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**Visionscapes:
Combining Heritage and Urban Gardening to Enhance Areas Requiring Regeneration**

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Abstract

With the occurrence of urban densification, understanding the necessity of encouraging and promoting climate- and environment-friendly urban areas has gained ground with urban planners. Ensuring adequate and easily accessible green public spaces is essential for creating healthy environments. In this current study, we look closely at how heritage combined with urban gardening can function as a means to enhance areas that require regeneration. We ask how, in culturally mixed neighbourhoods, urban gardening can link visions of social and physical well-being with urban regeneration. This study is a comparative case study of two regeneration projects: 1) the Darwin Ecosystem Project, which promotes alternative eco-friendly lifestyles and

1 innovative start-ups through the adaptive reuse of former military barracks in Bordeaux, France;
2 and 2) Dr. Dedichen's Greenhouse, situated in a heritage environment of a former psychiatric
3 hospital in the eastern part of Oslo, Norway. Conflicting economic, political and cultural views
4 are likely to affect the heritage discourse in marginalised urban areas. When describing heritage in
5 the two neighbourhoods, we used the 'ruinisation' approach to ensure an inclusive understanding
6 of heritage. We describe how old buildings, fragments of larger structures adjacent to the remains
7 of recent history, can be integrated into urban planning initiatives as part of larger, active place-
8 remaking processes. Residents, artists and various citizen's groups, alongside planning authorities,
9 are cooperating to transform neighbourhoods into healthy, climate- and environment-friendly
10 places to live and work. Therefore, heritage combined with urban agriculture is a means to enhance
11 areas that require regeneration.

12 **Introduction and Research Framework**

13 Within heritage studies, much focus concerning urban issues has been focused on limiting the
14 negative effects of urban development on historic urban landscapes (HULs). These issues are
15 urgent matters concerning the extreme rate of urbanisation in parts of Asia, the Middle East, South
16 America, and Africa (Perez and Roders 2020; Silva 2020; Swensen 2020; Roders and Bandarin
17 2019; Taylor 2016; Labadi and Logan 2015). However, lessons could be learnt from the local
18 independent experiments being conducted in urban neighbourhoods worldwide. Although
19 fragments of historic structures in such areas are not always perceived as heritage, they can be
20 integrated into new urban contexts, thereby adding a temporal dimension to the environment.
21 When explored more closely, such examples can enhance critical discussions in heritage studies.

22 Many cities comprise diversified areas (i.e., socioeconomic, environmental and cultural), which
23 include diverse functions and different types of buildings. With time, old buildings get renewed,
24 rehabilitated, restored or replaced. Sometimes, both redevelopment and restoration/conservation
25 occur within such neighbourhoods. Urban regeneration requires that decisions with long-term
26 consequences be made. Both redevelopment and restoration can have an unintended negative
27 effect of accelerating housing prices, pushing out and marginalising low-income residents (i.e.,
28 instigating gentrification processes) (Moskowitz 2018)¹. However, when regeneration originates

1 in plans based on overarching sustainable goals, visions and ideals, it can have the positive effect
2 of transforming a neglected area into an environment-friendly, healthy, green area that attracts
3 various users.

4 Within critical heritage studies a few studies of the relationship between history, heritage and
5 health have been carried out. One of these studies focuses on traditional medicine and its
6 relationship to the fields of human rights, public health, and development (Riordan and Schofield
7 2014). The knowledge in traditional medicine is rightly classified as intangible heritage. It
8 necessitates a thorough discussion of the practical implications of applying the UNESCO
9 Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Heritage. Another study from Sweden illustrates
10 how the cooperation between nature conservation and heritage management has proven to give
11 good results. It has led to integration of public use of natural and heritage resources, and greater
12 participation by local citizens in their management (Svensson 2009). A literature review
13 examining potential connections between history, heritage, and health within cross-disciplinary
14 literature underlines the need for more focus on this topic (Orthel 2021). Of more than 400
15 articles reviewed, surprisingly only six articles directly identified a link between history,
16 heritage, and health. Although there is no claim that such connections did not exist, it is a
17 potential relationship that mostly is referred to, and then indirectly. Orthel concludes that it is a
18 research field that presents large opportunities for interdisciplinary research.

19 In this paper, we call the former neglected areas in question ‘visionscapes’. This term refers to
20 how areas that require regeneration have combined the adaptive reuse of historic buildings and
21 urban gardening in public space as stepping-stones in a wider societal goal of creating healthy and
22 environment-friendly neighbourhoods. Although different in various ways (e.g. size, age, former
23 function, heritage status and funding), these areas have commonalities, which facilitate their

1 comparisons and outline learnt lessons that can prove useful in other contexts where rehabilitation
2 is an option.

3 We raise the following research question: How can heritage combined with urban gardening in
4 public space be used as a means to link visions of social and physical well-being with sustainable
5 urban regeneration in culturally mixed neighbourhoods? We conducted a comparative case study
6 of two regeneration projects in culturally mixed neighbourhoods Bordeaux, France and Oslo,
7 Norway.

8 In the following section, we describe the concepts and approaches that guided this study. The
9 second section presents the qualitative methods and source material used, and the third section
10 presents the two regeneration projects in detail. The fourth section focuses on the health and
11 quality of life enhancements ensured by participation in landscaping. The fifth section assesses
12 the extent to which these projects have attained the overarching long-term goals of linking
13 visions of social and physical well-being with sustainable urban regeneration. Finally, the
14 challenges the projects may have in-store are presented.

15 **Concepts and Approaches**

16 Rather than basing this study on a well-established and recognised theoretical framework, we
17 applied an open interdisciplinary approach inspired by complementary disciplines, such as social
18 anthropology, geography, heritage discourse and landscape architecture. We identified a set of
19 concepts and approaches and assembled them in ways to gain better insight into alternative and
20 creative ways of mixed land use. Notions of how urban gardening combined with adaptive reuse
21 of structural remains can contribute to urban regeneration are integrated into the interpretations
22 of this study's findings.

1 *Urban Gardening*

2 Urban gardening is the common link between the case studies of the Darwin Ecosystem Project,
3 Bordeaux and Dr. Dedichen's Greenhouse, Oslo. Here, following Vejre et al. (2016), we
4 consider urban gardening as a subset of the broader term 'urban agriculture'. We are interested in
5 the phenomenon of cultivating food plants in urban areas, mainly for non-commercial purposes
6 (i.e., for a sustenance lifestyle). In agreement with Martin et al. (2016), we do not use the term
7 urban agriculture in this reference, given its production-focused implications.

8 While urban gardening has an obvious and given place as a problem field within agronomy in the
9 science of nutrition and health care, researchers within the social sciences and humanities have
10 turned their attention to other aspects. They are interested in finding explanations for the rising
11 interest in practising urban gardening and the added value it can provide to urban living. Some
12 researchers have focused on understanding the interest this activity has raised in contemporary
13 society and have asked whether it should be interpreted as a new or a rejuvenated activity.

14 When interpreted as rejuvenation, it is emphasised that new purposes have been added to more
15 common activities in urban gardening and then described as a reinvention of the concept. It has
16 answered the overarching aim of creating more sustainable cities (Prové et al. 2015) and has been
17 described as 'bringing horticulture into 21st century cities' (Gasperi et al. 2016, 3). Some activities
18 have been partly enabled through new means that have transformed areas previously dominated
19 by asphalt and brick structures into green infrastructure.

20 To better understand the increased interest in many European cities, urban agriculture has become
21 a sort of 'lifestyle issue', particularly among the younger urban population (Winkler et al. 2019).

22 Although food production can be considered the main purpose, such activities can provide added

1 value, for instance, welfare benefits: increasing the possibilities for partaking in social and cultural
2 activities, providing opportunities to relax, undertaking physical activities, socialising and mixing
3 with neighbours and contributing to communication and knowledge sharing across culturally
4 different backgrounds and religions (Thompson et al. 2007,161; Saldivar-Tanaka and Krasny
5 2004, 399). Such activities can be interpreted as a means for building a sense of community
6 belonging, an aspect accentuated by researchers who have focused on the role that urban
7 agriculture plays in neighbourhoods with large immigrant communities (Agustina and Beilin 2012;
8 Saldivar-Tanaka and Krasny 2004).

9 *Geocultural Features*

10 We observed an increase in community gardening and urban agriculture in many Western cities.
11 Often based on national urban traditions from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in
12 the European context, it is now introduced in a different, contemporary sociopolitical context.

13 The popularity that urban agriculture has gained in several cities can be considered a geocultural
14 phenomenon. The concept of geoculture was proposed by social anthropologist Hannerz (2009).
15 He presented it in an essay about geocultural scenarios or ‘imagination’ (Hannerz 2009, 286),
16 where he deconstructed established large-scale entities, such as continents and civilisations, and
17 contextualised them in time and place. Geoculture implies ‘fairly large-scale mapmaking’ (2009,
18 268).

19 We found this useful in comparing cases across established national borders (here, Norway and
20 France). We used geocultural futures as an opening to obtain insights into how and why new ideas
21 and trends gain a foothold independent of national borders. Due to modern information technology,
22 the flow of ideas, trends and impulses has changed dramatically within a short period and

1 connected separate continents into a highly interconnected contemporary world. As part of a
2 shared international concern for the effects of climate change and environmental degradation, the
3 renewal of urban agriculture can be interpreted as a societal phenomenon enacted in new planning
4 policies to build greener cities and ultimately enhance urban citizens' health and welfare.

5 *Heritage's Role in Place-Remaking*

6 Discussions about heritage are often circulated around the selection criteria, the authoritative right
7 to include and exclude or the various definitions of heritage found in conventions and charters.
8 However, when dealing with urban heritage, it is more constructive to keep the dynamic character
9 of cities in mind (Ripp and Rodwell 2015) and primarily use temporality as heritage's common
10 denominator. We are motivated by DeSilvey (2006), in cooperation with Edensor (DeSilvey and
11 Edensor 2013), who referred to the aesthetics of ruinisation and decay as approaches to help grasp
12 the way certain aspects of people's surroundings affect how they live and use their everyday
13 environments. From a cultural heritage viewpoint, DeSilvey and Edensor's perspectives mainly
14 counterbalance the negative connotations often attached to these processes. A gradual return of
15 historic remains to nature can be viewed as part of a physical necessity and turned into a stage
16 where the remains provide positive associations as spaces that represent new possibilities in the
17 present and a link with the past.

18 Economic fluctuations have left imprints on the physical structures of cities. They have affected
19 towns and cities differently. While certain regions have been left with challenges linked to so-
20 called 'shrinking cities', others have experienced revived interest in urban living, entered a new
21 positive phase and are thriving and expanding (Locke et al. 2018).

1 Another process that has greatly affected the built structures in urban areas is urban planning. In a
2 study that promoted ‘heritage urbanism’ as an approach to revitalise shrinking cities, an overview
3 of seven domineering urban planning and design paradigms since 1940 was presented (Locke et
4 al. 2018). This study focused on the treatment of heritage and found a remarkable shift in attitude
5 towards the treatment of urban heritage during the last decade (2018, 4–5).

6 In this current paper, we discuss how buildings, physical fragments of older structures and remains
7 from recent history can be integrated into ongoing urban planning initiatives. We describe these
8 initiatives as part of a larger process of ‘place-remaking’. These initiatives—projects—share
9 resemblances to those classified in the US as ‘creative place-making’ (Frenette 2017; Wilbur 2015;
10 Markusen and Gadwa 2010). Also, we discuss how heritage remains can be viewed as an important
11 asset in place-remaking—as one element among several other essential factors.

12 Anguelovski (2013; 2014) used the label ‘place-remaking’ to describe successful revitalisation
13 that has been achieved through networking involving broad coalitions of residents, community
14 organisations, architects, artists, funders and political leaders. Active place-remaking is a concept
15 that well describes the regeneration processes we observed in our two case studies.

16 *Participatory Landscaping*

17 An active dimension of the cityscapes undergoing continuous changes is accentuated in the term
18 ‘participatory landscaping’. Regardless of the activity form, whether practising agriculture,
19 community gardening or partaking in various cultural and recreational activities in their
20 neighbourhoods, people form and affect their surroundings. This concerns the need to
21 acknowledge that people living and working in a place provide (potential) creative resources for
22 place-making.

1 This current study is inspired by Saldivar-Tanaka and Krasny (2004), who used a participatory
2 landscape to describe communal activities in neighbourhoods that fulfil several purposes. Besides
3 providing agricultural produce, such areas can also strengthen community bonding and connect
4 citizens (in this case, Latin American immigrants) with their heritage (Saldivar-Tanaka and Krasny
5 2004, 399). Replacing ‘landscape’ with ‘landscaping’ underlines the active role that people who
6 engage in these activities play by continuously changing land uses, design and layouts, adding new
7 value to their environments. In this way, the integration between the adaptive reuse of historic
8 buildings and the activities conducted in and between them gains focus.

9 *Visionscapes*

10 The last perspective deals with visions that relate to the sociopolitical programmes that form the
11 foundation on which the two projects of the case study are based. Although different in some ways
12 (about principles, intentions, periods and national contexts), these projects share a common
13 denominator: activating human resources can initiate better alternatives for a sustainable future.
14 In Oslo the first visions were formulated in the 1920s, based on new methods to improve health
15 and welfare of the mentally disabled, and in Bordeaux in the early 2000s, based on ecological
16 rehabilitation and alternative urban lifestyles to adapt to climate change.

17 As the title of this current paper reflects, the two cases are used to exemplify contemporary
18 ‘visionscapes’, where urban community gardening and cultural heritage are used as a means to
19 enhance areas requiring regeneration. Visions are related to how we relate to changes; they concern
20 the ability to see and act accordingly when new possibilities emerge. They refer to a shared urge
21 among a group of actors to build a sustainable urban future through praxis.

1 **Methods and Sources**

2 To best answer our research question, a case study strategy was selected. A case study is a
3 commonly used methodology in various disciplines in the social sciences and humanities and
4 involves the utilisation of a wide range of different data sources and analytic strategies, also
5 described as a flexible methodology that invites ‘a palette of methods’ (Stake 1995, xi–xii). This
6 raises a particular need to be explicit about the methodological choices made in the study. The rich
7 case study literature invites comparisons, and differing approaches appear when setting out ‘to
8 scrutinize the areas where (...) perspectives diverge, converge and complement one another’,
9 which has been done in an examination of the works of three prominent contributors to this subject:
10 Yin, Merriam and Stake (Yazan 2015, 134–135). The case study is valued due to the concrete,
11 context-dependent knowledge it obtains, its ability to provide ways to falsify a researcher’s
12 preconceived notions and its potential to elicit narrative inquiries that develop descriptions and
13 interpretations of this phenomenon (Cresswell 2014; Flyvbjerg 2006; Perelman and Curran 2006).
14 The case study has been assessed positively due to its ability to provide richness and depth to a
15 study. Complexity and multifaceted quality have been emphasised as its strength (Groat and Wang
16 2002). Among its weaknesses however, it has been underlined that there are ‘fewer established
17 rules and procedures for designing and conducting case study research’ (Groat and Wang 2002,
18 360). Methodologically, a case study ‘calls into consideration the construction, bounding and
19 representation of the case’, thereby providing place-specific data often well suited for comparative
20 analysis (Miles 2015, 310).

21 This current paper’s two case studies, situated in designated heritage environments—the Darwin
22 Ecosystem Project (previous military barracks) in Bordeaux, France (*the Bordeaux case*) and Dr.
23 Dedichens Greenhouse (a former psychiatric hospital) in Oslo, Norway (*the Oslo case*)—were

1 selected based on access to and previous knowledge of their initiatives. These additional criteria
2 were considered: the projects should be multifunctional, on heritage land, have a clear vision and
3 be well-established (i.e., longer than five years).

4 Various tools and techniques are integrated into the case study. Concerning the Oslo case,
5 interview and site observation data were collected as part of a Norwegian research project on
6 urban agriculture from summer 2018 to fall 2019. The data comprised two semi-structured
7 interviews conducted with one board representative, interviews conducted with six participants
8 in the greenhouse and fieldnotes obtained from on-site observations from two events.

9 Specifically, for this article, document analysis was conducted to obtain more background
10 information on the project and the area in which it is located. The studied documents included
11 municipal plans (i.e., heritage reports from the cultural heritage management office), associated
12 statutes, official websites and literature on the history of the area.

13 Under the travel restrictions implemented during the COVID-19 pandemic, the Bordeaux site
14 could not be visited in 2020–2021, although we visited the site in 2016. Instead, we analysed site
15 documentaries, official websites, online newspapers and YouTube videos (interviews and
16 documentaries from 2015–2021) available online. Also, discourse analysis, based on the study of
17 documents, local history, municipal plans, online documentation and historical and contemporary
18 photographs, completed the data collection.

19 Video data have recently gained increasing popularity as a qualitative method. As most videos are
20 produced for a specific purpose and target a particular audience, the history of a video and its
21 production context must be understood (Jewill 2012). The point of recording, which concerns
22 selecting the setting, background and format, is an influential factor. Equally important is editing,
23 which involves selection, inclusion and emission (Penn-Edward 2012). These factors affect the

1 final selection of video cutting and must be considered when video data are converted into source
2 material. All transcriptions in this current paper were conducted by the authors.

3 **Analysis of the Cases**

4 The basic starting point in the analysis of the two cases is *how historical remains influenced the*
5 *character of the sites*. We looked closely at:

- 6 - The sites and the original purposes of the buildings and structures there, their changed use
7 and gradual deterioration
- 8 - The effects of urban expansion, resulting in disintegration of the former historical context
- 9 - How they became the target of new regeneration initiatives
- 10 - How they share certain commonalities, such as a broader vision and belief in strengthening
11 the health and life qualities of residents through user participation
- 12 - How their future management and vitality are enveloped into a series of uncertainties

13 We approach these steps in the analysis by presenting the narratives of two areas needing
14 regeneration and the factors that have made it possible to carry out creative place-remaking. In
15 interpreting the processes they have undergone, we reintroduce theoretical concepts in our
16 discussion to elevate the concrete, case-specific data of the case studies to a more general level of
17 broader international relevance.

18 **Case(s) Information: A Brief Introduction**

19 < Table 1 >

20 *Table 1: Some basic historic information²*

21 <Figure 1 >

1 <Figure 2>

2 **Creative Place-Remaking: Heritage Assets and Environmental Concerns**

3 In both case studies, heritage plays an important role. The sites' historical remains influence their
4 character. Although the reasons behind their origin differ considerably—one being a military
5 casern and the other a mental hospital with buildings filling different purposes—both have
6 designated heritage status.

7 <Table 2>

8 *Table 2: The regeneration projects - visions and activities*³
9

10 **The Bordeaux Case: The Darwin Ecosystem Project**

11 *An Area with Heritage Values in Need of Regeneration*

12 The site where the Darwin project is situated was originally the site of warehouses and military
13 barracks—called La Caserne Niel (military camp), after Adolphe Niel, minister of war under
14 Napoleon III (see Map 1, Figure 1). It is on the right riverbank of Garonne in the district of La
15 Bastide, built on reclaimed peatland and farmland in the plain of Queyries. Much of the district's
16 population worked on docks and in factories. The first warehouses were built around 1850 to
17 accommodate goods arriving by boat. However, after 1874, the area was developed into a military
18 camp. While different army services have thus far been spread across different districts of
19 Bordeaux, the state bought a vast piece of land to gather all military services in one place. The
20 facility was built to house the troops of the eighteenth Wagon Train Battalion, and La Caserne

1 Niel, including a series of surrounding buildings, was completed in 1877 (see Table 1 for more
2 details on this military history).

3 For a long time, this landscape was dominated by wine and orchard production. The term Queyries
4 (first used in the nineteenth century) refers to an alluvial plain that stretched between the hills of
5 Lormont and Cenon and the Garonne River and offered ideal conditions for farming. It was
6 subsequently drained and divided into plots for wine and orchard production. The wines harvested
7 in the area gained wide recognition and were thus sold at a very high price until the nineteenth
8 century. The presence of wealthy domains and mansions was concrete evidence of this. Alongside
9 this wealth, however, were the poor cottages of tenants and peasants.

10 This area was later decisively shaped by the modernisation and industrialisation of Bordeaux. The
11 building of a bridge in 1822, followed by a railway in 1853, profoundly changed the living
12 conditions of the La Bastide district. The piers, construction sites and factories made it an advanced
13 centre of industrial activities.

14 The district maintained its industrial vocation for a long time until the Bordeaux industry was
15 affected by the 1973 oil crisis. Most shipyard, factory, rail and port activities on the right bank
16 disappeared, leaving behind polluted industrial wasteland and unemployment. The district was
17 gradually neglected and became an industrial wasteland. Under the cessation of military activities
18 in 2005, an interim period of deterioration and looting of the buildings set in at La Caserne Niel.
19 The area became a hotspot for street art and graffiti.

20 *The Regeneration Process: Initiatives, Main Actors and Visions*

21 Following the closure of La Caserne Niel, the area became the subject of speculation within the
22 framework of large urban projects, such as ‘ZAC Bastide Niel’. Facing the threat of demolition of

1 one warehouse, called ‘les Magasins Généraux’ (General Stores), the family group Evolution
2 (founders: Philippe Barre and Jean-Marc Gancille) with the residents and neighbourhood
3 associations mobilised for its salvation and introduced the Darwin project.

4 The name Darwin was chosen in reference to Charles Darwin’s evolutionary theory, as the
5 founders desired to adapt to ecological transitions and climate change. The vision was built on the
6 idea that the acceleration of global warming urges us to reduce consumption of materials and
7 energy resources in our cities, invent economic models and radically change our lifestyles. The
8 Darwin Ecosystem Project was built on the principle of ‘rehabilitate rather than destroy’, offering
9 an alternative approach that seeks to sustainably reinforce social development (video-based
10 interview Atelier des Archives 2016).

11 This project, ‘formed around the idea that another city is possible’, originated as an ecological
12 alternative to traditional urban regeneration (video-based interview Atelier des Archives 2016).
13 When the Darwin project was launched in 2007, two large historic buildings still dominated the
14 site. Today, both cultural heritage facilities and outdoor sites are used as the core of its concept
15 and functioning, functioning on the basis that it costs less to rehabilitate what is existing than to
16 erase everything and rebuild. The rehabilitation of ruins plays an essential role. It is a solution that
17 ‘makes it possible to revive places where there is already a soul, a history, a patina’ (video-based
18 interview Atelier des Archives 2016) (see Figure 3).

19 < Figure 3 >

20 Darwin was built around ecosystem thinking, in which alternative methods are used to facilitate
21 well-functioning energy performance through, for instance, resource-saving facilities. According
22 to Jean-Marc Gancille, supervisor in Darwin of sustainable development, ‘Ecological

1 rehabilitation is not only possible, but it is necessary' (video-based interview Atelier des Archives
2 2016). Darwin has shown that 'it is possible to reach levels of energy performance we never
3 thought we could reach. We saved all the energy that [we should have] deployed to move materials,
4 create them and implement. This is the challenge of the twenty-first century. To make sure that the
5 existing real estate properties achieve much higher levels of energy performance and [that we] no
6 longer build new buildings that are not needed' (video-based interview Atelier des Archives 2016).

7 Various activities are undertaken at Darwin. Some conditions set for Darwin enterprises are that
8 they must work in compliance with specific environmental occupancy rules, energy consumption
9 and CO₂ emission monitoring and waste recycling. The use of renewable energy (e.g. electricity-
10 saving measures), hydroelectric energy and solar energy are among the principles followed by
11 Darwin. Today, there are approximately 40 young companies with 350–400 employees who share
12 space and tools. Some enterprises specialise in recycling, waste-sorting centres and upcycling (e.g.
13 recovery of materials or products not being used and have been transformed into new products of
14 higher quality or utility).

15 Other enterprises specialise in ecological food production and customer services. An organic
16 restaurant uses local supplies and principles (e.g. a short supply chain and recycling) to reduce
17 food waste. An urban farm of a 2,000 square-metre area established at Darwin collaborates closely
18 with various restaurants, shops and facilities. Based on the principles of permaculture and low-
19 threshold maintenance, it was built as an experiment to test new ways of producing food on a small
20 surface in the city. Fragmented wood and tree trimming waste from the town are used to amend
21 the soil and feed the crops. Other practical examples include using rainwater from the roof of the
22 skate park to water the vegetable garden, using reclaimed bread from restaurants to feed chickens
23 and aquaponics to cultivate edible algae.

1 **The Oslo Case: The Greenhouse, Trosterud**

2 *An Area with Heritage Values in Need of Regeneration*

3 The cultural environment, ‘Dr. Dedichens Drivhus’, is part of a larger area, Trosterud, which is
4 currently experiencing extensive regeneration, is in the district of Alna in Oslo, Norway. Trosterud
5 is in Oslo’s eastern part, bordering Østmarka (protected forest/woods) to the south, industrial areas
6 to the north and developed suburbs to the east and west (see figure 2). This site was originally
7 farmland (Nordre and Søndre Trosterud Gård) until it was bought by psychiatrist Henrik Dedichen
8 in 1901. It housed a psychiatric hospital, which was established by Dedichen and run by him and
9 his son until his son’s death in 1963. Three main buildings were ready for use when the mental
10 asylum opened: the main hospital building (‘Centralbygningen’), the smaller hospital building
11 (‘Annekset’) and the residence of the chief physician. An adjacent farm (Nordre Trosterud) was
12 bought in 1909 to house more buildings for employees. Before 1900, the landscape around
13 Trosterud, in the municipality then named Aker, was dominated by farmsteads, cotters’ farms,
14 fields and pastures. Dr. Dedichen’s psychiatric hospital was transferred to the municipality of Oslo
15 in 1963, which ran until 1966 when it finally closed.

16 When established in 1901, the hospital’s buildings and their close surroundings formed a unit, and
17 extensive work on building a garden, park and alleys was initiated. A grand park was built in
18 connection with the main hospital, which housed a variety of trees, gazebos, benches and gravel
19 hallways. Another garden, which was connected to the chief physician’s residence, was built. A
20 fountain, pond, lookout point, flower beds, gravel passages, low hedges and larger trees (e.g.
21 beech, oak and birch) contributed to making the garden impressive. A large flower garden was
22 built in the eastern part and stretched to the second hospital building (Annekset) (Byantikvaren

1 2018, 19–20). The first greenhouse in Trosterud was built in 1935 (later extended and renewed).
2 In 1972, a second large greenhouse was built by the Trosterud Social Training Centre. These
3 greenhouses played an important role in the farming operations associated with the psychiatric
4 hospital and have later been filled with new purposes (see Figure 4).

5 <Figure 4>

6
7 During the 1960s and 1970s, simultaneously with the closing of the hospital, satellite city building
8 gained a foothold in this suburban region of Oslo. By 1980, the period of the large satellite city
9 building had ended; however, the densification process continues even today (Byantikvaren 2018).
10 In 2017, a regeneration programme (‘Områdeløftet’) aiming to instigate the neighbourhood’s
11 sustainable development started. It will be run until 2023 and is meant to ensure the inclusion
12 of the neighbourhood through substantial user involvement (Oslo Kommune 2021a). The current
13 population of Trosterud is approximately 9,000 and Alna is 50,000. The immigrant population of
14 Trosterud is 62%, including those residing there for more than five years (35%), for less than or
15 equal to five years (7.2%) and Norwegian born to immigrant parents (20%). The sum of these
16 values (62.2%) is slightly higher than the average population of district Alna (55%). Here, 21% of
17 the population is considered to have a low income, and 30 percent of the population aged between
18 30 - 59 is unemployed (Oslo Kommune 2021b).

19 ***The Regeneration Process: Initiatives, Main Actors and Visions***

20 Most of the land in Trosterud is owned by the municipality, and Trosterud has been indicated as
21 one of several satellite towns since the 1970s suited for regeneration and densification. Today, the
22 target site is encompassed by blocks of flats. Enhancing green areas plays a central role in the new

1 visions that planners have drawn up for regeneration projects. The planning programme was
2 undertaken from a 20-year perspective and states that the intention is ‘to provide flexible
3 frameworks for urban development, while ensuring that important public urban spaces, parks and
4 functions are attended to for the needs of the present and future’ (Oslo Kommune 2018, 5).
5 Architects have been utilised as consultants.

6 In the regeneration plan in progress, the two old parks have been ascribed important roles. An
7 important step in the plan is to ensure that large green areas are maintained, while ensuring areas
8 for public functions, including sports amenities and new residential areas. This approach suggests
9 inserting a new structural element, the ‘commons’, in the north–south direction, which can bind
10 Trosterud and the neighbouring satellite centre, Haugerud. In addition to the two parks (named
11 Trosterudparken and Dedichen Park), the plan includes establishing a new footbridge over a busy
12 road, building an adjacent school and sports facilities and new urban development around the
13 Haugerud town centre. Also, green tracs will be established to link the area to Østmarka (the
14 aforementioned popular recreational forest and mountainous area) and surrounding built-up areas
15 (Oslo Kommune 2018, 25).

16 Another central aspect of the regeneration plan is a focus on greenhouses and urban gardening.
17 From a heritage viewpoint, greenhouses are valued for several reasons. Gardening was highly
18 prevalent in several Aker farms during the Interwar period and between the 1950s and 1960s, and
19 Trosterud farm is one of the few Aker farms that still possesses greenhouses. According to Dr.
20 Dedichen’s vision, farming provides healthy and healing surroundings; therefore, patients of the
21 mental asylum participated in farming, gardening and other manual work. As a greenhouse is a
22 special type of building, modernisation might be required, and the city’s antiquarian has shown

1 concern that the greenhouse function should be continued and can therefore facilitate the replacing
2 of sections of buildings (Byantikvaren 2018, 48–49).

3 The greenhouses have been listed as heritage. In the regeneration plan, a suggestion was made
4 regarding relocating an existing allotment garden outside the park by reestablishing it close to
5 the greenhouses in Trosterudparken. The main argument was that the area was formerly
6 agrarian and establishing an allotment garden here is considered in accordance with this place’s
7 identity (Oslo Kommune 2018, 58–60). The relocation has raised discussions among users and
8 is being further assessed. “Today the allotment garden is a closed, fenced off area, and the idea
9 is to open it up and spread it around. Not everyone in the allotment garden are fans of that. A
10 lot of them are interested in fencing it in.” (Board member 2018). Enlarging and relocating the
11 allotment garden is considered feasible, as it is expected to strengthen an already well-
12 functioning initiative in the area and invite and motivate more people to participate in
13 cultivation (Oslo Kommune 2018, 60). The current activity in greenhouses began in 2015.

14 <Table 3>

15 *Table 3: Reuse of the past and prospects for the future⁴*
16
17

18 **Health and Life Quality Through Participating in Landscaping**

19 **Active Participation and Social Responsibility**

20 Darwin exemplifies that in our cities, many abandoned lots can become new places to live and
21 work that are both modern and noteworthy. Rehabilitating existing buildings preserves their
22 inherent qualities, and implementing new technologies maintains their sustainability.

1 According to Philippe Barre, ‘all the generations that meet here, including those who come back
2 because they did their military service at the Niel barracks, have a little of nostalgia and are happy
3 to see that we give back a life. And it feels good’ (video-based interview, Atelier des Archives,
4 2016).

5 Darwin is also a site of dwellings for refugees, built at the instigation of the French Emmaüs group.
6 Emmaüs is based on solidarity principles and was founded in Paris in 1949 by a Catholic priest to
7 combat poverty and homelessness. The dwellings built for refugees are called ‘Tetrodon’ (named
8 after a freshwater fish), and resemble containers painted in bright colours. Approximately 20
9 modules, which are easily transportable and stackable, are set up to accommodate vulnerable
10 people. Many of these refugees are involved in urban farming. The Tetrodon concept was invented
11 in the 1960s by the Urban Planning and Architecture Workshop (gathered around the architect
12 Jacques Allégret).

13 Since 2017, these facilities and the warehouse of Emmaüs, with the urban farm and skate park,
14 have been slated for removal to make way for the urban project, ZAC Bastide Niel (Bordeaux
15 Métropole Aménagement, BMA). The activities there are on properties that originally belong to
16 Bordeaux’s City Planning Department. Darwin had a temporary occupation permit, but the lots
17 shall now be used as parking space and to facilitate sanitation networks essential for the viability
18 of the new district (Barthélémy 2018; Muffon 2018). Tensions have emerged between Darwin and
19 BMA, and the principles of Darwin seem challenged.

20 The ongoing urban development project for the right riverbank of the Garonne, which will
21 accommodate approximately 3,500 new housing units, schools and a private hospital, sees Darwin
22 as an integral part of a much larger urban complex. Based on sustainable development objectives,

1 the new project is described as an innovative eco-neighbourhood. Today, its development has, in
2 part, slowed because of tensions with the Darwin ecosystem and the legal appeals filed. The
3 Darwin urban farm is planned to be replaced by a new 2,000 square-metre urban farm, managed
4 by a Parisian company (Vidotto 2019). Darwin's partners feel that BMA does not consider the
5 realities of their ecosystem, whether it is about associative hangars or even warehouses validated
6 by two building permits, and that Darwin's property is even questioned (Salem 2019). Discussions
7 about Darwin's future remain complicated.

8 Dr. Dedichen's Greenhouse ('Dr. Dedichens Drivhus') is the location of an association called Dr.
9 Dedichen's Green Square ('Dr. Dedichens grønne torg'), which is dedicated to reactivating and
10 revitalising the old asylum area in Trosterud (Dr. Dedichens Drivhus 2021). The association was
11 established in 2015 by local enthusiasts in collaboration with the Oslo organic gardening
12 organisation, OIKOS Oslo to carry on Dr. Dedichen's spirit by creating social meeting places (Dr.
13 Dedichens Grønne Torg 2015a). The central aspects of their statutes are to contribute to integration
14 across gender, culture, age, religion and politics; the aim is to follow an organic and sustainable
15 approach, with an explicit aim of utilising the empty buildings in the former psychiatric hospital
16 area. The greenhouse is one of them, and currently, it is the only building structure to which access
17 has been given. The management of the greenhouse is handled by the association.

18 "We have been given permission to rent the facilities from Omsorgsbygg, which is Oslo
19 municipality, and District Alna pays the rent. [...] This is a deal which is renewed each year
20 because it is not to be taken for granted that District Alna pays that rent" (Board member 2018).
21 It is a 600 square-metre area with tables for growing plants in pots distributed (for a small fee)
22 among the paying members and common tables and tables for schools and day-care centres for
23 children. As of 2019, they have approximately 60 actively gardening members with

1 demographics like that of the area of Trosterud (i.e., a diverse group, with the majority being
2 immigrants). The organisation of the tables is like that of the allotment gardens, where each
3 member has his or her own lot (i.e., part of a table) for which he or she is solely responsible.
4 They decide what to grow and take care of their crops themselves; this results in considerable
5 plant and vegetable diversity. Many immigrants see this as an opportunity for growing
6 vegetables they cannot buy in common groceries in Norway. Besides the allotment-style tables,
7 some tables are dedicated to local schools and kindergartens. Here, the children are actively
8 involved in gardening and are helped by teachers and, most importantly, guided by volunteers
9 from the association. Finally, some tables are for common gardening, where community
10 members cultivate vegetable plants for sale on their annual market day. The market day is one of
11 several events that the group organises. They also organise Thanksgiving and other community
12 dinners to open the area to other residents.

13 Because of the history of the greenhouse being used in job training organised by the
14 municipality, the ownership of the building is with the Oslo municipality's care building
15 department ('Omsorgsbygg'). The Alna district has an agreement with this department, which
16 allows them to use the building for an annual fee. This is how the municipality supports the
17 urban gardening activities. However, this arrangement has challenges. First, the department
18 neither prioritises the building's maintenance nor serves the people using the building. Another
19 challenge is the dependence on volunteers and enthusiasts for management of the place and
20 organisation of events and collaboration with schools. The OIKOS Oslo group has been working
21 to obtain funding to hire a part-time project worker.

22 Simultaneous with developing the greenhouse and the association, Trosterud's transformation
23 process is occurring. Here, there are plans for establishing a park that will include the Trosterud

1 allotment garden, which will be forced to move from its current location due to the new usage of
2 that area. Many allotment gardeners have opposed this move, as it might entail smaller lots for the
3 members and expose the gardening lots to the public more. The latter is considered a challenge
4 because of the heightened risk of vegetables being stolen and the members' safety. Like the
5 greenhouse, the fenced-in allotment garden is also considered by many members to be a safe
6 outdoor space, and there are concerns over losing it in an open-park solution. Today, the
7 greenhouse and the allotment garden are not over 250 metres apart, and some members are active
8 in both (see Figure 5).

9 < Figure 5 >

10 Greenhouses are important links between the visionscapes of Dr. Dedichen and present-day
11 municipal planners. When Dr. Dedichen established his asylum, it was based on an alternative
12 approach to psychiatry. He maintained that the mentally ill should be regarded and treated as
13 ordinary patients unless special conditions necessitate otherwise. Therefore, he converted his
14 private clinic into an open hospital without the coercive character of the other mental hospitals
15 during that time. The patients participated in agricultural work on the farm and the maintenance of
16 large gardens. Thus, the place-remaking project, 'Dr. Dedichen's Green Square', links historic
17 visions of mental and physical well-being to the contemporary visions of a sustainable urban
18 future.

19 **Discussion**

20 Regeneration can be viewed as a planning strategy—a continuous process—that must include
21 much more than just unique, outstanding old buildings and parks. Blocks of flats and structures
22 from the 1970s and later, in different stages of deterioration or 'ruination' (DeSilvey and Edensor

1 2013), can also be assessed as qualities when considered a potential resource in creative place-
2 making. Creative place-making uses a place, as it stands as a basis for considering relevant
3 initiatives, actor involvement, cooperation, etc., as we will illustrate later.

4 Trosterud illustrates a large-scale transformation that Oslo underwent during large periods of the
5 twentieth century. From being an area primarily dominated by farming, it gradually changed
6 character. When the sites closest to the city were sold to be developed for other purposes (e.g.
7 institutions and middle-class residences), the first moderate changes occurred in the early years of
8 the century. Then, when large development plans, which involved establishing new satellite towns,
9 were introduced, a new urban context appeared. Today, this mosaic texture is prominent.

10 We use ‘visionscapes’ to describe a changing neighbourhood. Sometimes, the visions can refer to
11 a past situation and a new situation in the making, as the case of Trosterud Greenhouse illustrates

12 «Sometimes things arrive, negative thoughts and such, it’s good to air out here. We spend time
13 with the plants, and it all goes away (..) Not always, it doesn’t always go away, but you forget,
14 and children from the schools arrive, and we make food and read for the school children. You
15 sleep better, I think. I don’t know, for me it’s like that, I sleep better the days I’m here”

16 (Participant Dr. Dedichen’s greenhouse). Here, ensuring a fair distribution of social welfare
17 goods and empowering marginalised groups are key elements. As a concept, it can also,
18 through large and small actions and enterprises, encapsulate a larger vision for a sustainable
19 climate-friendly future, as the Darwin Ecosystem Project typifies (e.g. by instigating innovative
20 solutions and organising an ecological food market, restaurants and second-hand shops).

1 *Participatory landscaping*

2 Urban community gardening is one of several activities in which people are encouraged to
3 participate. In Oslo, gardening and greenhouse activities have a historic basis. Dr. Dedichen
4 considered gardening a means to achieve successful results in the treatment of mental illness. The
5 former allotment garden and greenhouse activities were revitalised by local initiatives. As
6 articulated previously, the municipality has incorporated these gardening activities into its recent
7 initiatives to invigourate the neighbourhood of Trosterud as part of the larger Oslo region of Alna.
8 In Bordeaux, community gardening is performed in accordance with the eco-friendly solutions
9 advocated by Darwin’s founders. What is produced in allotment gardens is freshly delivered to the
10 on-site market (Atelier des Archives 2016). Gardening is coordinated by the humanitarian
11 organisation, Emmaüs, and fills a health and welfare aspect. To a large extent, it is performed by
12 marginalised people, and a relatively high proportion of people participating in these activities
13 have minority backgrounds.

14 Urban community gardening can function as a mediator to enhance contact among neighbours by
15 mediating cross-cultural knowledge and insight. Social and cultural integration are considered
16 important. Health issues can also result directly from one having a low income, a situation in which
17 concern for dietetical questions has gained importance.

18 ‘Participatory landscaping’ is a term that appropriately describes these activities because they
19 underline the active process of continuously adding qualities to a landscape. This can refer to
20 gardening’s cyclic processes, from planting the seeds, watering and weeding to harvesting the
21 products, and processes that contribute to ensuring that the landscape is looked after and stimulate
22 people to spend time there.

1 To better understand the roles that heritage and urban agriculture play in mixed neighbourhoods,
2 we introduced the term ‘place-remaking’. Place-remaking has been used to describe the
3 revitalisation processes occurring simultaneously in marginalised neighbourhoods in several cities.
4 Residents, community groups and organisations partake in activities to provide accessible green
5 and recreational spaces, urban gardens and farmers markets (Anguelovski 2013). Fragments of
6 historic remains can be viewed as assets during a revitalisation process and assigned new functions.
7 They appear in new urban contexts, as Darwin and Trosterud illustrate.

8 Both cases involve processes and actors that make it relevant to describe them as creative
9 processes. The label ‘creative’ is in this respect referring to the ways buildings and
10 infrastructures from various periods are assembled and incorporated in active processes of
11 landscaping. We use it as a descriptive term based on our interpretation of data gathered via
12 various tool and techniques. In Darwin, this is reflected in the dynamic atmosphere that
13 characterises the site where local initiatives are encouraged. In Trosterud, designers and artists
14 designed the landscape and introduced creativity more formally. Urban community gardening
15 has been an arena where coordination is based on citizens’ creative initiatives. To describe them
16 as examples of ‘creative place-making’, however, would be incorrect. Creative place-making is
17 too closely linked to a US-based funding practice that, since 2010 and via a large funding
18 programme, has fronted arts and culture to stimulate place-based community development
19 (Zitcer 2020, Markusen and Gadwa 2010). It has mainly dealt with various ways that artists,
20 political activists and idealists are getting involved in reactivating places but where other actors
21 (i.e., the public, private, non-profit and community sectors) are also involved. Although
22 described by critics as ‘a made-up category’ (Zitcer 2020, 6) and an unclear, fuzzy concept
23 (Frenette 2017), the efforts put into creative place-making have resulted in considerable changes.

1 A rather automatic link established between urban culture and the creative class, based on the
2 studies of Florida (2004) and Landry (2000), has been broken. The understanding of who is
3 creative, what can be considered as a creative product or practice and where creativity occurs has
4 been broadened (Edensor and Millington 2018). When reviewing the history of creative place-
5 making initiatives, Grodach (2017) accentuated the act of the making, which involves the active
6 nature they hold.

7 *Active place-remaking*

8 We label the processes we observed as active place-remaking, accentuating new contexts that arise.
9 In both of the examined cases, heritage assets have been integrated into their new landscape
10 contexts but in different ways. In Darwin, two impressive brick buildings (i.e., former military
11 storage facilities help define the borders of a large, open urban square that characterises Darwin.
12 According to Philippe Barre, ‘It costs less to rehabilitate the existing than to erase everything,
13 clean up everything and rebuild. And then, it makes it possible to revive places where there is
14 already a soul, a history, a patina. And that too has great value’ (video-based interview, Atelier des
15 Archives 2016). Several previous barracks with varying degrees of deterioration function as arenas
16 for street art. Colourful graffiti amplifies ruinisation and adds a special atmosphere to this part of
17 Darwin (see Figure 6).

18 < Figure 6 >

19 Although ruinisation is not suited to describing the status of heritage in Trosterud, the incoherence
20 in the heritage environment is obvious, partly caused by the large period the various heritage assets
21 cover (the late nineteenth to late twenty-first century) and the urban transport patterns that split the
22 former landscape units. These fragments can instigate inspiration for creative place-remaking.

1 In the concluding section, we discuss the immediate prospects for the two regeneration projects.
2 To a large extent, the sites have been left ‘as found’ without the occurrence of extensive new
3 development. The temptation to redesign a new neighbourhood has been avoided. Thus, only a
4 limited degree of architectural design/artistic intervention is present. No attempts have been made
5 to create a new artificial unity. The mix of buildings with different functions, ages and heritage
6 statuses adds a particular atmosphere/character. As Darwin was established in 2007, its identity
7 was established a good while ago. The Oslo case is in its infancy, and many questions related to
8 its further development are relevant. Many architects and landscape architects have been consulted
9 and have proposed ideas. It has been suggested that a wide promenade with several garden beds
10 be established in the new public space, ‘Allmenningen’, and that the allotment garden should be
11 moved to the promenade as part of the new design (Oslo kommune 2018). In the neighbourhood,
12 there are also plans for building new blocks of flats. According to heritage management, the main
13 hospital buildings are designated heritage sites. Conservation has begun, and various forms of
14 adaptive reuse are being discussed.

15 Although the immediate future for both the Bordeaux and Oslo cases is ensured, there are
16 uncertainties concerning the longer-time perspective. Developers have shown a distinct interest in
17 Darwin and its immediate surrounding areas. Gentrification has made its mark on the
18 neighbourhood. The Norwegian project is politically based and has been promoted in cooperation
19 between the social-democratic and the environmental political party (Arbeiderpartiet and
20 Miljøpartiet De Grønne). Its motivation is ideological, and it aims to improve the social welfare
21 conditions of a marginalised neighbourhood with numerous migrants. The plan was approved by
22 the municipal government. However, municipal plans can change every four years depending on

1 changes in the political majority. Since a political consensus concerning the plan is vital, the
2 financial basis is, in other words, very fragile.

3 Despite some major differences, there are several lessons to be learned by comparing the two
4 cases. We will underline five points. 1) If already existing – even mundane –, structures can be
5 filled with activities that engage people who live in the neighbourhood, they can function as a
6 means of creating place-attachment. 2) Existing built structure, including designated heritage, are
7 more likely to be included in future urban plans if the heritage managers get involved in the early
8 stages of the municipal planning. 3) Engagement in local activities, such as gardening or small-
9 scale industry and businesses, are likely to function as means of personal contact between
10 participants – and hereby strengthening social and physical well-being in culturally mixed
11 neighborhoods. 4) Creating pockets of urban gardening in areas otherwise dominated by
12 densification will provide easily accessible green public spaces, hereby creating healthy
13 environments. 5) Former marginalized areas undergoing regeneration are more likely to gain
14 attraction from outside visitors if residents, artists, and various citizen’s groups are cooperating
15 to form the area’s new identity.

16

17 **Conclusion**

18 We start by recapitulating the question we set out to answer: How can heritage combined with
19 urban agriculture be used as a means to link visions of social and physical well-being and
20 sustainable urban regeneration in mixed land-use neighbourhoods?

21 The landscapes in which the examined sites are situated have undergone major changes. For
22 centuries, they have been predominantly involved in agriculture and fruit-growing. As urban

1 populations grew, these landscapes gradually became integrated into the outer-suburban fringes.
2 The composition of most cities is a mosaic of remains from layers of time. If neighbourhoods for
3 various reasons are moved out of, it is more likely that they will be exposed to neglect and
4 vandalism. Then the need for regeneration sets in. However, urban development, including
5 densification, can prove challenging for heritage and historical remains. This can lead to old
6 buildings being encompassed by modern high-rise architecture or their heritage value being
7 questioned or invalidated.

8 These processes have stamped the Bordeaux case and the Oslo case. In both projects, heritage fills
9 other (or at least additional) purposes than just being designated heritage. Heritage managers place
10 strong emphasis on the ability heritage has to mediate historic narratives and instigate economic
11 activities. Although such values obviously are present in the analysed cases, the additional reasons
12 (visions) have functioned as guidelines in initiating these projects. The heritage context provides
13 a historic, experiential frame and adds qualities that gradually turn such areas into attractive
14 districts because of the success achieved in combining central elements, such as unity and
15 diversity.

16 All cases that involve regeneration, transformation or development are specific and unique.
17 However, they still hold a certain potential for comparison and generalisation. Independent of
18 whether a regeneration project is motivated by political, economic or social reasons, the way
19 heritage has been integrated into large urban transformation initiatives should raise concerns and
20 debates. Urban planners need a large repertoire of examples to gather inspiration and motivation,
21 whether these are short-term pilot studies, experiments or long-term neighbourhood remodelling
22 projects.

1 It is important that critical debates are raised within heritage studies about the way everyday
2 environments are designed and managed. Strengthening the safeguarding of unique heritage assets
3 can work hand in hand with paying more attention to mundane environments—both need more
4 consideration. Since cities are characterised by continuous change, critical heritage debates must
5 include ways that fragmented, partly marginalised or dilapidated areas can be included in active
6 place-making initiatives. Through debates in heritage studies, researchers, landscape- and
7 heritage managers and planners can assert the needs that heritage fills and thereby ensure that it is
8 given an unquestionable role in urban planning.

9

10 **Notes**

11 ¹ When referring to conservation, we use it to describe measures to save and protect historical
12 objects or works of arts, including buildings. The term restore refers to actions to bring back,
13 replace, or reconstruct, while safeguarding refers to measures that intend to prevent something
14 from being harmed (Collins Dictionary).

15

16 ² In table 1, the left column concerning Oslo, Trosterud (Dr. Dedichen) is compiled from
17 information in Hult 1999. The right column concerning Bordeaux, Bastide (Darwin) is compiled
18 from information in Communauté Urbaine de Bordeaux 2014; Moro and Lacombe 2005, 2002;
19 Donis 1920.

20

21 ³ In table 2, the left column concerning Dr. Dedichen's Greenhouse, Oslo, Trosterud is compiled
22 from data from three sources: interviews with a board member of the association, the
23 associations website and Hult (1999). The right column concerning Darwin, Bordeaux, Bastide is

1 compiled from data from the following sources: DARWIN [project homepage], Vidotto 2019
2 [journal]; Muffon, 2018 [Video], Atelier des Archives 2016 [Video].

3
4 ⁴In table 3, the left column concerning Dr. Dedichen’s Greenhouse, Oslo, Trosterud, is based on
5 an analysis of interviews with a board member of the association, participants in the greenhouse
6 and Byantikvaren i Oslo 2018. The right column concerning Darwin, Bordeaux, Bastide is
7 compiled from data from the following sources: Salem 2019 [Journal], Barthélémy 2018
8 [Journal], Muffon 2018 [Video].

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