Towards a Post-Historical Landscape Governmentality? Refractory Im/Mobilities and Multi-Temporality at Paris' *Jardins d'Eole*

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Today, overlapping mobilities and displacements are creating new kinds of urban spaces, as well as new kinds of urban subjectivity. The circulation of people, ideas, capital and imagery undermines the cityscape's ability to mediate feelings of collective citizenship, and notions of 'improvement' that inform the making and maintenance of urban landscapes. This erosion is significant in a city like Paris, where the cityscape has historically been used to cultivate feelings of republican citizenship. Despite the converging 'post-historical' effects of neo-liberalism and immigration, Paris' government strives to provide an urban landscape that ensures 'equal access for all and appropriation by none', while still meeting sustainability goals. At Jardins D'Eole, programming, design and construction gave agency to an unprecedented array of stakeholders while avoiding identity politics. Although the park has promoted the co-existence of multiple publics and new forms of environmental citizenship, these achievements have been challenged by translocal forces. A Foucauldian lens of 'governmentality' suggests these tensions, and their resolution, might originate in how urbanites' understandings of the 'city-as-transformed-nature' involves a détente between the temporal understandings produced by historical narratives and those produced by daily life. Rather than a failure of governmentality, Jardins d'Eole offers new ways of conceptualizing linkages between the state, urban landscape, and futurity.

Keywords: *urban commons, governmentality, nature, neo-liberalization, time-consciousness, immigration*

MOBILITY, LANDSCAPE SUBJECTIVITY, TEMPORALITY AND (ENVIRONMENTAL) CITIZENSHIP

In many cities worldwide, the increasing circulation of ideas, money, technologies and imagery is not only creating new kinds of urban practices, but also redefining the 'urban commons'— that is, the commonly-owned and used resources in an urban society managed for individual and collective benefit, according to tacitly-

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understood norms and values.[1] Because it transcends notions of 'public' and 'private', the urban commons is sometimes conflated with 'urban public space' or 'cityscape'. However, because it also mediates a 'right to the city' – that is, an imaginary realm of opportunity, imagination, and inter-subjectivity that encourages feelings of citizenship– the urban commons cannot be reduced to those physical categorizations, important though they are. New technologies play an important role in this transformation; another major factor is the geographical mobilization of capital and labor by neo-liberalization, which has challenged traditional understandings of citizenship as a comingling of identity and obligation. The logics of neo-liberal global restructuring not only discourage the state's role of protecting individuals against the vicissitudes of the market – for example, in housing, education, health care, quality of life – they also tend to undermine its long-term power to shape 'urban public space' for social or cultural ends. In many parts of the world today, market-centric urbanism recasts the urban public space as a luxury rather than a necessity, and so-called 'green initiatives' become caught in the cross-currents of consumption and capital return.

Footloose, rent-seeking capital, and neo-liberal political economies are also challenging the enduring and taken-for-granted belief that landscape 'improvement' brings about a cognate transformation of citizens. To understand this, one needs to consider the hidden role of 'urban nature' as a vehicle of governmentality, Foucault's term to describe the regulatory web of behavior whereby, since the Enlightenment, states have maintained social and economic order, and mediated the idea of citizenship.[2] This disciplining of the population through techniques of government is largely undetected; it works because individuals and groups internalize certain values and manage their own behavior, through the governance of the self. Mediated through both official and tacit codes of practice, governmentality relies on a 'natural consensus' constructed by a combination of spatial representation/discourse and social praxis. In scholarly discourse, it has usually been associated with control, oppression and dominance; however, like most of Foucault's theoretical constructs, it also has a constitutive potential. One especially elusive, dispersed variant of governmentality, 'bio-power', refers to the management of, or caring for, the biological processes of life, and the social and environmental conditions under which we live (Gissen, 2014, 17). Because the state's viability depends on its citizen's economic productivity, this 'caring' invariably involves their corporeal wellbeing (or, today, 'quality of life'). And because it works primarily through the environment, as both representation and lived reality, this caring is largely mediated through quotidian and material practices, and the anatamo-affectability of individual citizens (Payne, 2014).[3]

This kind of bio-political governmentality, akin to what political scientist Arun Agrawal (2005) calls 'environmentality',[4] allows one to see how the orchestration of the mineral and the vegetal in constructed landscapes not only provides a 'setting' for daily life, but also acts as a vehicle for ideology, sociality and identity. Thus,

inhabiting a constructed urban landscape (re)produces understandings about collective and individual rights and responsibilities that are simultaneously *social* (i.e. between people), and *environmental* (i.e. between people and the biophysical world). As geographer Nate Gabriel puts it, "the techniques of government associated with (the forming of) urban parks....produce 'park subjects', who in turn reproduce park discourse through the establishment of particular forms of knowledge about cities, nature, and people."(2011: 124). Thus, Foucauldian governmentality not only implies 'landscape subjectivity', but also 'landscape subjects'— arguably both necessary components of citizenship; consequently, "teaching people how to…appreciate landscape" often goes hand in hand with "a desire to control potentially disruptive affects" (Matless, 1994, 153 –154).

An often-overlooked aspect of landscape's anatamo-affective governmentality is the fact that, unlike *nature,* landscapes are pervaded by memory. Both places and representations, constructed landscapes' 'improving' potential draws on how a physical site evokes, usually unconsciously, broader cultural narratives and histories. Consequently, the layering of spatial experience and aesthetic sensibilities in a constructed landscape is intertwined with how that landscape provides a material-spatial framework for fashioning a sense of temporal orientation.[5] This temporal orientation involves the synchronization of the time-consciousness dominating the public sphere with multiple 'other' *temporalities.* Arguably, it is precisely the ability of the articulation of the mineral and the vegetal in the urban commons to render legible the living and the processual that underwrites its capacity to convey not just a sense of continuity, but of *futurity* ('a better world')—a key imaginary in both the idea of the nation-state, and the contractual subjectivity we call citizenship.

Here again, the emerging global political economy is having a transformative impact. Circulations of capital generate circulations of people, creating complex and contradictory forms of *temporal disorientation*. New arrivals in cities often have a complicated relationship with that city's 'national history', may bring a different sense of time-consciousness with them, and are less likely to perceive it as a meaningful object, poised in a linear relationship between past and present.[6] Today, these temporal disorientations are reinforced by digital media, which bring some 'worlds' – places, people, practices – together, but also insulate some from each other (Sheller & Urry 2006). Situating urbanites in multi-scalar time-space, digital technologies encourage the idea that the 'right-to-the-city' is a personal matter, rather than something tied to a shared, teleological-historical imaginaries. Under these circumstances, even native residents can begin to feel alienated from the history of the city and their sense of self in relation to it.[7] Familiar in rapidly-growing cities of the post-colonial/global South (Barac, 2015), this contingent, im/mobile urban subjectivity is also now manifest in cities of the global North, especially those whose colonial past is making economic, political and racial demands on the present. Raising questions about who, what, or indeed *where* is 'the state', these competing temporalities all weaken notions that the passage of time leads to a better future, and relatedly,

historic (and *historicist*) notions of the urban commons as an intersubjective vehicle for citizenship and improvement.

This governmental co-production of landscape subjectivity and subjects has if anything become more critical today. On the one hand, the decline of taken-for-granted Western-historicist ideologies of 'progress' is calling into question classic governmental discourses about the commons and citizenship that underwrite both city-making and nationhood, and the 'disinterested' shaping of landscapes. Meanwhile, paralleling with this so-called 'end of history', there is the growing realization that the survival of humans' rests increasingly on the informed, long-term management of biophysical resources that are either frail, scarce, or beyond human control (Rose, 2013). These contradictory factors transforming landscape governmentality have led some to call for a new, post-historical *mentalité* that re-envisions landscape *as an event,* in which informational and affective relations with bio-physical world are mediated through the cyclical temporality of socio-ecological practices that involve adaptation and holding together (i.e. *use*) rather than the linear temporality of discourse and improvement (i.e. *history*) (Hinchliffe & Whatmore, 2006; Livesey, 2010). This formulation of landscape as a 'space of becoming' configured by practices that begin before and continue after the construction of the project aligns with arguments that the urban commons is not a transcendent, durable ontological entity, but something contingent and participatory—actively, collectively and continually constructed (Nelson, 2017). It also accords with the practical reality that any actively-used landscape's ability to provide a range of benefits (i.e. not just ecological services but corporeal well-being), to less advantaged citizens (let alone non-citizens), depends on ongoing material investment, maintenance and care.

Here it is important to recognize ways landscapes actually work *as commons*. Countering Lefebvrian arguments that by drawing on the natural, constructed landscapes enforce hegemonic power interests, the idea of landscape, at root, embodies a search for coherent, meaningful spaces that encourage collective identification by projecting a harmony between humans and the bio-physical world (Vicenzotti & Trepl, 2009, 391). These two competing interpretations of landscape means that construing the landscape as a commons requires grappling with an ambiguous synthesis whose manipulative and redemptive aspects can (never) be fully disentangled (Daniels; 1989, 206.) This ambiguity is further heightened today, when the classic Habermasian commons is increasingly expanded to encompass not only the cultural but also *natural* resources a society depends on. Under these circumstances, a constructed landscape's bio-political potential rests not so much on its function as a visual and discursive object of identity – i.e. a "set of things said or reproduced regarding a terrain" (Wylie, 2007, 106—but rather on its function as a socio-ecological milieu in which political processes are tempered by performative practices that encourage informational connections between bio-physical materiality, action (past and present) and subjectivity.

In the following, the manner in which this "performative tempering of the bio-physical" might open up alternative ways of thinking about landscape governmentality– that is to say, the role that designed open space might play in reshaping the urban commons— is explored by tracing the life of a recently-constructed urban park in Paris. Paris is an especially apposite setting in which to explore such processes, because it is a city where, unlike others in the global North today, the administration still strives to shape the urban commons – i.e. a coherent, meaningful realm that encourages citizenship—in a way that promotes social and environmental equity across the entire urban territory. Crucially, I argue, this *contemporary* production of urban landscape also extends a *historical* entanglement of spatiality and temporal subjectivity (or time-consciousness).

NARRATIVES OF NATIONHOOD, HISTORY AND NATURE VS. THE REGENERATION OF URBAN LANDSCAPE IN PARIS

From the eighteenth century on, creating the imagined community of a nation like France involved not only integrating socially- and spatially-fragmented populations, but also *multiple forms of life* with/in a single overarching narrative of national destiny. The French state's claims to authority was bolstered by its ability to discursively situate its narrative of achievements in a natural world (or territory) that seemed to antedated its existence, and didn't rely on it for its continuance. Historically, the most potent fusion of the two meta-discourses of European historicism that underwrite narratives of nationhood, *history* and *nature*, occurred in the parks and boulevards of the bourgeois-capitalist city, of which Paris is of course the seminal example. It is arguably in such urban public spaces, suggestive of an a-political commons where commerce and production make way for bio-physical rhythms and life forms requiring multi-generational care, that the linkage between landscape improvement and the cultivation of national feeling was most powerfully realized.[8]

This historic entanglement has been called into question over the last three decades by changes in the global economy. Having lost much of its traditional industry but experienced exponential growth of its tourist, cultural and service economies, Paris has reconfigured itself to respond to the dynamics of global neo-liberalization. France as a whole has abandoned the *dirigiste* policies that dominated political and economic life until the 1970s,[9] and embraced a hybrid state-centered neo-liberalization *a la Francaise*, in which the state seeks instead to facilitate and guide capital interests, while mitigating consumption-driven urban development. Paris' administration has had to navigate between transforming the city into a visually seductive, but socially-hollow container for global capital, and providing the basic infrastructures of daily life needed to support equitable social relations (Picon, 2015). The city's government still strives to extend the ideal of publicly-funded, well-designed, high-quality public open space to neighborhoods throughout the city,[10] even as it

seeks to address questions of sustainability and an array of challenges stemming from increasing mobility: tourism, urban branding, and new publics that challenge mainstream cultural practices and values.

This is because, in Paris, the urban landscape has, for two centuries, not only played a key role in mediating the sense of national history, but also the ideology of assimilationist republicanism. Based on the ideals of the Revolution, and privileging *'liberté, fraternité, egalité'* over racial, ethnic and religious difference, the French interpretation of democracy reciprocally requires citizens to eschew other religious and cultural identities and affiliations.[11] Seen as a superior alternative to both the agnostic multi-culturalism found in European countries and the pluralistic communitarianism of Anglo-Saxon ones, this *laïcité* has been likened to a civic or secular religion. This universalist interpretation of citizenship has profound urbanistic consequences, placing extraordinary demands on the urban commons, both as a space of representation and identity, and as a space of material and embodied practice (Newman, 2013). On one hand, it informs arguments that certain neighborhoods' population's 'failure to assimilate' is attributable to the physical character of their built environment. On the other hand, it leads to *local landscapes* being routinely conflated with *national space*, and as a result, consciously designed and managed to ensure not just equal but also dignified 'access for all and appropriation by none'. In practice, this provision of a commons in which urbanites can be something other than workers, consumers and spectators is distinctly contractual: 'delinquency' and 'incivility' in it are viewed as subtle threats to the republican order (Newman, 2013).

The 'techniques of (landscape) government' are especially evident in the city's traditional fenced parks, which are open for predetermined times, and overseen by uniformed *gardiens,*(custodians) who ensure they are only used in specific ways, safeguarding the landscape as well as users experience by enforcing a universal code of behavior that makes the park accessible to anybody. As a result, entering one of these parks means entering into a kind of unwritten contract with the state; one gains the right to use the facility on equal terms as others, in exchange for granting the city and the state the power to define what kind of space it is. Less obviously, these parks naturalize republicanism by defining and enacting a particular relationship between urbanites, the state and nature writ large (Newman, 2013). Thus, in France, the configuration of the mineral and the vegetal in the urban landscape invokes cultural-national memory, and the use of the urban commons to produce citizen/subjects draws on the historicist time-consciousness that dominates the public sphere.[12] (This conflation was prefigured by the strategies of Baron Haussmann's director of public works, Adolphe Alphand, who in the 1860s used new public open spaces to stage an 'invented history', a patrimonial, palimpsest-like dialogue between traces of the city's material past and the emerging bourgeois-capitalist order).[13]

This historically-charged relationship between urban commons and assimilationist-republican citizenship, combined with the fracturing of landscape subjectivity created by contemporary im/mobility, complicates equitable urban regeneration

in Paris today. Often, this regeneration takes the form of a *zone d'amenagement concertée* (or ZAC)[14], and involves completely new green open spaces or networks, designed as anchors for new *quartiers* created on gaps in the urban fabric by infrastructures no longer required by industries that have left the city. Although designed in a way that reflects Alphand's 'art of left-overs' (Grumbach, 1977) these regeneration projects discussed in terms of 'green urbanism'—i.e. improving the quality of urban life, and meeting sustainability goals such as densification, pollution reduction, bio-diversity and climate resilience. This has not prevented some from seeing these projects as a smokescreen for the gentrification of previously poor, usually immigrant, neighborhoods, and the state's (neo-liberal) retreat from the cost and responsibility of managing the urban commons. Others have blamed these overtly contemporary projects for erasing the atmospheric qualities of old industrial and working-class neighborhoods (Hazan, 2010). That said, because they invariably deploy the vegetal in a more distributed way through the cityscape than traditional parks, these projects imbricate *everyday life*, the *state* and (managed) *nature* in a new way. Indeed, by experimenting with new strategies for combining accessibility, urban programming and long-term green agendas, several recent projects by Paris' *Directeur de l'Espace Vert et Environnement* (DEVE) gesture towards of a new kind of landscape governmentality.[15]

However, the governmental potential of these contemporary projects remains contingent on the political climate and social topography of Paris. At a time when French cultural identity is itself being contested, such well-meaning urban projects may not automatically produce unequivocal national feeling. Neighborhoods, no less than cities and nations, can be refuges against an unsettled and unsettling world, but they can also become symbols of identity through practices of differentiation and intolerance (McDowell, 1999, 114). In *quartiers populaires* (working class neighborhoods), for instance, social and economic *im*mobility can lead residents to seek a sense of identity through standing in their *quartier,* become digitally enfolded within translocal elective communities, or indeed, a combination of these. These are not trivial dynamics; over twenty percent of central Paris' population are non-French born or immigrant-descendent, and in some neighborhoods this figure doubles (APUR, 2010). Notwithstanding its image as the quintessence of mainstream French culture, Paris has experienced many waves of migration, most recently, after World War II, from France's ex-colonies. Many of this now sizable population of non-ethnically-French Parisians came to the country as temporary workers during the *Trente Glorieuse*, the thirty years of dramatic growth and reconstruction from 1945 to 1975, but ended up settling there, even as the industries that employed them departed for more profitable locales. Nowadays, immigration has slowed, but despite decades of official inclusiveness in public institutions and social policies, many immigrant-descended residents of Paris' *quartiers populaires* still do not feel like fully French citizens.

Such feelings have been attributed to official discourses and school curricula that overlook the *shared* histories of France and its overseas territories, which is where many of these urbanites, or their parents, come from; also, to persistent racism in policing as well as employment (exacerbated by the shift from statist to a neoliberal economy) that especially affects young immigrant men. In Paris' *banlieue* (peripheries) and working class neighborhoods*,* a profound tension has emerged between the moral values of some immigrants and the liberal secularism promoted by the French stat– a gap that, as the recent terrorist attacks have shown, has been exploited by transnational, internet-based extremist religious groups keen to foster grievances against the secular liberal nation-state. After decades of assimilation, this process now seems to have reversed, increasing Islamophobia and support for far-right policies amongst mainstream French.

Thus, contrary to popular perceptions, contemporary Paris is subject to an array of translocal fluxes and im/mobilities that threaten social coherence, and fracture temporal orientation and landscape subjectivity in the city. This would seem to open up opportunities for new kinds of landscape projects in which biophysical relationships and socio-political processes are integrated via participatory practices that encourage informational connections between landscape and subjectivity. That said, it is an open question whether such participatory landscape practices can transcend the background historic and political processes shaping the larger urban setting of which the landscape is part.[16]

Jardins d'Eole: A new 'distribution of tasks' and the limits of governmentality

A recent project in Paris which navigates many of these challenges is the *Jardins d'Eole*, a park completed in 2008, in the dense *Cour du Maroc quartier*, a neighborhood that has been working-class for over a century, and today has a predominantly immigrant population (Figure 1). Situated on a railway yard in the 19th arrondissement decommissioned in the 1990s, the 4.2 hectare park is flanked on one side by the mainline rail corridor, and on the other, by the *Rue d'Aubervilliers*, one of the oldest routes out of Paris. Part of a larger ZAC, the park was intended to provide desperately needed open space, and turn around a working class neighborhood which, though vibrant in parts, was also highly congested and contained abandoned buildings inhabited by squatters. The *Jardins d'Éole's* location also makes it accessible to residents of the *Goutte d'Or*, a *quartier* as poor, congested and open-space deprived as the *Cour du Maroc.* Effectively forming a seam between these two neighborhoods, the park created a common ground in which long isolated communities, of different national and ethnic origins, could interact.[17] Although tensions do exist, this is part of Paris' *petite couronne*, the older *intra-muros* suburbs, where thousands of non-ethnic French have been absorbed into mainstream society, and some kind of *mixité sociale* thrives.

Figure 1: Aerial view of *Jardins d'Eole*; ca.2010; Cour du Maroc and Cent-Quatre
to the E, railway corridor and *Goutte-d'Or* to the West
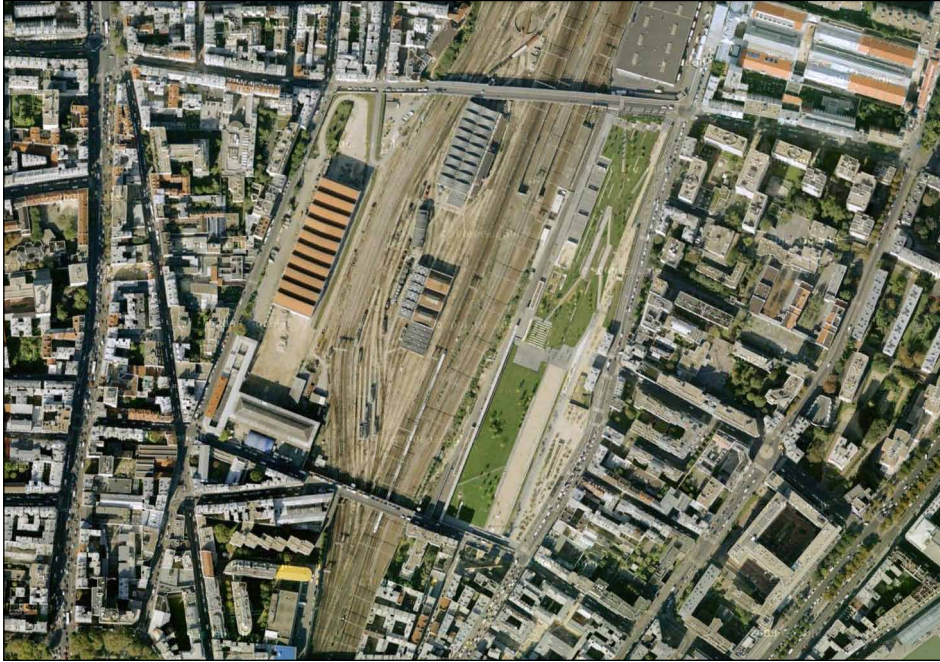
Source: GoogleEarth

   The approach used to create the *Jardins d'Eole* was significantly different from
that previously used in other Paris parks. It was an attempt by the state (and its
proxy, the city) to make its provision of public open space less controlling and more
inclusive, without abandoning ideal of linking landscape improvement and citizen-
ship. Although the final design of the park stemmed from an international design
competition, won by Corajoud, Corajoud and Descombes, and was celebrated in
the design press, its commissioning and development engaged an unusual array of
local stakeholders (Jolé, 2008; Renaud & Tonnelat, 2008). Indeed, the park largely
owes its existence in part to the local neighborhood association's tactical use of the
growing rhetoric of 'green urbanism', both to rally local residents in support of a
park, and to strengthen the hand of local and national politicians who invested
political capital in realizing it. The SNCF (the French national railway company)
who were the previous property owners, planned to sell the site to a waste handling
corporation that would have brought heavy traffic and pollution to the neighbor-
hood. The *Alliance Jardins d'Eole* (AJE) was formed to fight these plans using various
forms of activism (Newman, 2015, 49-50), and once they succeeded, worked with
architects, sociologists and municipal authorities to shape the future park's design
(Figure 2).[18] This multi-year process recognized that the surrounding community
comprised hundreds of extremely space-deprived households with children, and

had in effect already claimed the space and in a sense projected its future. During the site's years of abandonment, *quartier* residents had regularly colonized it for communal picnics and carnivalesque festivals.[19] This extended consultation process not only addressed aspirations that the new park address racial, environmental and class-based inequalities, it helped build a sense of political solidarity and agency in a multi-ethnic community.

Figure 2: Aerial view of site before construction, showing community use
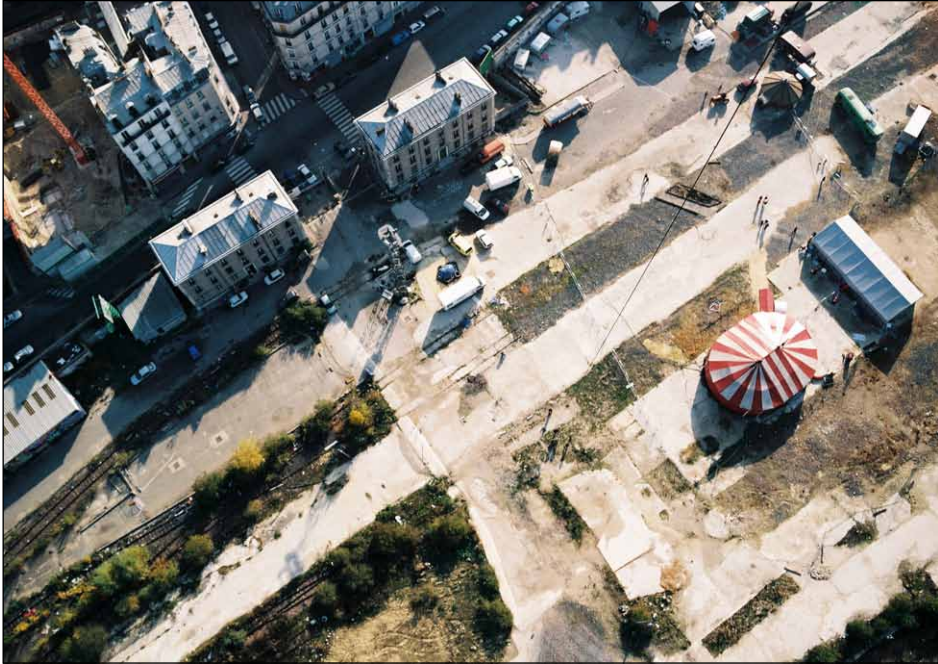
Source: *Associations Jardins d'Eole*

These local histories (i.e. both material-environmental and socio-political) informed schema for the long narrow site (Foster, 2012). The parallel lines of the abandoned infrastructure were used to arrange the multiplicity of required programs and landscape types into discrete zones within a limited area. The ambition to spatialize a new relationship between the city and local residents, and the heterogeneous surrounding fabrics, is especially evident in the design of the park's boundaries. To the east, along the *rue d'Aubervilliers*, a wide esplanade reminiscent of older parts of Paris was created, with pavilions, benches and allées of trees, which unlike the rest of the park, was intended to remain open 24 hours a day. To the west, an elevated promenade, including a pedestrian bridge, was built alongside the railway tracks, linking the two streets that connect the park to the *Goutte d'Or*, and buffering the noise of passing trains. The social needs of the local population informed the park's

program and design. Topography was manipulated to improve visibility and to distribute users throughout the park. In addition to large and small turf areas, a large wild meadow, and community gardens, the park contains multiple ball courts and active play areas, a large central space for festivals, musical performances and screenings, and refreshment stands to be operated by residents. The *Jardins d'Eole* was also designed to demonstrate the ideals of sustainability. Water became an important design element, both as a visual and sensorial resource, and a way to cultivate an awareness of the need for resource management. To emphasize urban hydrology, a unique *jardins de gravier* (gravel garden) was created to collected water for recycling in an adjacent canal garden, which includes a lush aquatic habitat.[20]

Figure 3: *Jardins gravier:* water as key design element demonstrating the ideals of sustainability: gravel and canal gardens

Source: Abré Crafford, 2009

The programming and design of *Jardins d'Eole* was a combined effort by the city, sociologists and landscape designers to build a sense of agency amongst the local residents as regulators of their own public spaces. Along *rue d'Aubervilliers*, long dominated by drug dealing, a crèche was incorporated into old railyard entrance buildings, and new pavilions were created to house refreshments kiosks and after-school programs and provide spaces for local communities to develop entrepreneurial, mentoring and managerial skills. These gestures towards local autonomy

continued after the park opened, with the AJE given the ongoing responsibility of programming key parts of it, a radical departure from Paris norms. The AJE was comprised of multiple immigrant groups, and embraced pluralism and diversity at an abstract level (describing the park as a 'space of cultural encounters'), while carefully maintaining the assimilationist-republican avoidance of identity politics. Thus initial notions that the park include plantings and spaces evocative of some community members' home countries were replaced by symbolically-neutral and ecological ideals of 'bio-diversity' (Newman, 2011,198) and during the campaign to build the park references to particular cultural identities were eschewed in favor of the normalizing term quartier. Other strategies to balance republican universalism and local plurality were the politics surrounding the park's name,[21] and the use of architectural elements designed to emphasize the ready-made industrial character of the neighborhood.[22]

Figure 4: A park in a dense *quartier* of extremely space-deprived households, many with children

Source: author's photograph, 2009

As built, then, the *Jardins d'Eole* diverges from the traditional Alphandian park in some respects,[23] and mirrors it in others. On the one hand, unlike the traditional

Parisian park, it is not meant to be an illusionistic, compensatory natural retreat. While there are groves of shade trees – now maturing—and quiet places, its spatial geometry is emphatically 'un-natural', there are many architectonic elements, and commercial activities are not excluded. On the other hand, as in the traditional park, socially-constructed ideas of nature did provide a governing signifier linking all the parties involved in its creation, albeit here in the guise of green urbanism. Similarly, the formal design, by using the traces of the old railway lines to topographically script the park's different areas and relate it to its urban context, constructs an Alphandian 'invented history'. Crucially, though, as anthropologist Andrew Newman makes clear, the *process* of creating *Jardins d'Eole* was unique. Overriding national and business interests, it advanced the needs and aspirations of the local community, some of whom belonged to a global urban gardening movement (Newman 2015, 47), while scrupulously avoiding identity politics. It acknowledged local affective feelings about the site rooted in its prior informal use, and helped promote a republican mixing between groups of diverse origins, ethnicities and ages. The final design's programming and environmental strategies also increased these groups' everyday right to the city and engagement with natural processes by augmenting the range of practices and agents usually found in Paris' parks.

Figure 5: Multi-functional ball courts

Source: author's photograph, 2017

In all these ways, one could argue the concept of landscape governmentality has been updated at the *Jardins d'Eole,* and indeed, the park has been held up as an example of grass-roots urbanism. Nevertheless, some critics have argued the park has gentrified the *quartier*; while others have blamed intermittent insurgent use of the park (of which more below) on the DEVE's devolution of authority to the community, arguing that in practice this retreat of the state has *weakened* the principle of equal access for all. Familiar from discussions about other recent parks, the playing out of these arguments here has been shaped by local circumstances. On the one hand, in the streets fronting the park, derelict buildings have been replaced by social housing, though most of the pre-existing fabric has been refurbished by middle class businesses. On the other hand, many social housing ensembles remain within a few minutes' walk, and the park's users, mostly children and youths, still overwhelmingly come from these *quartiers*. The high-profile 2010 renovation of Paris' obsolete and cavernous *Pompes Funébre* (municipal funerary depot) into *le Centquatre*, a nearby venue for contemporary art, was meant to draw tourists to the neighborhood and develop a synergy with the park, but was soon reconfigured by the city to include more community-related activities.

Figure 6: Immigrant encampment, esplanade along *rue de Aubervilliers*

Source: Mathieu Alexandre, 2016, AFP/Getty

Although these ongoing corrections of the original urban regeneration project suggest a more-or-less collaborative relationship between city and community, this alliance has recently been severely tested by trans-local fluxes acting on the metropolis as a whole. Despite intensive community use and monitoring as well as back-up policing, a few years after opening, the park was invaded by drug dealers displaced by urban renewal elsewhere in north-east Paris, and became so crime-ridden it had to be shut down for months. Attributing this to the parks 'democratic' design, the DEVE revised the original planting to improve visibility,[24] fenced-off and rented parts of the esplanade to fee-charging cultural organizations, and introduced policing strategies that alienated the local communities and reduced their engagement with the park.[25] In 2015 and 2016, intermittent occupations of the park by undocumented immigrants,[26] while respected by local residents,[27] took a toll on its more fragile components.[28] Parts of *Jardins d'Eole* remain occupied by outsiders seeking daytime and nighttime shelter, though it is still heavily used by the surrounding communities.[29] In summer 2018, the DEVE had closed the *iconic pedestrian bridge* and adapted their maintenance practices to these shifting patterns of inhabitation and use.[30] Nevertheless, although the park has become unkempt, and is now shunned by tourists, it still hosts local programs dedicated to its original mission of building cultural diversity and environmental awareness.

Figure 7: Undocumented immigrants, *prairie sauvage*, southern end of *Jardins d'Eole*

Source: author's photograph, 2017

CONCLUDING COMMENTS: TOWARDS A MULTI-TEMPORAL 'ENVIRONMENTALITY'?

Jardins d'Eole's short, turbulent and incomplete history suggests that despite informed, sustained efforts to ensure social equity, the urban landscape's governmentality – i.e. its ability to encourage 'environmental citizenship'– is outmatched by the multiple, translocal fluxes that course through metropolises like Paris. Indeed, one could use the park's history to argue that the very notion of landscape governmentality, and the belief that landscape 'improvement' brings about a cognate transformation of the citizenry, is no longer possible in the globalized, post-historical city, where heterogeneous publics undermine the very possibility of a true urban commons, and the state's retreat from managing the commons (however rationalized) undermines 'access for all and appropriation by none'.

However, a less aesthetic, more bio-political reading of the park might recognize a more redemptive, or at least, ambiguous potential in this seemingly failed landscape. While conditions in *Jardins d'Eole* are continually evolving, its robust basic design– a spatial and topographic ordering based on a sophisticated understanding of how diverse groups claim space, and the functioning of urban environmental systems – has allowed much of it to survive, even if parts have failed under pressure from unanticipated uses. No doubt, some of this stems from the social ecology that has been generated by the park, thanks to the surrounding communities' engagement in its creation and management, a process which, interestingly, revealed that some of se (non-French) Parisians were not only familiar with the principles of republicanism, but embraced a more rigorous version of it than their (native) neighbors (Newman, 2015, 65-99). Arguably, this has been manifested in the way local residents have accommodated homeless immigrants' appropriation of parts of the park. From this perspective at least, the *Jardins d'Eole* has strengthened previously-marginalized urbanites' appreciation of the ideals of liberal secularism.

But is this the same as transforming the *Jardins d'Eole*'s users into 'French citizen/ subjects'? This question returns one to the notion that 'environmental citizenship' stems from the affective understandings associated with landscape as a space of becoming. In unpacking these kinds of 'event-ual' affects, it is useful to think of the urban landscape as an environmental assemblage,[31] an Actor-Network of actants (including human subjects) as well as the transient, performative interactions that link them.[32] Seen this way, the heterogeneous 'forms (and scales) of life' at work in the park are structured by a multiplicity of embodied interactions replete with rising and falling potentialities to act. As Stéphane Tonnelat, a sociologist involved in *Jardins d'Eole*'s creation, has pointed out, users of a park like this often appropriate design features in inventive ways, and develop a civic ability to share space, an ability which, because it involves negotiating with rather than accepting directives from the authorities about the park's functioning, cultivates skills in self-governance and conflict resolution (Tonnelat, 2010).[33] Furthermore, at *Jardins d'Eole*, since this ap-

propriation occurs in, and in relation to, urban nature, it interweaves not only more diverse subjects than originally intended, but also subjects and environment, with biking teenagers and train commuters, basketball players and gendarmes, hijab-wearing women and drug-dealers, community gardeners weeding alongside DEVE workers tending aquatic habitats alongside sans-papiéres (undocumented migrants) dozing in the prairie sauvage (wild meadow). This creates an unsettled bio-political force field of co-existence, a locally-negotiated 'third form of ownership' in which different actors – mostly new citizens—m participate with/in power, and experience new kinds of agency vis-a-vis the environment as well as the state.

It is possible, then to see *Jardins d'Eole* as an urban landscape that is not only evolving a unique social, but also an affective ecology, in which questions of difference are subsumed by the convivial re-valorization of past teleological articulations of state, citizen and the bio-physical world.[34] Implicit here is the expansion of the potential temporalities involved in landscape governmentality made possible by post-historical time-consciousness. Structuring a public landscape around participatory, informational and affective human-nonhuman interactions mediates a lived, temporal orientation that cuts across the competing histories introduced by social, political, and economic displacement. Moreover, because these interactions always have a bio-physical component, they also enact notions of 'resilience' – that is, a system's ability to absorb shifting external forces without changing its basic function – thus supporting (bio-) politically-charged affects of care, improvement and futurity. Mobilized in part by the designer' spatio-material orchestration of the mineral and the vegetal, the anatamo-affectivity of *Jardins d'Eole* arises out of everyday articulations of human and nonhuman that integrates local experience and know-how, and bypass 'the nation', even as they rely on the agential certainty of the state. Paradoxically, as some theorists have pointed out, while it is ultimately through the embodied space of the quartier that the trans-national becomes integrated into everyday life, such spaces can still (performatively) awaken 'national feeling' without the active cultivation of a collective 'we' (Low, 2011; Closs-Stephens, 2015).[35]

These are optimistic claims to make about the urban commons' affective potential, at a time of when geographies of displacement, whether economic, environmental or political in origin, are problematizing the viability of the urban commons, and encouraging a resurgence of xenophobic nationalism. In the face of this reality, *Jardins d'Eole* offers contradictory messages. It suggests the classic historicist linkage between the state, citizenship and the 'natural world' might be recuperated through ongoing and performative interactions with biophysical processes. By foregrounding emergent material processes and bodies of knowledge, such a post-historical interpretation of governmentality increases the imagined pasts and futures the designed landscape can encompass and convey. On the other hand *Jardins d'Eole* also suggests this assemblage-like landscape condition cannot escape 'history'. It depends not only on managing and tuning, but also anticipating and redressing the impact of unforeseen flows on these interactions, through nested scales of monitoring and

material control in time. In a city of such refractory im/mobilities as Paris, the state's continuing support for such multi-temporality may be critical to the urban commons' survival, and the ongoing transformation on which cultural continuity (or tradition) depends.

NOTES

1. The urban commons is a semi-tangible manifestation of Jürgen Habermas' ideal of the 'public sphere': a realm in which individuals come together to identify and discuss societal problems and shape political action. At a time when much that has traditionally been conceived of as public is in retreat, it offers an alternative to visions of the city as a battle between 'public' and 'private'.
2. Few authors have explicitly applied bio-politic thinking to a specific constructed landscape, though see Hutchinson 2017.
3. Understood as forms of pre-reflective emotional intensity, Deleuzian affect has been described as the dynamic, syncretic *constitution of the sense of self in relation to context*. As Payne's terminology underscores, this rising and falling of the 'power or potential to act' arises from the lived, non-discursive, interactions between bodies, as well as bodies and environments. See Park, Davidson & Shields (2011).
4. The process whereby individuals become self-disciplining environmental subjects. The term is sometimes also used to describe "an awareness of the importance of the environment in everyday life".
5. Urbanist Kevin Lynch argued that the patterning of the urban field's various components creates a particular co-existence of 'futures' and 'pasts', a heterochrony that not only mediates a particular time-consciousness, but contributes to the city's functioning as a source of hope and 'a life yet to be' (Lynch 1995, 90 -116).
6. As some theorists have noted, under the impact of globalization, non-western, and non-linear, visions of history, long overshadowed by colonial rule, are re-staking their claim to relevance.
7. This of course encourages many to cling to the consolations of persistence; atavistic attachments to abstract, discursive places have if anything increased amongst those in the global North who feel left behind by globalization.
8. On the distinction between nationalism and national feeling see Closs-Stephens, 2015.
9. *Dirgisme* is a political economy in which the state directs private economic initiative through tight control of credit, taxation, foreign trade policy, social security, wages and investments. Often this control extends into the legal, social and cultural sphere as well.
10. It is hard to overemphasize how rare this has become today, globally.
11. The principles of assimilationist republicanism do not allow French censuses to

record ethnicity or religion, but they do gather information concerning country of birth.

12. This governmentality is especially visible contested in the ritual of opening and closing of these parks each day according to seasonally-prescribed times that vary according to the social dynamics of each neighborhood (Newman, 2015: 75).

13. By introducing a sense of temporal juxtaposition, Alphand's orchestration of the mineral and the vegetal in urban parks engaged rather than denied time, thus 'historicizing' the new urban fabric. See Grumbach, 1977.

14. A uniquely French development model, in which public and private sectors work as partners to transform an entire sector of the city.

15. Examples include the *Paris Plages* and *Berges de Seines*; the *Place del Republique*; the *parc Martin Luther King*; the reconstructed park at the *Forum les Halles*, and the new tramways along the boulevards *de Marechaux*.

16. See for instance Whatmore & Hinchliffe, 2010, 450-456.

17. The quartier has been home to three generations of Maghrebi residents, two generations of West Africans and more recently, arrivals from Sri Lanka and China. Newman, 2015, 195.

18. The DEVE remains the chief actor managing the park.

19. Called *manif-festives*.

20. According to the designers, the linkage between the gravel garden and the plant-filled canal was meant to "evoke links between earth, water, and plants, *evoking the scarcity of resources*". Newman, 2015, 130 & Newman, 2011, 200

21. The initial 'working title', *Parc de la Cour du Maroc*, gave way to *Jardins d'Éole*, a name that evokes the Greek god of wind, but is also an acronym for the RER line that passes the site. The name thus avoids reference to the quartier's multi-ethnic makeup, and projects references *to sustainable energy, neighborhood history, and Greek mythology*.

22. I.e rather than the elegantly-refined historic elements found in most Parisian parks.

23. See footnote 13.

24. This involved reducing the species diversity, as well as the naturalistic maintenance practices preferred by the community (Newman, 2015, 84 - 85)

25. This semi-privatization has not been very effective. In 2015 the manager of the temporary theater on the esplanade was brutally attacked by a deranged drug addict.

26. The most serious of these, in 2016, involved a massive tent city, and removing its occupants took 35 buses.

27. It is unclear whether this is because of sympathy towards the insurgents based on local residents own multi-ethnic, non-local origins, they were less disturbed by the resulting 'chaotic' environment than the authorities, or because the open space was too valuable to abandon entirely.

28. Notably, the *jardins de gravier* and its associated canal system.

29. See for instance //quefaire.paris.fr/32009/fete-des-jardins-et-de-l-agriculture-urbaine; and www.sortiraparis.com/arts-culture/balades/articles/125280-fete-des-jardins-2017-le-village-dans-les-jardins-d-eole

30. Spending less time on landscape management (mowing, watering, pruning, replanting), and more on basic material repair and trash removal.

31. 'Assemblage' is Deleuzian term used to describe constellations of objects, bodies, and territories that come together in productive ways *for a while*, creating new means of expression and 'realities' by making unexpected and productive connections. Livesey, 2010.

32. Actor-Networks gather, enroll and connect human and nonhuman actors in ways that develop their own momentum. From this perspective, a 'built environment' becomes a temporary (and temporal) stabilization of all the varying actors in place --an 'achievement'. In this analysis, agency lies not in the properties of actors but in the relationship between them. Rather than being formed separately, each actor's identity emerges through its relations to the others. This relational con-figuration downplays the importance of specific actors and emphasizes the multiplicity of mutually constitutive actants' which together serve to hybridize agency (McFarlane, 2011).

33. Sometimes using horticultural knowledge from other parts of the world brought by immigrants living in the neighbourhood. (Newman, 2015, 85-89).

34. 'Conviviality' describes a condition of 'being-with-others', a practical inter-corporeality of civic association in which nonhuman kinds and human individuals thrive in combination with each other. It draws on a feminist ethic of social living in which individual becoming in the world is unavoidably conditioned through affective associations with others, and construes the knowing, learning and construction of the built environment as an education of attention. See Whatmore & Hinchliffe, 2010, 452-3.

35. Not incidental here is how the park has opened up to *all* Parisians a previously-unseen panorama of the metropolis, dominated by that problematic icon of national identity, the Sacré Coeur.

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