a threatening factor for their existence. Whereas in Madrid, gentrification is seen as an issue that is ongoing and that has a lot of factors that contribute to it, and community gardens are not regarded as a leading factor for it to happen. This is due to the fact that these gardens are not usually set up in what Kois calls “areas in dispute” or areas that are or have become trendy or prime real estates. Additionally, community gardens are born in areas where the was a lot of political activism, and set by people who are within these activist networks, so they don’t see eco-gentrification caused by community gardens happening yet or soon.

5.3. Spaces and Strategies

Both in Berlin and Madrid, community gardens benefit from their ties to their networks and like-minded organizations. Yet the nature of these networks differs between the cities. In Berlin, the networks that intend to unite community gardens seem to be more scattered, whereas in Madrid the Network of Community Gardens is not only well-defined and centralized, but it has a tight relationship to the neighborhood associations, giving community gardens in Madrid a stronger shield and a greater voice.

Regarding their repertoires of action, because both community gardens in Berlin have commercial activities, and thus are frequented by those who are attracted to the “Instagram factor” of the gardens, they have more opportunities to finding ways to make their gardens more accessible and inclusive. They have taken actions such as providing different prices for different publics or by making it a place with no consumption obligation.

In contrast, community gardens in Madrid cannot have bars or shops in their gardens (Martín, 2019). When asked about what actions can they take to fight off gentrification, they said it was important to not romanticize the gardens by promoting them through the media and giving interviews. This is a very different approach to those in Berlin,

who think it is important to spread the word about the work that they do and what their demands are, and frequently appear in news outlets (see Hartmann, 2019).

Concerning their resources, the most important resources of the community gardens in both Berlin and Madrid are the people and networks connected to them to fight against gentrification and any other 'injustice' that they perceive, and social media as a way to connect, share and spread their struggles, ideas and goals, in addition to organizing and supporting protests, talks and screenings about gentrification topics.

5.4. Pathways

Community gardens in Berlin and Madrid are at different points. Even though the community gardening movement is just starting to gain momentum in Madrid, it has already achieved an important milestone in formalizing their legal status, securing their land, including it within the city's urban green infrastructure and getting the acknowledgement of the public Administration as social, environmental and self-managed projects that aim at benefitting the community. Therefore, when asked about the future of community gardening, they are looking into all the experiments and interesting urban greening things that can be done; at how to influence society and the government to change their practices, at how to make the movement bigger and more penetrated within the city.

However, in Berlin community gardens still want to achieve this step. They face a big challenge in getting recognized by the public Administration and getting their legal status figured out. This is not stopping them; community gardens are still alive and strong. Yet, the road that lies ahead from them includes resolving this, with the added aim to fight gentrification and privatization of the land.

In terms of discursive elements, both Madrid and Berlin agree. The commons, de-growth, sustainability, educating the general public. In material terms, Berlin wants to achieve what Madrid already has, so Madrid is going a step further into what material things they want to get done.

6. Discussion

In this chapter I will reflect on my results and topic, discussing them under the bigger picture described in the introduction and theoretical framework. Next to that, I will reflect on the limitations of this study.

The aim of this study was to find if and how community gardens in Berlin and Madrid challenge (eco)gentrification effects in their neighborhoods, with the main research question to answer the extent to which community gardens challenge the eco-gentrification effects their urban gardening initiatives may have within their neighborhoods.

The results of this study contribute to knowledge about the role of community gardens in gentrification processes in big cities and on some of the strategies used to challenge this process from a grassroots level. As a frame to analyze these results, I used insights from social movement theory and the analytical framework developed by Smith et al. (2017) to study grassroots innovation movements.

6.1. Reflection on remarkable findings and theory of frame.

By using Smith et al. (2017) analytical framework, the Context, Framing, Spaces and Strategies, and Pathways were explored in depth. This gave insights that helped place the community gardens in the place and space they find themselves.

In terms of Context, it was interesting to find out that, though urban gardening in Berlin has been more or less a common practice for the past century, community gardens in Berlin are still struggling to get the formal and legal recognition they say the deserve. Laws have been implemented, changed and updated regarding allotment gardens throughout the years to accommodate to the socio-political circumstances of Germany and Berlin; two World Wars and a city and country divided into two different political systems.

However, the case of Madrid differs greatly. In relation to Berlin, Madrid has had a narrower relationship to urban gardening, seeing it blossom in the recent years. Yet the Network of Community Gardens of Madrid along with the support of the Neighborhood Association of Madrid, was able to achieve the legal recognition of community gardens and negotiate certain conditions on how this regularization played out; land is granted free of charge and it will automatically be certified as part of the inventory of green public space of Madrid, and create a juridical framework that allows for the introduction of more gardens as well as to consolidate the networks of community gardens by providing future open calls for social entities that want to start their own projects. In addition, this was achieved during the time the conservative Popular Party held public office in Madrid, making it a remarkable achievement as this party does not often consider these initiatives.

More interestingly, this was the strategy of the Network of Community Gardens of Madrid; to try to achieve this regularization during the PP term, because they knew that if the PP would agree to it, it would likely stay in place, since the PSOE (socialist

party) would also agree to this policy, and other future PP government would unlikely undermine this new ruling. Remarkably, in Berlin, the Social Democratic Party has been in power since 2011, with a strong presence of the Green Party in Parliament as well, yet community gardens have not been successful at achieving the same recognition.

Another main difference between community gardens in Berlin and Madrid are in their Strategies, that is, in the actions that each follow to curb gentrification effects. While *Himmelbeet* and *Prinzessinnengärten* both have commercial activities within their gardens via a café and bar or by selling their own services as community garden consultants, which they use to shape a different type of consumption (e.g. by providing organic, local products, or by setting different prices to make it more inclusive), *¡Esta es una Plaza!* in Madrid does the opposite. Whereas in Berlin it is used first, as a means to generate income due to the lack of funding, and second, sometimes as a tool to fight gentrification, in Madrid having a café in the community garden is seen as a potential gentrifying factor because it "glamourizes" the community gardens. In any case, however, community gardens in Madrid are seen as non-profit entities carrying out social, environmental or educational projects, and thus cannot set up commercial activities within the land.

As mentioned earlier, community gardens are identified by many authors as sites of social contestation that bring to the fore issues pertaining land ownership, property values, accessibility, public versus private space (Barron, 2017; p.1). This is very clear for Himmelbeet and Prinzessinnengärten in Berlin, yet for Madrid, it was very interesting to find that they also represent a place to reconnect to previous generations who worked the land these community gardens stand on; the hold a symbolic value. They are the results of the work done by the Neighborhood Associations who, for decades, fought for improving the living conditions and rights of those who lived in the southern peripheral areas. It comes full circle; from the family gardens that Francisco Franco set up for the poor to essentially feed themselves back in the 1940s, to empowered, recognized community gardens nowadays. It is a celebration of progress and survival.

The dynamics between community gardens and gentrification are interesting in how they differ between Madrid and Berlin. Professor Kois emphasized that in Madrid, he believes that ¡Esta es una Plaza! is perhaps one of the many factors that drove gentrification in Lavapiés, but does not necessarily see it as a defining actor in its gentrification. Whereas in Berlin, gentrification is seen as a threat to community gardens in their existence, and that's why they are so vocal about it. They are aware of their potential effects on the neighborhood and how they can be a gentrifying factor, but they say that pointing fingers at them will not solve the problem. It should be directed at the local government and their policies, which are the ones that are selling public land and making it precarious.

Community gardening in a way is urban grassroots activism that subscribes to different social movements that spread throughout countries and continents, and have similar and coherent messages. Disputes over land, limited access to green space, and a call for equal rights to the city have made urban gardens a symbol of community activism

and empowerment (Wolch et al., 2014). Therefore, community gardening is closely linked to social movements, and thus social movement theory can provide "a way of looking at community gardening that [goes] beyond the benefits analysis that has dominated academic writing on community gardening, and enable[s] [exploring] an important but underrecognized aspect of community gardening practice: its role as a form of collective social action" (Nettle, 2014; p.39).

For instance, this collective action is defined through the similar Framings (Smith et al., 2017) the community gardens had in their motivations in both Berlin and Madrid, yet some of their actions differ, as mentioned above. Therefore, this theory of frame would be suitable for further comparative research on similar research questions connecting community gardens and (eco)gentrification, as it allows space for differing positions, yet it provides a structure that guides the comparison well.

6.2. Reflections on methods, limitations and recommendation for future research

During the processing of the data collected and of producing the overall study, there were some matters that appeared and some influential limitations that I would recommend to do differently or at least consider to improve the internal and external validity of future research studies.

6.2.1. Language

A noticeable challenge that I faced at the beginning of this study when Berlin was chosen as one of the cities to study was the fact that I do not speak German. Though tools like Google Translate are very useful, and having close friends who are native German speakers helped, it nevertheless influenced the amount of knowledge I was able to find and compile on my own, especially in comparison to that of Madrid. Though there is a sizeable amount of information on community gardens in Berlin relating to gentrification, I speculate that there are more specific studies and articles that I was not able to get to that were written in German and that would have helped guide my knowledge on the topic. Therefore, I believe that not speaking the language was a barrier, not so much in terms of speaking to people and for interviews, but more related to not being able to first, find academic knowledge and second, when found, not being able to fully understand it.

Not speaking German was also a big limitation because it reduced my possibilities of finding relevant, on point, specific information that I wanted to find. In the case of Madrid, I found a lot of good information and it was easier to read and find. To this, the information I have on Madrid is sharper, and facts are more updated and on-point, whereas in Berlin, my information is good, however, more suggestive, because of the language barrier. For example, it was very easy to find the network of community gardens and where it stems from, and that it is a solid organization, whereas for Berlin, this information was, in some cases, more suggestive.

6.2.2. Interviews

A second important limitation that I found important to discuss was the unequal weight of experts interviewed for Berlin and Madrid. Whereas in Madrid I spoke to wider range of experts (that is, a professor of urban sociology, a sociologist and urban

agriculture movement activist heavily involved in the Network of Urban Gardens of Madrid, and three urban gardeners closely involved in the management of their community gardeners), in Berlin I directly spoke to a professor and a junior researcher from Humboldt University and three urban gardeners directly involved with their community gardens. This imbalance might have tilted the scale on the amount of insight I gained on the status and history of community gardens in each city.

Therefore, for future research, and in relation to the previous sub-section, if one does not speak the local language, and has a harder time finding knowledge, I think it would be best to put more efforts into speaking to more experts, who will be able to unearth a lot of knowledge that would have otherwise been more challenging to gather.

6.2.3. Time frame and case-study

Better results would be achieved if these actions that are identified would be tracked throughout a longer period of time to be able to see the effect of these actions in accordance to the gentrification processes and alongside developing political contexts. Following these initiatives on the long term, via a longitudinal study, would provide a more concrete and in-depth analysis. In this thesis, a snap shot is given on what these initiatives are currently doing.

Additionally, because this study is done on a case-study basis, the particularities of these cases also limit the results. It was interesting to take one city in Central Europe and one in Southern Europe, to see what some of the main differences are, but also what united them. Perhaps, for future research, to be able to answer to the proposed research question, concentrating in one city and looking into many different community gardens within one city can provide more concrete results on the actions taken. This can help get a better understanding on the practices of each city, which can then be compared in order to exchange knowledge.

6.2.4. Gentrification status

Finally, a limitation that I found to be important to mention is that I did not complete a full gentrification profile the neighborhoods in which the community gardens stood. Getting a complete and detailed picture on the state of gentrification of these neighborhoods are would allow for a sharper analysis, by being able to connect the practices better to the status of each neighborhood.

7. Conclusion

This research aimed to explore the extent to which community gardens in Berlin and Madrid challenged the possible effects of eco gentrification their urban greening initiatives had in their neighborhoods. It looked into the historical context of both cities, their framings surrounding their motivations and their views on (eco)gentrification, the strategies they undertake to fight (eco)gentrification, and the pathways they wish to open up to embark on in the future.

Based on the qualitative data collected, it can be concluded that community gardens in Berlin and Madrid are generally against the process of gentrification and try to resist it to the extent that their means allow it. They challenge it if they are aware of it and are affected by it. In Berlin, both community gardens saw gentrification as a threat to them, to their existence and their land security, therefore they organized talks and screenings on the issue, connected with other community gardens throughout the city and the country, used their social media to call attention to the issue, and made changes in their gardens to make them more accessible to an ample public. In Madrid, however, it came up that community gardens are only aware and challenge gentrification if they are in "area of dispute," that is, one that is already going through the process of gentrification. The case here is that most community gardens in Madrid are not in areas of dispute, so (eco)gentrification is not in their radar. For one community garden, ¡Esta es una Plaza!, who is in an area of dispute, it showed a similar approach to the issue as the ones in Berlin.

The specifics vary between Berlin and Madrid. In Berlin, the community gardens both actively resisted the gentrification processes in their neighborhoods through their commercial activities (e.g. no obligation to consume, and providing different prices for different budgets) and a strong online media presence (e.g. active Facebook, Instagram and website presence, and granting interviews to spread their concerns about lack of land security). In Madrid, most community gardens currently do not find themselves in a situation where they need to actively resist gentrification in their neighborhood. However, the case of *¡Esta es una plaza!* is one of the few exceptions, which it finds itself in a neighborhood with a deeply rooted and ongoing gentrification process. In this case, the actions this community garden takes against gentrification contrast those in Berlin; there is no commercial activity and little-to-no interviews granted to the mainstream media that could bring unwanted, 'glamorous' attention to the community garden.

The results show that the context in which these community gardens find themselves in is crucial to understanding why and how they act surrounding gentrification. Legal frameworks play a major role for the success of community gardens. One would expect that a long history of urban gardening (like in Germany) would mean that these legal frameworks are already in place, or easier to bring into being. This study showed that, counter-intuitively, this is not the case and Madrid is leading the way here. Community gardens in Madrid have achieved formalizing their legal status, securing their land and including it within the city's urban green infrastructure, and getting the acknowledgement of the public Administration as social, environmental and self-

managed projects that aim at benefitting the community. This is something community gardens in Berlin are still struggling to achieve and are actively fighting for. For this reason, it is understandable that the community gardens in Berlin are much more concerned about gentrification than those in Madrid, because it endangers their existence, as the public land they set up in is in high demand.

In addition, community gardens in Berlin and Madrid showed to have similar motivations behind their work. Yet in Berlin, a special emphasis was placed on promoting the community gardens as "commons," and the importance this plays in the city. They also actively advocate for the preserving of public land, fearing the loss of it and what that would mean. In Madrid, however, an implicit motivation that came up was remembering past generations through the community gardens. This is connected to the history of community gardens and the areas in which they are mostly present. Prior to the Spanish Civil War and afterwards, migrants from the country side settled in the peripheral areas of Madrid and practiced urban agriculture. These areas were in shambles, and were remodeled in the 80s. Most people who initially lived there, stayed there after the remodeling. The people who lived in those neighborhoods have a history of advocating for their rights and fighting for injustice. Their descendants started the neighborhood associations who were very active in advocating the introduction of community gardens. Therefore, community gardens are, in a way, symbolic.

This research gave insights by comparing community gardens in two cities that are quite different in terms of their history with urban gardening, their location (Spain in Southern Europe, and Germany in Central Europe) and with community gardens that find themselves at different stages. However, like with any gentrification study, a big limitation in my research was the time frame. Therefore, to better understand the implications of these results, future studies could conduct a longitudinal study of each city to be able to give a better perspective on how community gardens' role unfolds.

For instance, in Berlin there has been a recent call for a referendum on expropriating private housing companies to turn in into public housing, something that could potentially involve the support of community gardening. Or in Spain, with its current political situation – four elections in the last eight years – and Madrid as a city that is starting to see more gentrification examples, it could be interesting to see how the future of community gardens unfolds under new governments and an urban landscape that looks to become more and more expensive to access. In addition, climate change narratives are starting to percolate, thus it will be interesting to see if and how these connect to urban gardening in Madrid.

More specifically, the peripheral area of Madrid is an interesting area to study this development more closely. As Kois mentioned, as of now it is not an "area of dispute," yet it is seeing a rising number of community gardens popping up, in addition to being surrounded by more green areas than in central Madrid. With the city growing in population and with a limited number of green areas, it could be interesting to follow up on this area of Madrid, which has an intriguing history of neighborhood activism

and “contra-gentrification” (Martín, 2019). How will the presence of community gardens affect the development and gentrification of the area?

Additionally, after looking into community gardens and their history and socio-political context in both Berlin and Madrid, it has become clear that community gardens provide a very interesting vehicle to study the social, economic and political issues of the time in a particular city.

Cities are getting bigger and green spaces in cities are becoming hotspots for gentrification. Those involved with community gardening are actors that want to provide green space within the city to bring back a piece of nature, explore urban agriculture, and brew what an alternative type of public space within a city could look like. Therefore, this research on their agency on challenging potentially unwanted gentrification effects by their initiatives is interesting in that it gave insights into the extent of the actions that they take, and the struggles they face. It also shed light on whether on their complex relation to gentrification and on the resiliency of projects like these, despite expanding gentrification dynamics in both Berlin and Madrid.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Community garden profiles

Himmelbeet

Movations

Himmelbeet – a play on words, meaning more or less the 'garden of the sky,' but written *beet* (beetroot) instead of *bett* (bed),– is a community garden located in the north-western working-class neighborhood of Wedding, part of the inner-city borough of Mitte in Berlin. It defines itself as an intercultural community garden; open to people of all ages, nationalities and ethnicities, where gardening, upcycling, cooking, workshops on environmental education and nutrition and cultural events take place ("Himmelbeet Berlin Wedding," n.d.). In addition, it hosts a garden café that offers food and drinks all with organic and fair-trade origins at low prices. However, they reiterate there is not consumption obligation if you come into the garden. Their motto is "the good life for all" and their values include *more justice* for education and access to good food, where money should not be a barrier; being *more together*, to create a space that fosters cooperation and community; and having *more perspective* on social and ecological issues. They work intensely on topics of social transformation and the future of the city, and they presuppose value over money ("Himmelbeet Berlin Wedding," n.d.).

When and why they were established

This community gardens started in 2012 by a small group of people ranging from architects to social scientists to environmentalists, with the idea of having an environmental-educational center on top of a parking lot in Wedding (hence, the name) (Himmelbeet A, 2018). The project was planned out and in paper; it would have a permaculture design, with chickens and with the option to rent-out beds to generate income. However, due to security issues related to German fire regulations, the idea did not come to fruition. In this context, the city council, who liked the project, offered the plot of land in which it stands nowadays; an unused sports ground. This changed the concept of the whole project into becoming an urban garden, a community garden, which is what it is now (Himmelbeet B, 2018).

Funding

They are a gGmbH, a charitable company with limited liability under German law, which means that the purpose of the company is to benefit the common good but can still be economically active to fund themselves. They don't get any public funding at all, the only advantage they have is that they don't have to pay for the rent of the plot. However, they have to pay for water, electricity, the people who work permanently at the community garden and a lot of extra costs. The way they finance themselves if by running the café (which is not making money at the moment), rent out a big part of their beds to individuals, and by doing other consulting projects all over Berlin (Himmelbeet B, 2018).

Current situation

The situation of the community garden faces today is one of a “kind” eviction. In 2016, the Amandla eduFootball Foundation expressed to the District Office of Mitte their interest in the plot of land where Himmelbeet rests to set up their "SafeHub" project. Over the course of the years, after many conversations and negotiations, the plot of land was given to the Amandla Foundation to build their educational and sports facilities for children and adolescents (“Himmelbeet Berlin Wedding,” n.d.). However, they granted Himmelbeet the possibility to stay at the same location in Ruheplatzstrasse until construction begins in 2020 (Latz, 2019) . Though this news secures another season for the community garden, it means they will have to find a new space where to continue their activities and in essence, their existence.

Prinzessinnengärten

Motivations

The Prinzessinnengärten, or ‘Princess garden’ in English, is a community-initiated project. They say they are not just simply a garden where to relax and socialize, it is also an example of a different way of using urban land, of promoting self-sufficiency and community development, and of promoting values and issues such as biodiversity, climate change, recycling, environmental justice and food sovereignty. The garden is a collective experience open to all and presents itself as a tolerant, knowledge-sharing green oasis (“Prinzessinnengarten » About Prinzessinnengarten,” n.d.).

When and why they were established

The Prinzessinnengärten started in 2009 as a temporary project in a vacant plot in Moritzplatz in the neighborhood of Kreuzberg in Berlin. It was inspired by a trip taken to Cuba by Robert Shaw, one of the founders of the garden, who was impressed with the idea of self-sufficiency by cultivating vegetables in the city (ibidem). He and Marco Clausen decided they wanted to replicate this idea in Berlin. Their motivation was to combine a mobile urban garden, reusing fallow land in the city and provide social and educational activities, and make it economically viable.

After 6 months of planning and talks with a wide range of professionals, the site of Moritzplatz was suggested to them by the district mayor at the time. The site, owned by a real estate fund of the City of Berlin, was given to them for a monthly rent of 2,300 euro, an amount they had to vehemently negotiated for. With the help of more than 150 volunteers and to donations ranging from compost, to stacking containers, to a payed-for rented van, the site was cleared and the community garden was set up. There is a café and a restaurant, a bee keeping station, a performance structure where they hold screenings and talks, and many trees and green but no private lots; there are open gardening days where volunteers can come in to help and learn about “growing food, organic farming, biodiversity, composting or beekeeping’ (Clausen, 2015).

Due to the temporary lease of the land in Moritzplatz, they saw their existence threatened in the summer of 2012, when the Berlin Senate decided to sell that plot of land. They wrote an open letter to the Senate and the Mayor of Berlin titled “Let it grow!” and made a petition to avoid their eviction. They gained more than 30,000 signatures and this gave them national media coverage. This resulted in their lease

being temporally extended until 2018, and then again to 2020 (Clausen, 2015; Klügell, 2019b; “Prinzessinnengarten » About Prinzessinnengarten,” n.d.).

Funding
Prinzesinnengärten is managed by a gGmbH called Nomadischgrün, which means they are non-profit with the possibility of being economically active. Since they do not receive any financial support from the city of Berlin, they run their own commercial activities to keep the garden actively open. They make their income from their café and restaurant, as well as from building gardens throughout Berlin in locations such as kindergardens, schools, or universities. Additionally, they welcome donations, which can be done through their website. This revenue is used to pay the rent for the plot, the infrastructure and general maintenance costs, the activities hosted in the garden and the wages of the 10 permanent employees and 30 temporary employees during the growing season (Clausen, 2015).

Current situation
As of today, the Prinzessinnengärten is the most visited and the best-known urban gardening project in Berlin (“Prinzessinnengärten | visitBerlin.de,” n.d.). It counts with the help of more than 1,000 volunteers per year and is visited by an estimated 70,000 people every year (Clausen, 2015; “Prinzessinnengarten » About Prinzessinnengarten,” n.d.)

They have announced that a second location will open at the Neue Saint Jacobi cementery in Neulköln. Even though their lease in Mortizplatz was extended until 2020, they wanted to find another location where to continue their urban gardening. Their new location is quite a different one from the one that has housed them for the past decade, which opens opportunities to garden in a different way (Klügell, 2019b).

However, they intend on keeping the plot in Mortizplatz. In April 2018, they announced their new initiative that calls for a lease of 99 years on Mortizplatz, to secure that land as common property of Berlin, which they have suggested to the district of Berlin. It followed the model of the permanent forest agreement of 1915, when Berlin bought large forest areas like the Grunewald, in order to secure them permanently as recreational areas for its citizens. This initiative is not only for themselves, but they rather want this to become common practice for community gardens all over Berlin; as a way to continue the debate on how to include the community gardens in the planning of the city(Klügell, 2019a).

Even though the future of the Prinzessinnengärtne at Mortizplatz remains uncertain, their new location is to open at the end of 2019 and will have a different atmosphere and goal. And the Prinzessinnengärten at Mortizplatz will continue to run its daily operations simultaneously (“Prinzessinnengarten »Future of the Princess Gardens,” n.d.).

Esta es una plaza
Motivation

¡Esta es una plaza! – This is a square! in English – was started from the desire to have an alternative public space for leisure, knowledge exchange and development of the social fabric. It was envisioned to be a community garden where different generations and cultures could mingle, do sports, play games, organize events, exchange objects and ideas, and spend time together. All the while an ecological vegetable garden was set in place to produce food and to serve as an additional didactic tool for children and anyone interested ("Esta es una Plaza," 2011).

Creation

This is a Plaza was born informally at the end of 2008, after a group of neighbors and the 'Urbanaction' collective got together in a workshop of urban interventions at La Casa Encendida, a social and cultural center in Madrid. The project framework that resulted from the workshop was presented to the Municipal District Board and they offered an abandoned site in calle Doctor Fourquet 24 in the neighborhood of Lavapiés, which had been an abandoned and disused site for more than 30 years (ecosistema urbano, 2010).

The group then built the community garden with reused and donated materials that included a vegetable patch, a sports area for football, pétanque and badminton, and an outdoor theatre. They received the help of many neighbors who really appreciated the initiative (Elorriaga, 2012; Nerea, 2017).

This warm welcome motivated the group to keep the garden open and to make it an official, not-for-profit, self-managed project and ask the city council for a temporary assignment of the lot in order to do so. However, the garden was officially closed by the city hall and a lock was set. After a tug of war with the town hall that lasted many months that involved talks and negotiations, public protests and activities in support of establishing the garden, and a lot of media attention, the group was able to secure a temporal assignment of half of the plot deal with the precondition of becoming an association (ecosistema urbano, 2010).

In September 2009 they became a formal association and finally in December, they officially received the lot for a maximum period of five years and the community garden was moved back in in January of 2010, and has been there since then (ecosistema urbano, 2010)

Financing

Esta es una Plaza is mainly financed by public grants as well as grants offered by foundations doing social and culture work, like El Matadero or La Casa Encendida. They also fundraise by hosting different activities, a principal one being what they call 'popular meals', an annual event where they offer a lunch menu for six euros.

Since the plot is granted to them rent-free, the expenses include general maintenance, like buying compost and seeds, and infrastructure expenses like paying water and electricity bills. Everyone involved in the project is doing so in a voluntary manner; so, no wages are payed (Elorriaga, 2012).

Current Situation

In 2017, the association presented a renewal request for the plot to continue the community garden and a year later, in 2018, they were granted another four years with the possibility to extend a further four years thereafter. The community garden has established itself as an integral part of the Lavapiés neighborhood; as a laboratory for experimental ways of community building and participation. They currently work hard to extend their model and support projects all around Madrid and Spain who want to start something similar. They are also involved in supporting many local initiatives and projects, and lend their space for artistic and cultural activities.

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Appendix B: Interviews

Interview Guide

Items

-Values, motivations, narratives
-Actions, strategies, spaces
-Effects, consequences, influence
-Context, cultural factors, opportunities

Questions

For sub-question on **FRAMINGS**:

- What are the main values or motivations driving the creation of the garden?
    - (If they include social inclusion/participation) how do you define that?
    - Why was it important to make it socially diverse?
    - How they think they achieve that through their garden?
- Prior to the creation of the garden, would you say there was an accessible, close-by park or green space?
- Have you noticed any sort of change in the 'type' of people living or moving into the area?
    - In other words: is gentrification an issue in your community/neighbourhood? If so, what is your opinion on it?
    - What current processes drive these developments?
    - Do you think your project has an influence on this (POS/NEG). If so: how
- About Eco-getrification: Do you believe that the introduction of a green space would drive up prices and displace people within your neighbourhood? Is this an issue you perceive in your community/neighbourhood?
    - Is it something that was discusses during the set-up of the garden? Was this a potential effect or issue you considered as a possible consequence of the set-up of the garden?
- Do you subscribe to any broader social movements? If so, do you think that this has shaped your motivation for the set-up of the garden? (e.g. environmentalism, food sovereignty, environmental justice, sustainability)

For sub-questions on **SPACES AND STRATEGIES**:

- If gentrification is an issue for the group: start with an open question: do you employ any specific actions to combat these processes?
- Is your initiative involved with networks of community gardeners, whether it be regionally, nationally or internationally?
    - What sort of collaboration do you have with these networks? (e.g. knowledge sharing, support each other in hardships)
- Is your initiative involved in any sort of movement protesting gentrification?
    - (In the case they are active) what sorts of resources do you use to be active within these movements?
- Have you (as the community garden) participated in any sort of rallies or campaigns or protests on gentrification? Arguing from your initiative's set of values?
- Would you consider that your initiative undertakes other sorts of actions (e.g. e.g. targeted recruitment of participants, rules or procedures that favour underpriviliged groups, demands to or cooperation with local government, etc.)?

- Would you consider your initiative is active in protesting or challenging (eco-)gentrification? If so, how? What role do you (initiative) take up? What tools do you make use of to go about challenging (eco-)gentrification?

For sub-questions on **PATHWAYS (effects) :**

- In your view, how has the neigbourhood changed since the introduction of the community garden (initiative)? (e.g. greener, better relationship between neighbours, new neighbours, will to stick together)
- How has the neighbourhood/community responded to this initiative? (e.g. negative/positive, supportive, active/passive)
- What do you hope this community garden (initiative) will contribute to the community? (e.g. resilience, inclusiveness, diversity, greenness)
- In terms of challenging (eco-)gentrification, do you think the initiative has contributed to (countering) it? If so, how? How did you notice such an effect? (I.e. proof), (e.g. brought together the community, create a space welcoming social diversity and inclusiveness, resilience, awareness on people's own agency to drive change)

For sub-question on **CONTEXT**:

- In Amsterdam/Berlin there is a strong tradition of having allotment gardens within the city. Do you think this played an important role in the creation of the garden?
- What opportunities, if any, popped up for the creation of the garden (initiative) to happen? (e.g. land availability, support from the municipality/community)
- What factors (cultural, social, political, economic) influenced/inspired/guided the creation of the initiative?
- In your efforts (if any) to improve access of underprivileged groups and avoid eco-gentrification, which economic or policy factors have hampered you; and which factors were helpful?
- What is your general view on municipal policies regarding gentrification and eco-gentrification? Do your protests relate to this?