Reframing urban controlled spaces: Community gardens in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv-Jaffa

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Abstract

As research continues to configure the meaning and manifestations of actually existing neoliberalism this paper takes one social phenomenon – urban community gardens – and examines how it is being newly integrated under the conditions of neoliberal urban governance. It examines how community gardens are being applied by decision makers and NGOs into two cities in Israel – Jerusalem and Tel Aviv-Jaffa – where community gardens have been cultivated only since 2000. The analysis offers a more dynamic understanding of the interplay of local and global forces that produce the urban space, and a broader understanding of controlled community gardens.

Keywords

Community gardens, neoliberalism, governance, controlled space, Tel Aviv-Jaffa, Jerusalem.

Introduction

This paper examines the development and function of community gardens in the neoliberal city, focusing on how different approaches of municipal and state governance in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv-Jaffa create similar or different types of community gardens. The paper proposes that global/local neoliberal relations in each city support different types of controlled spaces. By that, this paper takes another step in current thinking on two interrelated themes: (1) Community garden typologies and functioning, by introducing a broader understanding of controlled community gardens. (2) The global/local interplay in neoliberal city, by showing how comparative research of community gardens in the two cities sheds new light on global/local initiations.

The first theme relates to *the construction and functioning of urban community gardens* in the two cities as controlled gardens. This analysis is part of a long history, dating to the end of the 19th century in the United States and in Europe. Urban gardens were established by the local government (in the United States) or by churches or employers (in Germany) to relieve poverty in distressed urban areas (Groening, 2005; Lawson, 2005). In the years that followed, urban community gardens gained and lost popular interest in parallel with economic crises, such as during the two world wars (Bassett, 1979; Lawson, 2005). In the United States, a major urban restructuring from the 1970s led by neoliberal principles changed the meaning of urban community gardens from hitherto top-down produced spaces aimed at socializing, integrating, and assimilating those who were considered to be maladjusted – the poor, immigrants, and children – into a bottom-up contested space (Schmelzkopf, 1995), a space for citizenship (Ghose & Pettygrove, 2014), a space for radical social action, a counter-space, a space for constituting a more critical public discourse on public space (Staeheli, Mitchell, & Gibson, 2002) and for recreating the urban commons (Eizenberg, 2012a). Examination of the development of community gardens in the two cities sheds additional light on how the different neoliberal politics expressed in different global/local relations, perceive and implement community gardens as controlled spaces.

In the second theme – *the neoliberal city and the global/local initiations* – we present a new perspective on the longstanding research on global realities. Existing research examines the global/local relations affecting urban governance in the two cities through specific local socio-economic activities such as ICT and software initiations, public/private housing initiations, policies towards labor migrants, and creative classes way of life, reaching the conclusion that Jerusalem is the localized city and Tel Aviv-Jaffa is the globalizing city (Alfasi & Fenster,

2005; Fenster & Visel, 2007; Fenster & Manor, 2010; Ronen, 2011). Likewise, we first expected to find clearly distinctive variances of community gardens in the two cities, understanding – Jerusalem as a localized city and Tel Aviv-Jaffa as a global city. However, analysis of decision-making regarding the establishment, budgeting, and functioning of community gardens, of gardeners relations with different urban institutions, and of urban socio-economic characteristics reveals that both Jerusalem and Tel Aviv-Jaffa are affected by global **and** local forces and operate within the interplay of these forces. Thus, for example, Jerusalem functions as a globalized city using international capital (Jewish funds) to develop community gardens, while Tel Aviv-Jaffa relies only on internal resources and we might say it behaves more like a localized city. By that we show that the global/local nexus has different interplays when focusing on different aspects of urban development in the neoliberal city.

Neoliberalism is understood with Ferguson (2010) and Harvey's (2005) terminologies. Following Ferguson's adaption of Comaroff and Comaroff's (2000, cited in Ferguson, 2010, p. 117) definition, we understand neoliberalism as "... a broad, global cultural formation characteristic of a new era of 'millennial capitalism' – a kind of a global meta-culture, characteristic of our newly de-regulated, insecure, and speculative times". Harvey defines neoliberalism as a theory of political economic practices "that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights; free market; and free trade". The role of the state according to his view is "to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices" (2005, p. 2). As Harvey states, there has been a neoliberalized turn everywhere in political-economic practices and thinking since the 1970s, especially with regard to deregulation, privatization, and withdrawal of the state from many areas of social provision, sometimes voluntarily sometimes as a response to coercive pressures. We argue that while Israel's political-economic practices of neoliberalism are not different from this global trend, neoliberalism in Israel has specific characteristics influenced by three distinctive local/global characters: First, the specific relations between Israel and the Jewish diaspora, which are expressed in global Jewish funding of projects within Israel and especially Jerusalem (Alfasi & Fenster, 2009). Second, its unique ethno-national character, being a Jewish state with 20% of its residents belonging to the Arab-Palestinian minority. Third, the different historical and religious-national global/local urban developments of Israel's two most significant cities – Jerusalem and Tel Aviv-Jaffa.

All these characteristics lead to assuming different neoliberal urban governance that affects the formation of community gardens. By examining the formations of community gardens in these cities we then first clarify the attributes of the gardens within the current geo-political context, and second we further elucidate the specific local/global interplay that comprises the neoliberal governance in Israel. Proposing a more nuanced understanding of controlled

community gardens further complicates the existing widespread understanding of gardens as grassroots spatial practices. Controlled community gardens encapsulate the different levels of community, civic organizations, and municipalities' involvement in and control over community gardens in neoliberal cities.

In the following we briefly introduce our methodology in this research. We then juxtapose the widespread understandings of urban community gardens with a brief overview of community gardens in the neoliberal city (i.e., since the 1970s). Then we contextualize the neoliberalization of urban governance in the two cities – Tel Aviv-Jaffa and Jerusalem – within the larger discussion on cities in the global-neoliberal era. Our discussion on urban community gardens focuses on the processes by which urban community gardens were perceived and implemented mainly by policy makers at the national level and in Tel Aviv-Jaffa and Jerusalem municipalities. Finally, the discussion and conclusion present the linkage between the character of the city, the ways in which new Israeli social phenomena – community gardens in this case – are integrated into it.

Methodological notes

In order to understand neoliberal urban governance in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv-Jaffa we analyzed national and municipal budgets and policies towards community gardens. Quantitative data referring to budget expenses and resources was extracted from the budget books of the two municipalities and of the international Jewish donors involved in the two cities' development and community gardens constructions. Qualitative information, referring to intentions, strategies, successes and failures of initiating and managing community gardens, was gathered during 2009-2014 through in-depth interviews with representatives of the two municipalities, national government, NGOs' professionals and gardeners in both cities; a total of 25 interviews. Representatives were selected based on their direct involvement with and significant influence on community gardens in their area. Interviews were thematically analyzed using codes that were developed as more information was collected. For example: ideology/agenda towards community gardens, distribution of power, policy orientation, and budget planning. In addition, observations of meetings discussing community gardens at the national level were conducted. Geographical Information System was used to layer the gardens in relation to socio-economic status in order to identify possible gaps between stated policy and actual production of community gardens. Finally, policy papers, meeting minutes, websites content of the various stakeholders and their publications were analyzed.

Community gardens and neoliberalism

Community gardens

Urban community gardens, mainly in North America but also in other places, have received extensive research attention as an important urban social

phenomenon. In the last two decades or so they were perceived as a powerful bulwark against "the vagaries of urban life",[2] mostly those inflicted by the neoliberal restructuring: land privatization and commercialization, cutbacks of social services and so forth (Hackworth, 2007). They were not merely green urban spaces used for cultivating vegetables, herbs, and fruits and for social and recreational activities, but also spaces for building new capacities and as compensation for the lack of urban amenities and social services, sense of community cohesion, and so forth.

Over the years, it has been suggested that community gardens promote public health and wellbeing (Armstrong, 2000; Wakefield, Yeudall, Taron, Reynolds, & Skinner, 2007); contribute to community development and neighborhood beautification (Francis, Cashdan, & Paxson, 1984; Landman 1993; Schmelzkopf, 1995), community building, sense of belonging, social capital, and civic capacities (Glover, Parry, & Shinew, 2005; Kingsley & Townsend, 2006); promote social cohesion and integration in diverse ethnic, economic, and cultural communities (Domene & Saurí, 2007; Kurtz, 2001; Shinew, Glover, & Parry, 2004); strengthen environmental awareness and caring (Ferris, Normal & Sempik, 2001; Hassell, 2002); provide new opportunities for learning and skills acquisition (Eizenberg, 2013), and social services (Knigge, 2009); and empower poor and unprivileged communities (Eizenberg, 2010). This means that community gardens are characterized in this literature as contested spaces that support the bottom-up, grassroots struggle of neighbors (usually of the traditionally underprivileged urbanites) for dignified living conditions and re-enforcement of public space to include their voices and needs, their right to space and to the city (Eizenberg, 2013; Schmelzkopf, 1995; Smith and Kurtz, 2003; Staeheli et al., 2002). More so, by offering alternative urban experience, based on active citizenship and sometimes oppositional spatial practices, the gardens cultivate the visioning of alternative urban meanings of social relations, practices, landscape and politics, and contest the dominant logic (Eizenberg, 2012a).

Although some scholars distinguished between functions of community gardens as spaces for community-building or food production (Kurtz, 2001); or as settings for community development, neighborhood open spaces, and civic agriculture (Saldivar-Tanaka & Krasny, 2004); this impressive body of literature was criticized for generally treating community gardens as a singular phenomenon (Pudup, 2008). Pudup suggests that there are many and divergent socio-spatial structures consolidated under the idea of community gardens. Some of these so-called community gardens barely abide by the idea of community (i.e., the people they serve are made into a group ad hoc) and others are not technically gardens. She identifies three discursive movements that have characterized community gardens since the 1970s: the contentious standing of the gardens, their status as

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[2] As phrased by Amin and Thrift (2002).

sites for self-help and individual empowerment, and their constitution as sites of environmental activism and sustainable urbanism (Pudup, 2008).

In this article, we aim to enhance the recent literature stream that takes a more critical and multiple view of community gardens (such as Eizenberg, 2012b; McClintock, 2013; Pudup, 2008; Quastel, 2009; Rosol, 2010, 2012) by examining the phenomenon in the context of neoliberal urban governance and its global/local aspects and refining the understanding of controlled community gardens.

Our understanding of community gardens as controlled spaces is inspired by Pudup's category of community gardens as *organized garden projects*. She refers to those gardens that are initiated by "non-state and quasi-state actors who deliberately organize gardens to achieve a desired transformation of individuals in place of collective resistance and/or mobilization" (Pudup, 2008, p. 1230). In these gardens gardening work is specifically utilized for *individual* transformation and *self*-actualization that in effect "puts individuals in charge of their own adjustment(s) to economic restructuring and social dislocation through self-help technologies […]" (p. 1228). These gardens are "designed to empower individuals to cultivate themselves" through a personal process rather than a social or communal one (p. 1233). While Pudup understands neoliberal formations of community gardens from the perspective of the individual and the ways in which such space further entrenches individuals into consumers, we take an urban governance perspective, looking at the different ways policy makers and NGOs understand and try to produce urban space. Therefore, our understanding of community gardens as controlled spaces goes beyond Pudup's segregated garden projects (such as in prisons, hospitals, and schools, per Pudup's examination) to include other, more subtle, initiations and/or management of gardens for certain social and economic purposes.

Neoliberalization of urban spaces

As the history of urban transformation has been inextricably tied with capitalism, we discuss here the relationship between neoliberalism and space. Neoliberalism, the regime of political and economic practices of our era uses space as its privileged instrument (Brenner & Theodore, 2002). While it might be possible to distinguish global cities from the rest (Sassen, 1998), cities of different scales are influenced by and adopt various global-neoliberal practices of urban development (e.g., branding of cities, private-public partnerships, mega urban events), asking to "upgrade" their position within the complex regional, national, or global network (Fainstein, 2010).

One reaction to neoliberal structural transformations is the conceptual and practical turning to the local as the loci for the emergence of new urban democracy, public participation, and people's power (Purcell, 2006). In this respect, urban community gardens are considered, in the lion's share of the literature, as sites for practicing and formulating the demand to participate and influence the production

of urban space in various shapes and forms, vis-à-vis the sameness and unification inflicted by global-neoliberal practices. However, the case of community gardens in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv-Jaffa challenges this common understanding and suggests a more complex and nuanced relations between the people that practice community gardening, and the forces that produce community gardens and the urban space.

Neoliberalism in Israel: Jerusalem and Tel Aviv-Jaffa

Israel, a node in the global system like other places, is influenced by the same global forces assimilating neoliberal economic, social, cultural, and political characteristics (Ram, 2008). It is also influenced by such neoliberal practices as privatization of welfare and growing dependence on philanthropy for social services.

Like other places, Israel embodies and represents the dialectical dynamic between the global trend that centers on western capitalism; neoliberal economic and political practices with a strong technological inclination, and local forces; the power of community and religion which in Israel, located in the Middle East with its religious underpinning, are sometimes recognized as fundamentalist (Ram, 2008). This coupling of the two contradictory trends – the local and the global or in combination, glocalization (Robertson, 1995) – produces new urban (political and spatial) situations.

Within Israel, two cities stand out in the sociological, geographical, and planning literature – Jerusalem and Tel Aviv-Jaffa. Ram (2005) suggests that the city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa epitomizes the global trend. It "signifies the modern Hebrew Israeli identity, secularism, liberalism, and pluralism". Jerusalem, on the other hand, epitomizes the local trend and is led by its strong religious identification and ethnic local forces associated with fundamentalism (Ram, 2005, p. 23).

In other research, Alfasi and Fenster (2005) define Jerusalem and Tel Aviv-Jaffa as National and Global cities, respectively. In later work (2009) they proposed a more refined definition of the two cities along the global/local spectrum of neoliberalism. They identified Jerusalem as a *global locality*. That is, the complex interplay between global and local forces are crystalized as a city known globally for its religious importance to the three monotheistic religions but with almost no impact on global economic as well as local trade flows. Yet, because of its religious importance it is a city that is far more known than Tel Aviv-Jaffa globally and has become a tourist destination; as such it is highly attractive to global (Jewish and non-Jewish) investments primarily in education, welfare, and city development. Tel Aviv-Jaffa's local importance derives largely from its international interconnectivity; the city serves as a gateway to globalization as the cultural-economic hub of Israel. Tel Aviv-Jaffa has been established from its foundation as a "secular" city and has built its image apart from the national apparatus. It is the Israeli headquarters for the FIRE economy (Finance, Insurance,

and Real Estate). It is also a tourist attraction branding and marketing itself as a cosmopolitan city and as the capital of the international homosexual community. Thus, Tel Aviv-Jaffa is much closer to the typology of a global city, as it is open, diverse, and welcoming both economically and politically. Alfasi and Fenster (2009) then, characterize Tel Aviv-Jaffa as a *local globality*; its global qualities are mostly valued from a local perspective.

The construction and functioning of community gardens in the two cities helps us to further understand global locality and the local globality of each of the cities expressed in the differentiations in neoliberal urban governance. The following analysis is divided into two parts. First, these characters of neoliberal urban governance are analyzed using fundraising and budgeting data on Jerusalem and Tel Aviv-Jaffa. In the second part, state, municipal, and civic organizations' approaches to intervention, initiation and operation of community gardens are analyzed utilizing interviews with representatives and gardeners, observations on meetings and discussions as well as policy paper and GIS data analysis.

Neoliberal urban governance in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv-Jaffa

Jerusalem, the capital of Israel, a city with religious, historical, and national significance, is the largest municipality in Israel, with some 830,000 inhabitants. It is currently an ethnically diverse city, troubled with internal conflicts and contradictions between Jews and Palestinians as well as between secular and ultra-Orthodox Jews; but, at the same time, it offers unparalleled religious attractions and draws a large number of tourists whenever the level of violence is acceptable. Most of Jerusalem's inhabitants do not benefit from the economic globalization of Israel. The large ultra-Orthodox Jewish community exhibits extremely low rates of participation in the civilian workforce. In addition, due to the ongoing geopolitical conflict, the Israeli Arab population is essentially remote from the national economy, and is largely limited to lower-ranking occupations. These groups are the poorest in Israeli society and do not integrate into the mainstream, secular, Israeli way of life (Fenster, 2004; Hasson, 1996).

The discussion on Jerusalem as a global locality type of neoliberalism emphasizes the tensions between the state, municipal administration, and civic movements that is often a byproduct of economic globalization and policies of neoliberalization. Most strive to add a superficial global sheen to the city, like that of Tel Aviv-Jaffa, and thereby tend to blur Jerusalem's locality. Specifically, an attempt to create a cluster of "creative" and "innovative" activities — with the complementary "creative lifestyle" — plays an important part in both the direct and indirect policies of governmental and civic groups. As the capital of Israel, the government has a longstanding policy of intervening in Jerusalem's municipal affairs (Alfasi & Fenster, 2005; Fenster, 2004).

The two dominant financial entities in Jerusalem's development, the Jerusalem Foundation (JF) and the Jerusalem Development Authority (JDA), work

on raising funds internationally in order to support the local economy, and cultural and educational activities. The JF raised $31.1 million US in 2012;[3] 50.3% from donors in the United States, 18.3% from donors in German-speaking countries, 6% from donors in Canada, 10.2% from donors in the UK, 10.2% from donors in Israel, and the rest from European countries. In terms of its expenditures in Israel, 57% is invested in community projects (with 21% in Arab community projects), 35% in cultural projects, and 8% in coexistence projects.

The Joint Distribution Committee (JDC)[4] is another major source of funding. It was founded in 1914 to help Jewish people during World War I and since then it has operated in 70 countries helping Jewish communities in need.[5] JCD's income is provided primarily by the Jewish Federations of North America system. As mentioned above, both the JDC and the JF fund community gardens projects in Jerusalem.

Only 60 km (40 miles) to the northwest, Tel Aviv-Jaffa exudes a vastly different urban atmosphere. Tel Aviv-Jaffa centers a metropolis of three million people and ranks among the most affluent local governments in Israel. Participation in the workforce in Tel Aviv-Jaffa and neighboring municipalities is the highest in Israel. It is also the local focus for international trade and marketing transactions, home to myriad businesses, and Israel's headquarters for financial services (Shachar & Felsenstein, 2002). Ever since its establishment, Tel Aviv-Jaffa has also functioned as the national entertainment hub as well as the center of Western cultural and artistic creativity (Kipnis, 2005). Metropolitan Tel Aviv-Jaffa also hosts public-opinion makers, the largest newspapers, media groups, and advertising firms (Alfasi & Fenster, 2005). A comparison of the two cities is shown in Table 1.

Table 1. **Comparison of Jerusalem and Tel Aviv-Jaffa.6**

	Jerusalem	Tel Aviv-Jaffa
Municipal area	125,200 dunams	51,809 dunams
Population	804,355[7]	410,000[8]

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[3] http://www.jerusalemfoundation.org/about.aspx?MID=546&CID=552

[4] The JDC is an American Jewish nonprofit organization active in approximately 70 countries to help vulnerable Jewish populations.

[5] http://www.jdc.org/about-jdc/history.html

[6] Information is based on: Tel Aviv Yafo, Center for Socio-Economic Research, 2012 Annual Report; Israel Central Bureau of Statistics 2011, 2012; Jerusalem municipal budget report and Tel Aviv municipal budget report for 2013; The Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies. Doron Inbal blogspot published on 21.4.2013. http://jiis-jerusalem.blogspot.co.il/

[7] Israel Central Bureau of Statistics 2011. Of this population 62% are Jews and 35% are Muslims.

[8] Israel Central Bureau of Statistics 2011. Of this population 89% are Jews.

Employees' average monthly income.[9]	6620 NIS[10]	9731 NIS
% of households under the poverty line (2011)	37%	10.3%
Household size – average (2008)	3.7	2.1
Higher education (2008)[11]	21.7%	37.0%
Employment areas (2008)		
Finance	2.4%	6.1%
Financial Services	11.7%	23.0%
Public Administration	7.9%	3.4%
Education	17.9%	8.1%
Health and Welfare	11.5%	8.0%
Municipality budget (2013)	4.36 billion NIS	4.89 billion NIS
Budget per capita (2011)	4,756 NIS	10,634 NIS
Welfare expenses	552,539 NIS	313,216NIS
Municipality annual income (2013) [total]	4.09 billion NIS	4.36 billion NIS

Local globality type of neoliberalism in Tel Aviv-Jaffa is expressed mainly in Information Communication and Technology (ICT)'s growth since the 1990s and the 4,400 startup companies operated in Israel (Kipnis, 2005; Ram, 2005). ICT industries continue to grow today by number of employees, exports, and gross domestic product (see details in Alfasi & Fenster, 2009). Most ICT industries are located in industrial parks in the Tel Aviv-Jaffa metropolitan area with Tel Aviv-Jaffa city as its center. From this perspective, being a focal point for a local cluster of globalized economic activities Tel Aviv-Jaffa functions as a local globality representing a global type of neoliberalism that widens the gap between the different classes and also between the Jewish Tel Aviv and the Arab Jaffa.

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[9] Israel Central Bureau of Statistics 2011. The national average of employees' monthly income for 2011 was 7964 NIS.

[10] Current rate of exchange NIS 3.52 = $1.00 US.

[11] Percent of individuals 15 years old and older with degrees from colleges and universities. Israel Central Bureau of Statistics 2012.

The Tel Aviv-Yafo Foundation (TAJF) was established in 1977 in order: "to provide a means for Jewish people around the world to partner with Tel Aviv Yafo, the symbolic center of Israeli pluralism and liberalism."[12] Its international character is expressed in its board of directors, which includes members from the United States, United Kingdom, Germany, Canada, and Israel. The TAJF's assets exceeded $4.36 million in 2011 designated for educational, elderly, parks and playgrounds projects, and even projects for the refugees living in the Tel Aviv area. There is no mention of budget allocation to community gardens.

Community gardens in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv-Jaffa

State level rationale and motivation

Community gardens in Israel are a relatively new phenomenon (since 2000) that was adopted most intensely in two cities – Jerusalem and Tel Aviv-Jaffa. In 2009, the National Community Gardens Steering Committee (NCGSC) was established through a collaborative effort of the Ministry for Environmental Protection and the Israel JDC. The Committee brought to the table representatives from the Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Public Health, Ministry of Education, and Ministry of Work and Welfare to devise a national plan for developing community gardens in Israeli cities. Its declarative emphasis was on developing community gardens for the poor, peripheral cities. As stated in one of committees first meetings, the aim is to:

> develop the gardens in Israel as a social-economic-environmental platform. The gardens are a physical platform that facilitates sustainability and awareness. The space [of the gardens] produce[s] a place for people to take responsibility and to develop into a more involved residents, stronger communities and for influencing behavioral patterns through classes and enrichment (meeting minutes, 21 February 2010).

This wording seems quite similar to the rationale of community gardens in the United States and Germany mentioned previously, but our analysis below shows that while community gardens in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv-Jaffa are indeed spaces where residents get involved with and take new responsibilities over the urban space, they cater for specific social groups and function in a relatively controlling environment either by the municipality or other organizations with their specific agendas.

The NCGSC's main project since its inauguration was a pilot to establish community gardens in five poor cities (ranked less than 6 out of 10 in socio-economic indicators), including Jerusalem but not Tel Aviv-Jaffa, by investing

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[12] http://www.telavivfoundation.org/us/Content/Details/14

150,000 NIS in each city mainly for garden's coordinator position. The committee's rationale of budget allocation was that:

> The municipality is the center of community gardening and as such it is compelled to sit at the head of the round table and lead the subject. The mission of the committee is to help, in any way possible, to the success of the urban round tables, to connect other social projects to community gardening, to connect the local economic sector, to pool together additional resources and to provide professional consulting (meeting minutes, 23 May 2010).

The declared hierarchy of community garden projects, according to the state, posits the municipality in charge of managing the projects though governing the multiple stakeholders that should take part in the operation. Having said that, the State level offices understand they cannot impose their own interest on the municipal level and therefore they "have to learn the language of local municipalities, their limitations, what are their real needs and what are their real interests and try to take our topics and promote them with their tools" (Interview, NCGSC State representative, February 21, 2010).

Community Gardens in Jerusalem

Jerusalem, the city that hosts about 50 community gardens – the largest number of community gardens in one city in Israel – is characterized by a complex web of global (Jewish) and local partners that promote the gardens in every possible way: funding, guidance, education, infrastructure, and community outreach. In this way, the production of gardens, sustained through global and local funds, is orchestrated by a large number of governmental and nongovernmental organizations, each holding a different agenda and distinct goals for the gardens.

A major formal organization involved in community gardens is the Jerusalem Association of Community Councils and Centers (JACCC), that is also financed by the JDC, JF and global capital.[13] The JACCC functions as the executive arm of the municipality at the community level. In 2006, it began to develop community gardens for the elderly in Jerusalem, a project that was also funded by the Israeli JDC and the Jerusalem Foundation and coordinated in collaboration with the Society and Youth Agency of the Jerusalem Municipality and other organizations. An evaluation report on this initiative, published in 2010 suggest that "one of the salient result of this project was the success of the community garden as an arena for community meeting to people of diverse ages,

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[13] The 28 community centers in the Jerusalem Association of Community Councils are funded by both the municipality and third-sector organizations. The councils connect the municipality and residents. Its main goals are to enable residents' participation in municipal planning and activities, to encourage local action and responsibility, and to assist the municipality in achieving its goals. Based on http://www.minhalimjerusalem.org.il/?CategoryID=166&ArticleID=164&Page=1

backgrounds and needs. [… from this evaluation research] it is apparent that all participants benefited from the project" and the impact was on both the elderly participants and the organizations that operated the project. "It is possible to notice a real change in the actual physical environment in the infrastructure of the community gardens and of other green spots around the neighborhood (emphasis in the original).[14]

From this initial funded project, the Community Councils adopted the general idea of community gardens and implemented the concept among other populations, such as for the mentally challenged in the center of the city. All in all, the community councils are involved in overseeing, facilitating, and coordinating 34 gardens in the city. A representative of the Community Councils stressed that part of the mission of the JACCC is to establish a network across all the gardens in the city, to connect the gardens to the municipality, and to connect gardens to the Councils "so that they will all receive financial and counseling support regularly" (Interview, Jerusalem, 21 July 2010). However, as gardeners suggest, currently the councils' support had been reduced or eliminated: "once there was a community worker in full position, then in half, and then in a quarter of and more gardens were added to deal with so practically now we get nothing (Interview, gardener of Nature Museum Garden, December 2014).[15] In South-west community council the position of responsible for green open space was not reoccupied after the previous post holder left and the community workers, overly occupied with the distress population of the area, don't help with the garden (Interview, gardener of Neta Garden, December 2014).

In 2008, a forum of various NGOs and governmental agencies was established.[16] Forum AITEK – Community Nurtured Green Jerusalem Sites – pooled the financial resources of the different parties, but mainly of the JF, in order to implement citywide interventions in the gardens. The tight connections between the two financial entities, JF and JDC, and the development of community gardens in Jerusalem are indicative of the important role of global locality activities to the functioning of community gardens. In 2006, the JDC announced a bid to administer and oversee its own funded community gardening projects. This in itself suggests that a bustling and competitive third sector is working with a limited number of community gardens. The JF that thought the funding should be channeled through AITEK to the Community Councils and not to a specific organization threatened to dismantle AITEK because:

> the perception is that a community garden in a neighborhood should
> be connected to the local council and the council should support it.

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[14] Burstein Shiri. 2010. Project evaluation: integrating the elderly to community gardens. Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies p.5

[15] All referenced gardens are marked on the map, see Figure 1 and 2

[16] AITEK includes the Jerusalem Foundation, SPNI, JDC, Jerusalem Welfare Department, Jerusalem City Maintenance Department, Jerusalem Sanitation Department, and Israel Ministry of Agriculture, among others.

> It is important for the whole community, we think it is very important that the council will connect the garden to all the different things that happen in the neighborhood so it will not be a garden of just a few neighbors. But it will be a garden that is connected to all the organizations in the council district, to all the residents, and that the council will be its 'ambassador' and publish all the good things that are being done in it. And the council's community worker will help in the garden, and the council's physical planner will help too. The councils have many resources and we want those to upgrade the garden (Interview, representative of Community Councils, July 21 2010).

The JDC went with the bid anyway. In this way, macro political and economic forces that make the city highly dependent on national policies and budget and on international donations affect the ways that space is constructed in Jerusalem's community gardens.[17]

The winner of the JDC's bid was another important actor in initiating and establishing community gardens in Israeli cities - the Society for the Protection of Nature in Israel (SPNI). The SPNI played prominent roles in the construction of the first gardens in Jerusalem. In the same year that the first community garden was established – 2000 – SPNI won a grant from the Ministry of Environmental Protection to adopt and nurture an urban site, and it initiated the first community garden in one affluent Jewish neighborhood of Jerusalem (Bakaa). The role of SPNI's young facilitators is to "mobilize [the garden…but] sometimes it takes years until the residents want to take the lead [… and therefore] the coordinators do not always feel that they are making a long-term impact [or change]. Everyone wants to have a coordinator in the neighborhood for the long run, to have someone to establish the garden and then lead it. I myself felt it in the first garden in Bakaa, if there isn't someone that arrive every week for the working day it is very difficult for them to get organized" (Interview, SPNI Jerusalem, 17 January 2010). This perspective perhaps demonstrates how dependent the garden is on the work of the coordinators, representatives of an external body – in this case, a civil society organization.

Representatives of the SPNI explain that in the future the organization wishes to function only as a consultant to the gardens: "through developing the mechanisms in which residents need the least help," rather than as the initiator and operator of the gardens. However, "with all the good will on the part of the municipality, on the ground we work alone, and we still have to fight for our existence. There are no resources. We have to struggle to allocate funds. There is

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[17] Eizenberg (2012b) shows NGOs involvement in community gardens in New York City had loosened residents' attachment to the gardens and sometimes alienated them altogether.

money for that but we just do not get it" (Interview, SPNI Jerusalem, 3 January 2010).

Other than these organizations there are plenty of small association that are involved in community gardens in Jerusalem and support them either through workforce – usually of young volunteers from Israel or abroad – and through sponsoring various events or projects. Gardeners interviewees from all type of gardens, provided a long list of such associations with which they collaborate directly and independently. For example, the Nature Museum garden has collaboration with Or Hanefesh association, home schooling projects, two anthroposophist schools, two high schools, young volunteers from abroad, a scouting group etc. (Interviews, a gardener of the Nature Museum Garden, December 2014). The Neta Garden, a garden in a poor neighborhood with very few residents involved get regular workforce support from New Wind Association, Halom organization, Ort high school, Mahapach organization etc. these organization "have both working hands and budget and they organize various events in the garden and invite the residents" (Interviews, a gardener of Neta Garden, December 2014). Thus, the municipality is one player and sometime not a highly significant one, as part of a complex network of formal, i.e. organized in AITEK, and informal organizations that support the gardens in the city and sometimes lead their activities.

Figure 1 shows the geographical distribution of community gardens in Jerusalem juxtaposed with socio-economic status and ethnic/national characteristics of the neighborhoods where they are located. The figure, validated by interviews with representatives of managing/supporting institutions reveal that: First, out of the 43 listed and active community gardens, three serve poor or mentally challenged populations, one serves mainly the elderly, two serve mainly new Jewish immigrants, and three serve the ultra-orthodox Jews; in sum: nine serve disadvantaged populations of low socio-economic status. Five gardens serve the upper class, and the remaining 29 community gardens serve the middle class population. This shows that the declared goal of the NCGSC to develop community gardens for the poor and peripheral areas is not fully materialized.

Second, in terms of nationality, only two community gardens are located in the East, poorest, Palestinian side of Jerusalem. This is not surprising because the spirit and practice of community gardening in Jerusalem reflects national and municipal policies of zero investment in East and Old City Jerusalem as reflected in analyzing the municipal budget of the city (Fenster, 2013). Also, the public and philanthropic money that was provided to establish and maintain community gardens in Jerusalem was directed to the West, Jewish part of the city (see details also in Fenster, 2013).

Thus, Figure 1 shows that despite the explicit intentions of the municipality and the NCGSC to use the gardens to alleviate poverty and as a tool to empower disadvantaged populations, in reality only 9 out of the 43 listed gardens serve

disadvantaged communities. The majority of community gardens function in middle class neighborhoods. Moreover, Jerusalem municipal representatives suggest that only five of the active gardens, all of which are located in affluent neighborhoods, were able to release themselves from the support/control of the municipality and organizations. These gardeners independently utilize their gardens as a platform for community building and environmental education, and to promote their own agenda (usually related to environmental practices). Community gardens in the poorer neighborhood, they continue, fell apart after the budgetary support that infused professional guidance and infrastructure ended (Interview, Jerusalem, 3 October 2013).

Figure 1. Community Gardens, Religion, and Socio-Economic Status In Jerusalem, 2008.

Thus, money is being successfully fundraised to support community gardens for the underprivileged population, but in reality most gardens are constructed in middle class areas. Since most of the gardens in poor neighborhoods are dependent on top-down management and support for their continuation and dissipated once the budget is exhausted, the municipality has come to realize that its limited resources do not coincide with its idealistic perception of and intentions for the gardens (Interview, representative in charge on community gardens, Jerusalem municipality, 3 October 2013). Local organizations, such as the SPNI, are in a similar position. They have their ideals (i.e., facilitate but not control and turn the gardens into an independent community institution) but budgets are available for certain gardens that do not necessarily match the organization's ideology.

To conclude, Jerusalem's urban governance regarding community gardens shows a tendency to rely on global funding to establish and maintain community gardens *top-down*. As Ferguson suggests, under neoliberalism "what we used to call 'the social' [is] carried out by an extraordinary swarm of NGOs, voluntary organizations, and private foundations. [… In this way] social policy and nation-state are, to a very significant degree, decoupled [...]." (2010, p. 168). As the case of Jerusalem shows, while gardens of upper class neighborhoods turned independent, in poor neighborhoods, all but one either dispersed or experienced major difficulties. In 2013, the three-year JDC budget was completed and as a result, the ongoing functioning of the latter gardens was jeopardized. The case of Jerusalem's gardens suggests once again that "the deployment of new, market-based techniques of government within the terrain of the state itself [co-evolves with the] new constructions of 'active' and 'responsible' citizens and communities […producing] governmental results that do not depend on direct state intervention" (Ferguson, 2010, p. 172). Thus, the multiplicity of actors and stakeholder "governancing" community gardens change the way we tend to think about the essence of these spaces. If the literature captures this phenomenon by and large as the sheer expression and manifestation of the locale; local culture, needs, capacities, choices and more, in Jerusalem the gardens are the manifestation of a complex alignment of governmental and non-governmental organizations that use the gardens (also) as their platform of expression of rationales and agendas.

Community gardens in Tel Aviv-Jaffa

Twenty-six community gardens have been established in Tel Aviv-Jaffa since 2004. The first few gardens were bottom-up residents' efforts, but most notably since 2009 the municipality intervenes in the distribution and directions of community gardens in the city. Figure 2 illustrates the geographical distribution of the community gardens juxtaposed with socio-economic data: 14 gardens function in upper class areas in Northern Tel Aviv (eight of them north of the Yarkon

River), three function in upper middle class areas, and nine community gardens function in middle (six) and lower middle class (three) areas mainly in Southern Tel Aviv.

As the map clearly shows, Tel Aviv-Jaffa is an economically divided city. Despite the relative affluence of the city and its global connectivity, its southern and eastern areas are the poorer, run down parts of the city. They suffer from urban disinvestment and are highly unmaintained and dilapidated (the south more so than the east). However, interviews with municipal representatives and gardeners active in these poor areas indicate that all but two gardens are managed by young gentrifiers and in most of them the poor local population is completely uninvolved. In the two gardens operated by disadvantageous local population the municipality activates its community workers as the contact persons and supervisors "otherwise it is impossible to reach the population and communicate" (Interview, representative of education and environmental publicity unit, Tel Aviv-Jaffa municipality, 29 December 2014).

A few observations can be drawn. First, Jaffa – the south-west part of the city – with predominantly Arab population (though this predominance is gradually changing with institutionalized gentrification of Jaffa), has now two community gardens one of which is new and designated for religious Jewish population. Second, 14 community gardens are located in the northern, most affluent neighborhoods; most of these gardens were inaugurated since 2010 according to the vision of the municipality.

Despite the alleged openness and diversity of Tel Aviv-Jaffa as a global locality, the municipal coordinator of community gardens takes a highly centralized approach. Unlike in some cities in the United States, where gardeners have established networks of coalitions and collaborations on multiple scales; and unlike in Jerusalem, where the gardens are cultivated through the efforts and orchestration of numerous nonprofit organizations, municipal agencies, and international foundations; the Tel Aviv-Jaffa municipal coordinator asserted that: "here [in Tel Aviv-Jaffa], it started from me. […Community gardening cannot work] without harnessing the formal organizational structure of the municipality" (Interview, representative of Tel Aviv-Jaffa municipality, 11 February 2010).

Indeed, the municipality controls the development of community gardens in Tel Aviv-Jaffa mainly by two means. Firstly, through rejecting the efforts of civic organizations that try to establish collaboration with the municipality for a foothold in the city's community gardens. Only now, with a new representative in charge, possible collaboration with the JDC is being cautiously examined (Interview, representative of education and environmental publicity unit, Tel Aviv-Jaffa municipality, 29 December 2014). Secondly, through rigidly controlling the process in which residents are approved for establishing a community garden: "It is not something that happens immediately, it is a process of formation whereby residents have to prove for few months their serious intentions and action towards

formulating their community group" (Ibid). Thus, the municipality allows only certain groups, showing a certain level of organizational and investment capacities, to establish a garden.
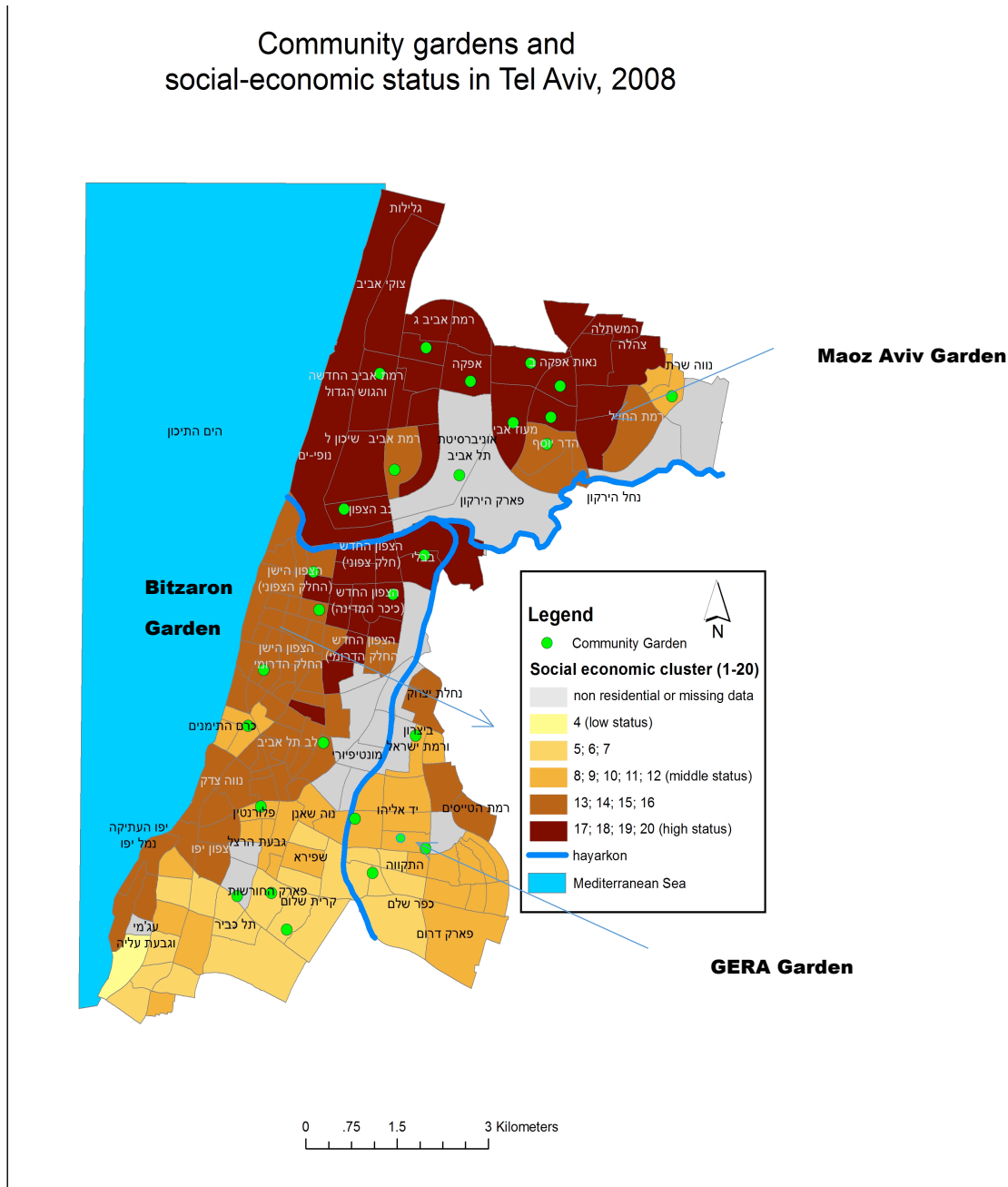

Figure 2. Community gardens and socio-economic status in Tel Aviv, 2008.

Once a request is approved, the municipality connects the garden to the irrigation system and supplies tools, plants and seeds from the city's greenhouse. Although the stated goal of the municipality is to place a professional coordinator in each garden, there is no budget allocated for that purpose, nor does one seem likely to be allocated in the near future (Interview, representative of Tel Aviv-Jaffa municipality, 11 February 2010). Instead, the city hires a part-time agronomist to guide and supervise all the community and school gardens in the city. The municipality representative considers this role as unique in the city government system where residents has a direct, personal and open communication with someone at the municipality on a daily basis (Interview, ibid). While most gardeners-interviewees indicated that these relations are positive and appreciated: "The municipality helps us a lot. There is no doubt that we wouldn't be able to do what we are doing here without it. […] everything we need I just ask them. If I have to give them an appreciation I would go for 10 for their willingness to help, and that surprised me, I am not the kind of guy that will give high appreciation to the institution automatically" (Interview, gardener of Bitzaron Garden, December 3 2014). They all also suggested that the service they receive from the municipality is lacking; they either do not get the equipment they order or the guidance and support they ask for.

As a result, the well-established and affluent gardens take the matters into their hands. For example in Maoz Aviv Garden, gardeners pay a monthly fee (about 150$ annually per family) that sponsor a professional gardener that regularly works there and a paid coordinator that lead the agenda and finance for the garden. "Once we realized that we get nothing of what we have asked (benches, plants etc.) we looked for other solutions. We got to know X [the professional gardener] and he helped us a lot so we hired him" (Interview, gardeners of Maoz Aviv, 29 December 2014). The less affluent gardens learn to manage without and complain: "they [the municipality] have to understand that we are volunteers, working for living and we don't have a car. If we ask for equipment they first of all have to say yes. Then no [if they can't]. Also in initiation and providing consultant they are not a factor. Logistically and equipment-wise they are somewhat OK but also there it can be much better" (Interview, gardeners of Gera Garden, December 3 2014). Therefore, in principle, the municipality would like to centralize and control the conduct of community gardens in the city but currently cannot due to limited budget and its "closeness" towards external resources such as the contributions of local NGOs and international funds.

The municipality acknowledge the contribution of the gardens to the city, as highlighted in "The Community Garden – A Policy Paper" of the Tel Aviv-Jaffa municipality (issued in 2009). The paper shows how the (global) idea of community gardens infiltrated into local municipal manners using the wording and jargon characterizing community gardens goals in the United States (for example see Eizenberg 2013, chapter 4). This includes: "1. Encouraging of active citizenship …; 2. Strengthening community relations …; 3. Biodiversity

conservation of local animals and plants …; 4. Environmental education …; 5. Improving the city's appearance and image. 6. Food production …". It is evident that the policy writers are informed by the global literature on this recently arriving phenomenon. It is also reasonable to assume that the City sincerely welcomes such activities but has a very limited internal budget or external (i.e., of NGOs or international funds) to fully support them.

The policy paper presented a plan to reach 20 community gardens in Tel Aviv-Jaffa, an objective that was reached by now.[18] High-ranking officials accepted the idea of having community gardens in Tel Aviv-Jaffa but not uncontrollably; the officials do not perceive the gardens as a social tool (like in Jerusalem) and they do not allocate internal or external budget to the gardens. In doing so, they narrow manifestations of community gardens in the city mainly to its affluent areas. A municipality worker reinforces this understanding of the policy paper: "Naturally there is no budget for that. They like [the idea] it brings them publicity, it connects to their vision, very idealistic people, and it is about their image" (Interview, Tel Aviv-Jaffa municipality, 11 February 2010).

How can we reconcile the discrepancy between the de facto centralized garden management and the lack of budget allocation for its operation? How can we explain the fact that on the one hand, the municipality views itself as a generative mechanism to develop community gardens in the city through coordinators and facilitators but on the other hand allows only a few gardens to be established (relative to the size of Tel Aviv-Jaffa and to other Israeli cities), rejects civil society organizations from getting involved, and does not allocate the budget required for its plan? These facts are juxtaposed with the ample financial support that is available to community gardens in Jerusalem, a much poorer city.

One general response is offered by Rosol (2010, 2012), who argues that community gardens (in Berlin) are a (new) form of outsourcing public service – green space provision – to volunteer forces. While fewer resources are allocated to public services (especially in the neoliberal city) but are not provided by market forces, different forms of governmental regulations are invented and applied (what Peck and Tickell (2002) characterize as "roll-out" neoliberalism). Outsourcing the provision of green urban space to volunteers (through the non-profit sector or directly) is understood as part of the "neoliberalization of urban governance" (Rosol, 2012, p. 242).

A complementary answer can be found in Tel Aviv-Jaffa policy makers' vision for community gardens. The model of gardens that emerges from this vision is inspired by the garden that operates in Maoz Aviv: an affluent northern neighborhood with a high ratio of open space per capita compared to the city center and southern neighborhoods and with a population that invests its own money into

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[18] "Community Gardens: understanding form between the City and residents - 2009", Management Division, Tel Aviv-Jaffa Municipality.

making the garden successful. A municipal staff member echoes this idea more bluntly:

> [The head of city maintenance departments] said sympathetically: "I support community gardens and I want to have 20 by next year" because he thinks it serves the interests of the municipality that the average resident nurtures his living environment. They want the model of Maoz Aviv everywhere, and it doesn't matter to them that it can't be anywhere else except in Maoz Aviv (Interview, Tel Aviv-Jaffa municipality, 2 September 2009).

Maoz Aviv garden remains as the flagship and a model garden to date (Interview, representative of Tel Aviv-Jaffa municipality, 29 December 2014) but was not duplicated anywhere else in the city. Such an approach prompts the establishment of community gardens in neighborhoods that are affluent enough to invest in the gardens and yet are not sufficiently radical to render the gardens as contested spaces.

For a municipality that only in recent year deployed pro-environmental thinking and practice, community gardens function as a showcase of investment in environmental efforts and enhance a more positive image.[19] A representative responsible for community gardens bluntly defines her role and goal as one of environmental education rather than building and supporting communities:

> To tell you the truth, you ask me about my agenda, so despite my background in sociology and urban planning, what I do is environmental education. So my job is not to cultivate social/community processes in the city but to cultivate environmental processes (Interview, Tel Aviv-Jaffa municipality, 11 February 2010).

Gardens in those relatively affluent neighborhoods of Tel Aviv-Jaffa appreciate or at least maintain the real estate values without the municipality having to invest in these areas (the strong and affluent communities invest their own resources), while endowing residents with greater autonomy and control over their living environment. These gardens are a nice showcase because they do not diminish Tel Aviv-Jaffa's character as a global and strong capitalist city, rather reinforce this image; the gardens not only improve the situation of already affluent urban residents and are being nicely maintained by residents of means, but also prevent community gardens from becoming a space for uncontrolled "other" expressions of aesthetics, culture, and politics.

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[19] Budget Analysis report from 2007 suggests that on key environmental issues of public transportation, open space management, sustainable management of municipal institutions, and environmental and social justice, Tel Aviv-Jaffa is in a state of neglect and significant underinvestment.
http://www.sviva.net/filesystem/taktsiv.pdf [Hebrew]

Discussion and Conclusions: community gardens as controlled spaces

The different ways in which the two municipalities integrated community gardens into their funding and administrative system and physical environment are the result of their historical, political, and socio-economic circumstances and their different global/local relations. Both cities are influenced by neoliberalism as a global culture, both are influenced by the decoupling of nation-state and social policy, by the rising power of transnational capital (market or philanthropic oriented) to shape their space and its usage. In both cities community gardens are top-down produced but in different ways, by different agents, and with different agendas.

The gardens in Jerusalem in general are provided to the community by the municipality together with various organizations financed mainly by international donors. In many cases, mostly in the poor neighborhoods, once the budget and workforce support eliminated the community itself is not taking the lead and the gardens dissipate. In the more affluent neighborhoods that rely less on top-down support from the onset, residents are effectively taking control over these spaces (with their own financial means to do so).

Community gardens in Jerusalem were initially provided top-down for specific communities as another form of social service and with the explicit purpose of helping, empowering, or integrating underprivileged populations. In those years the urban unmaintained public space of Jerusalem became a playing field for numerous civic organizations, backed by international funds that produced the space according to their various agendas: empowering the poor or immigrants (e.g., JDC), environmental education (e.g., SPNI), or community development (e.g., JF). However, realizing the requirement of long-term budgeting for utilizing the gardens as a social tool for underprivileged communities, the strategy was changed and recently funds are being invested in more prosperous areas with expectations that they will eventually become self-sufficient.

Like in Jerusalem, community gardens in Tel Aviv-Jaffa also follow a centralized top-down control. However, in Tel Aviv-Jaffa it is almost entirely the municipality that controls the approval, and in some cases the initiation, of gardens. Tel Aviv-Jaffa's urban governance regarding community gardens emphasizes limited investment but one that is based only on public resources, general rejection of NGOs' intervention, and greater control of the municipality over the gardens. In addition, market rules play out in the geographical distribution of gardens; gardens' maintenance is rationally privatized to affluent residents who hold the means to invest their own resources. In this way the City is being receptive to the global idea of community gardens but at the same time contains them as well-maintained showcases; gardens for the well-off residents are less likely to become socially and politically unrestrained or radical sites for claiming the right to the city, and more likely to maintain a good physical (global) appearance of the city. Moreover, by not cooperating with various civil society organizations, which usually target the

underprivileged, the municipality preserves its sole authority over the pace and location of gardens' development. By doing so, the municipality bound community gardens to a provision of lifestyle.

These differentiated expressions of community gardens calls for a revision and an update of our understanding of community gardens. First, these gardens do not pose civic challenge to the spatial, socio-economic, or political situation in the city as do some community gardens in New York (Eizenberg 2012a, Staeheli et al. 2002) or Milwaukee (Ghose and Pettygrove 2014) for example. When asked, gardeners across the city referred to their socio-political agenda as affiliated with sustainable environment thinking and practice, not alternative or oppositional social discourse and practice. On the contrary, they consciously avoid bringing broader urban, socio-economic issues to their gardens. They also don't see their collective actions in the garden as something that unintentionally produces alternative social orientation. One exception is the gardens in the most degraded area in Southern Tel Aviv – Gera Garden – where old-time residents and young newcomers reside alongside poor work-immigrants and African refugees (the latter two populations are not invited to the garden). The young gardeners there perceive the garden as a platform for developing tolerance (mainly amongst the local Jewish population). But in the satiated neighborhoods, and in neighborhoods where inequality and injustice are highly visible, the municipality is considered an ally to collaborate with and to gain all the support that it can possibly offer. The Jerusalem gardeners are more dependent on the municipality or civic organizations that support them. But in Tel Aviv-Jaffa gardeners too are vigilant and try to stay on the good side of the municipality (see Newman (2013) discussion of vigilant citizenship in the neoliberal era).

We propose that in both Jerusalem and Tel Aviv-Jaffa, community gardens represent controlled spaces in neoliberal urban governance. Jerusalem's neoliberal character is illustrated in the heavy and significant role that international donors play in the city's development in general and community gardens in particular. In Tel Aviv-Jaffa, the neoliberal framework under which gardens or urban food production sites are provided by municipalities, private companies, or public-private partnerships either as a gentrification mechanism or as an outsourcing practice of public services (open space maintenance in this case) to volunteers force (similar to what McClintock (2013) found in Oakland, California; Rosol (2012) in Berlin; and Quastel (2009) in Vancouver, Canada).

Controlled gardens in this case are not necessarily segregated or strictly defined to be used by a specific group of users; rather they are located within neighborhoods and once initiated, the organizers have little control over the type of people who join in. Unlike Pudup's (2008) organized garden projects, in which "the community" is captive and artificial and therefore irrelevant in describing this type of gardening activity, controlled gardens have various nuances. They represent a social phenomenon in which various urban actors are assembled to produce open green space and not a grassroots action (bottom-up) as in other places. While they

still support the construction of a community and may influence the social capital and social cohesion of residents in the surrounding neighborhood. They are nevertheless the product the community collaborating through consensus and agreed-upon purpose with multiple organizations and governmental agencies.

The specific constellations of macroeconomic and political forces interacting with local forces in each city produce the gardens in different ways. Despite the openness and diversity associated with globalization, the neoliberalization of urban governance significantly narrows possibilities for greater participation in and collective authority over the urban public space. As the case of the two cities suggests, gardens eventually evolve into a more unified model; as centralized, top-down spaces, controlled gardens may be seen as a tool for the progression and implementation of neoliberal principles. They are integrated into the city in a manner that supports, first and foremost, the economic strength of space and of the city.

This understanding does not undermine the possible contributions of all types of community gardens to neighborhood beautification, to providing needed un-commodified green recreational settings, to potentially enhancing the social capital and community cohesion of urban residents, and to learning and practicing food production and environmental care/awareness. However, in controlled gardens, the grassroots, critical edge that is associated with contemporary community gardens in the literature is worn out through top-down intervention and relations of consensus and cooperation with external institutions.

The different understanding of controlled gardens suggested in this paper Implies more diverse and more subtle processes towards the enclosure of space, which was previously a site of contestation. Rather than offering alternative mechanisms for urban development based on participation and the social production of space – that is, sites for re-envisioning the commons (Eizenberg, 2012a) – community gardens are increasingly utilized as a top-down response and adjustment mechanism vis-à-vis social and environmental injustices inflicted through the progression of its neoliberalization. If before the gardens were denounced as obstacles for urban progress and development (Schmelzkopf 2002), the case here shows how they are integrated into the process of development as part of urban governance.

Finally, these findings present another perspective on the global/local nexus. In contrast to previous research, the analysis of the two cities, this paper shows that Jerusalem's urban governance have more global traits then the literature tend to consider. It relies on international funds, "outsource" social services to civil society, and function as part of multiple-actors governance. At the same time, Tel Aviv-Jaffa functions more "locally" than we would expect a global city, it maintains a very centralized and narrow governance, relies only on municipal budget (as limited as it is), and does not harness civil society or international funds.

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