Public Green Space in Paris: Sustainable Development Discourses in the Objective of Le Grand Paris

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Abstract: Sustainable Development challenges will increasingly concentrate in cities as the urbanization in Europe and the rest of the world continues and governments must implement policies to ensure benefits of urban growths are shared sustainably. When more people move into the cities, the intimate contact with nature is lost since nature has not always been a priority in the history of urban planning. A biophilic approach is considered in this study, where the concept of inclusion of nature is perceived essential for the human life and previous empirical evidence supports the theory of presence of nature being substantial to human wellbeing. Because of the population density, Paris is an interesting example of the development of a megacity in a post-Kyoto context. The development project for the Paris urban area, called Le Grand Paris, intends to develop Paris on several levels. The aim with this study is to examine driving forces for nature as a part of an urban setting that can contribute to the development of intelligent sustainable urban planning for the future. Using qualitative methods to gather empirical data and a discourse analytical framework, this study intends to increase the understanding of perspectives, incentives and discords in the perceptions of urban green space and Sustainable Development. The problem statement is: How is urban green space carried out in the perspectives of cultural, economical and ecological values of citizens and planning documents in the context of Le Grand Paris project? The results establish that that need of increasing vegetation in the city of Paris is pressing in order to enhance quality of life and increase effects of ecological services. The continuing urbanization of Paris will intensify the need of social-ecological interactions, which require approaches through processes of democracy and participation in order to contribute to intra- and intergenerational socio-ecological justice for a sustainable Paris.

Keywords: Sustainable Development, Urban planning, Urban green space, Paris, Le Grand Paris, Biophilia.

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Summary: Sustainable Development is becoming an important concept for city planning as more people move into the cities in Europe and the rest of the world. The intimate contact with nature is lost during urbanization since nature has not always been a priority in the history of urban planning. Therefore, planning documents need to ensure the quality of the inhabitants in the city as well as tackle the problems associated with future climate change by transforming the built environment into the future resilient city. Paris is an interesting example of the development of a megacity since it is one of the most densely populated cities in the world and has few square meters of green space. The project for the Paris urban area, called Le Grand Paris, aims to develop Paris into a more sustainable city in the 21st century. In this study, a biophilic approach is considered, which recognises nature as essential part of the human life and previous research has shown that the presence of nature is important to human wellbeing. The aim with this study is through discourse analysis of the economical, social and ecological interactions in policy and planning documents, as well as from qualitative interviews, increase the understanding of perspectives, motivations and differences in the perceptions of urban green space and Sustainable Development. The results show that parks, lawns and other green spaces are places for meetings between humans living in the city but also a meeting between human and nature. Both present and future generations in Paris will benefit from more contact with nature since urban green areas are elements of an attractive urban setting and are seen as to provide aesthetic environments for recreation and leisure as well as for ecological services.

Keywords: Sustainable Development, Urban planning, Urban green space, Paris, Le Grand Paris, Biophilia.

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1. Introduction

The global population growth and urbanisation will emphasize sustainable urban infrastructures in order to not degrade local or global recourses. The global urbanization is on going and the number of megacities, i.e. cities with more than 10 million inhabitants, is increasing. When more people move into the cities, the intimate contact with nature is lost since nature has not always been a priority in the history of urban planning.

The concern for climate change has started an interest in transforming the modern built environment into resilient urban places. This calls for new approaches in strengthening the sustainability of the city socially, economically and ecologically in order to ensure safety and quality of urban life. One of the challenges of today is to ensuring contact with nature since the global population will become even more urban in the future.

Paris was during the industrialisation and post-industrialism, 1790-1970, undergoing a major urbanisation process when the population increased significantly and is today among the most densely populated cities in the world. Under Nicholas Sarkozy’s precedency in 2007 the project Le Grande Paris was launched in which one of the aims is for Paris to become a sustainable city. Paris has few square meters green area per citizen and to meet the post-Kyoto protocol commitments while improving public transport, housing and green space a transformation of the city was ought to be undertaken. In order for Paris to become more sustainable, the development of social, economical as well as ecological principals must be undertaken in the objectives of intra- and intergenerational justice through profound urban planning.

Public green areas and thoughtful landscape architecture are elements of an attractive urban setting as it is seen as providing aesthetic environments for recreation and leisure. The importance of the human contact with nature can also be more profound depending on philosophies regarding human ecology and it has been argued that interaction with nature is not optional but essential for a well functioning human life. Throughout history of Paris, green space has been represented indifferent forms, variously accessible to the public. To meet the demand of green space in the densely populated modern Paris with few square meters of urban green space is challenging yet necessary.

The effort of making cities liveable and enjoyable is a joint effort. The outcome of the Rio +20 Conference, “The Future We Want”, recognizes that cities can lead the way towards Sustainable Development in societies although a holistic approach to urban management and planning is required to improve the living standards of both urban and rural people. Paris is an interesting example of the development of a megacity in a post-Kyoto context regarding integration of natural and cultural heritage through urban planning for the future. The public green space is a place for meetings between humans living in the city but also a meeting between human and nature.

Humans now face the challenge of ensuring contact with nature as the global urbanization continues. The aim with this study is to examine driving forces for nature as a part of an urban setting that can contribute to the development of intelligent sustainable urban planning for the future. The objective of this study is to within the field of Sustainable Development examine the impacts of public green space in Paris by analysing planning documents and qualitative interviews. The problem statement is: How is urban green space carried out in the perspectives of cultural, economical and ecological values of citizens and planning documents in the context of Le Grand Paris project?
The research question intends to expose perspectives, incentives and discords between urban planning and citizens. Human needs in the framework of an urban context are the principles and the results are analysed through the biophilic theory and construct various discourses on presumptions and interactions between ecological, economical and social urban values.

1.1. Disposition

The study starts with a background of the globalization process, the main organisation of the governance of Paris as well as the development of the project Le Grand Paris before presenting the findings from the literature study in chapter 3. The part of previous research is essential in the literature study as it continues to investigate a particular phase of Le Grande Paris, the project described in the background. Chapter 3 will also present theoretical framework and central notions for the following parts. After the methods presented in chapter 4, in where qualitative discourse analysis for texts and qualitative interviews are explained, the subject’s results are presented. In order to demonstrate the results in an easy recognizable way, the policy and planning documents are presented first, divided into three different discourses. Secondly, the qualitative interviews, also divided into three discourses, are presented. The results are followed by analysis in chapter 6. Lastly, chapter 7, presents discussion of theory linked to the empiric findings and end with a conclusion.
2. Background

The contextual globalized urbanization process, an overview of the Paris region, the project Le Grande Paris with its political agenda and structural and ecological aims will be presented in this part.

2.1. Global urbanization

For the first time in history the urban global population exceeded the global rural population in 2007 as showed in figure 1 (Fig.1.). The urbanization process has been rapid for the past six decades and 54 per cent of the global population lived in urban areas in 2014, which can be compared to 30 per cent in 1950 (UN, 2014, p.7). The global population is expected to reach 6.3 in 2050 (UN, 2014, p.11). By the same year the rural-urban population distribution in Europe is expected to be over 80 per cent urban comparing to 73 per cent in 2014 (UN, 2014, p.7). Megacities are cities with more than 10 million inhabitants and account for 453 million or 12 per cent of the world’s urban residents (UN, 2014, p.13).

Fig. 1. Urban and rural populations of the world 1950-2050 (UN, 2014, p.7).

Policies aiming to limit rural-urban migration have historically proven to be ineffective tools at preventing city growth and have even caused environmental, economical and social harms (UN, 2014, p.17). Cities are globally associated with overall healthier lives and a densely settled populated city is typically more efficient, cheaper and less environmentally harming than similar levels of infrastructures and services provided to a primary rural household.

Sustainable Development challenges will increasingly concentrate in cities as the urbanization in Europe and the rest of the world continues according to the United Nation’s World Urbanization Prospects and states that governments must implement policies to ensure benefits of urban growths are shared sustainably (2014, p.17).
2.2. Narrative of urban organization and governance in Paris

Paris is a major economic city and has the highest GDP in Europe (Société du Grand Paris, 2015, p.2). Île-de-France, i.e. the region of Paris (see Appendix 3), alone represents almost one third of the French GDP (Gouvernment, 2014). Paris is regularly ranked among the great world cities and the history and culture make it the most visited country in the world (Beatley, 2012, p.29). With the latest statistics from Institute National de la statistique et des etudes économique in 2011, Île-de-France has a population of 11,9 million (Insee, 2014, p.1). The department of Paris (see Appendix 4) has a population of 2,2 (2013) in a land area of 105 km² (Apur, 2014, p.71).

After excluding the two major woodlands of the Paris, Bois de Boulonge and Bois de Vincennes, a city land area of 87 km² remains, making Paris one of the densest populated cities in the world with about 25,200 residents/km². Presented below (Fig.2.) is the population density from 2009 for Île-de-France and Paris. However the densest neighbourhoods in Paris are in the 11th district (11e arrondissement), shown in Appendix 5, with up to 41,700 residents/km² (Laurian, 2012, p.30).

![Fig.2. Population density in Paris (Apur, 2009 p.70).](image)
In 1778 Mozart writes “in Paris, it is too far or too dirty wherever you are, because in Paris the mud defies description”. (Barles, 2007, p.1758) The industrialized era 1790-1970 includes both the first and second phase Industrial Revolution and is characterized by having strong population growth and urbanization in Paris, see figure (Fig.3.) below. This period is also marked by the absence of focus on environmental issues (Barles, 2007, p.1759). The Industrial Revolution resulted in a flow of rural immigrants in search for jobs in the manufacturing industry (Laurian, 2012, p.32). Due to the intensification of the anthropogenic pressure during this time, Paris became unclean and disordered (Bales, 2007, p.1758).

The Parisian architectural identity nowadays recognized is in many ways the work of Baron Haussmann who was appointed prefect of the Seine Department by Napoleon III in 1853 (Laurian, 2012, p.32). Haussmann transformed the narrow medieval streets to wide boulevards, including the about 25 wide, tree-lined boulevards with avenues, often by demolishing entire residential blocks. Haussmann’s architectural program with homogenous neoclassical facades sought not only to enhance the architectural beauty and improve sanitation but also to facilitate police operations during social uprisings (Laurian, 2012, p.32).

After the French Revolution, the Paris political independence was, unlike the rest of the municipalities’ in France, seen as a national threat. Therefore, accept for a few years, between 1871 and 1977 Paris did not have an independent government or a mayor but remained under the control of prefects of police and prefects of the Seine Department appointed by the state, e.g. Haussmann (Laurian, 2012, p.32). In 1982 the 26 regions of France were created to decentralize decision-making and important responsibilities was passed down to municipalities, departments and regions, although the central government still remains strong in France (Laurian, 2012, p.31).

A paradigm shift in the environmental priorities within the city administration has led to stronger commitment towards sustainability (Beatley, 2012, p.29). In 2005 France adopted Charter for the Environment, which is on par with the human rights of 1789 and the welfare rights of 1946. The Constitution places Sustainable Development at the core of all French laws and established peoples’ right to live in a balanced environment with due respect for health (Laurian, 2012, p.34).
An effort to modernize the environmental law and policies, called “Le Granelle de l’Environnement”, was carried out by adopting “Grenelle 1” in 2008 and “Grenelle 2” in 2010 (Laurian, 2012, p.35). Although with implementation gaps due to political and economical crises in 2008-2009, Grenelle has had impact on the work towards Sustainable Development in Paris with e.g. The Sustainable Cities Plan (Plan Ville Durable), which supports green urban development projects like Eco Guartiers and Eco Cités (Laurian, 2012, p.36).

2.3. Le Grand Paris

During the circumstances of the inauguration of the Cité de l’Architecture et du Patrimoinear the Palais de Chaillot on the 17th of September 2007, the French president Nicholas Sarkozy announced in his speech that his ambition was to reinvent Greater Paris for the future and work towards a new global program for Paris (Direction de l’Information Légale et Administrative, 2015). In the speech, Sarkozy refers to previous urban planners and saying “they were not afraid to confront the future” and expresses the need to transform the Paris into a 21 century city, competing among other international megacities as well as building a sustainable city: “we must repair the errors of the past – because there have been errors – and seek to create real towns in our suburbs, with public spaces, services, and simply places for sociability.” (Direction de l’Information Légale et Administrative, 2015) Sarkozy mentions the importance of investment opportunities for many sectors in the future of Paris, one of them being Sustainable Development (Direction de l’Information Légale et Administrative, 2015).

The development project for the Paris urban area, called Le Grand Paris, aims to develop Paris on several levels while still meeting commitments in the post-Kyoto context. At a local level it seeks to improve the quality of life for the residents, address regional inequalities by erasing the distinction between Paris and its suburbs and preserve green belts. At a national level, the aim is to strengthen the Paris Region’s role in French economical growth and at the international level is to establish Paris as a megacity in the 21st century and enabling the city to maintain its economical ranking in the world (Gouvernement, 2014). Le Grand Paris should according to the Government of France “provides a splendid opportunity to involve all city stakeholders including developers, transport operators, public and private investors, construction companies, architects, urban planners and all Greater Paris residents.” (Gouvernement, 2015)

On March 2008 Sarkozy created a new ministerial-level position specifically for Le Grand Paris occupied by Christian Blanc in addition to the Regional Prefects, similar positions to what Haussmann was and responsible for the national government’s interests at regional level. This led to suspicion at some extent about the national government centralizing power by taking back some of the control of the Île-de-France region (Kirkland, 2011a). In June 2008, a selection of 10 interdisciplinary teams for the Concours Internationale du Grand Paris (The International Competition for Le Grande Paris) was made with the intention of sustainable planning for Le Grand Paris for a post-Kyoto metropolis and on March 13th 2009 the 10 teams presented their work in a public exposition (Gey, 2014, p.589).

Before the presentation of the teams’ contributions in the Concours Internationale du Grand Paris Blanc, the minister of Le Grand Paris, presented a separate transportation project in addition to a law which would permit it a national priority project (Kirkland, 2011b). The Société du Grand Paris, created by Blanc, lead Le Grand Paris and included Blanc’s presented transportation project while leaving out the rest of the contributions presented at the public exposition. Jean Nouvel, an architect involved in one of the competing teams responds to Blanc’s presented transport project by writing an opinion piece in French newsletter Le
Monde. Nouvel expresses his disappointed in Blanc’s way of operating self interests and ignoring the other contestants’ contributions to Le Grand Paris by relating to a quote by Blanc regarding the project:

“You do not publish two hundred fifty pages of technocratic thinking and believe that no one will respond to it! [...] “The workshop International du Grand Paris ... will integrate urban architects of the consultation of Le Grand Paris ... They will work in duration to the future strategies for the city.” But ultimately Monsieur Blanc, you have refused to work with [the urban architects]”. (Nouvel in Le Monde, 2010, my translation)

Shortly after the parliament adopt the law relating to Le Grand Paris in 2010, Blanc was forced to resign from his post of minister of Le Grand Paris after it was alleged that he had spent federal money on personal expenses (Kirkland, 2011b). In 2013 François Hollande confirmed that Le Grand Paris would continue and today along with transport, housing and economic development, the issue of governance is one of the four major priorities established in order to prevent complexity and rivalry between multiple layers of institutions of the project (Gouvernement, 2014).
3. Literature study

The following section starts previous studies, mainly regarding a profound presentation of a paper on the subject of public green space and the project Le Grande Paris, followed by theory and central notions of this study. The existing theory presented below purpose to connect objectives, concept and conclusions as the perspective of the hypothesis of biophilia will subsequently be elaborated to urban gardening and sustainable development.

3.1. Previous research

Similar studies in the subject of public spaces and Sustainable Development have been made. Examples are e.g. the master thesis *Investigating the Small Public Urban Open Spaces at High-density Cities: A Case Study of Hong Kong* by Lau Hiu Ming (2014) and the bachelor thesis *Den urbana lustgården: En explorative studie om stadsdolandets bakomliggande drivkrafter* (*The Urban Garden of Eden*) by Moa Lipschütz (2010).

In the paper *Urban–Nature Relationships in Urban Planning Foresight in Europe: Contributions from the Concours Internationale du Grand Paris* Adrien Gey describes the development of sustainable urban planning in Europe through a study of the Concours Internationale du Grand Paris (2014). The 10 multidisciplinary teams consisted of a large representative panel of universities, experts, urban planners, architects as well as social and natural science research centres with the objective to propose a comprehensive architectural, ecological and political urban context for the future of Paris and options for a post-Kyoto metropolis (Gey, 2014, p.489f).

Because of the competition brought together some of the most influential experts and architects in the field of urban planning, the outcome, which consists of more than 600 pages of documents from each team, represent the current paradigms in the field (Gey, 2014, p.591). Gey examines the new relationship between nature and urban area presented in the documents and describes the poetic, therapeutic and structuring uses of natural elements submitted by the teams involved (2014, p.490).

The incorporation of a more open approach with green systems and more well-established public spaces is prevailing among the teams, opposite to the dogmatic approach for urban planning that has been dominating France during the past 50 years been (Gey, 2014, p.595). Gey explains the new paradigm in the open approaches related to the poetic views and sensitiveness:

> “Sensitivity is [...] assimilated into openness, unpredictability and a slightly off-the-wall slant, whatever the definition expected from such a concept. This means that urban planners have to create spaces that can evolve over time according to the changing elements of the surrounding systems or climate conditions.” (2014, p.595)

All of the teams expressed the care for the natural landscape and poetic dimension as important (Gey, 2014, p.594). One of the teams, led by Roland Castro, expresses the poetic construction of the project a vital component since the resident in an urban space is regarded as a sensitive artistic being in the interpretation of the surrounding world. The urban experience of the being is of importance; hence the approach derives from phenomenology. The Castro team’s project is based on the urban resident needs to walk around or *flâner* and...
admires the natural landscapes in an urban setting. This biophilic (for biophilia theory see chapter 3.2.), or poetic interpretation as Gey refers to it, requires urban planners to embrace a poetic side in order to create from the perspective of the flâneurs (2014, p.593). The appreciation of the natural landscape also translates to the Castro team’s vision of transport as the main focus is not a journey as quick as possible but a journey without time constrains where the traveller will have a pleasurable experience regarding the natural landscape passing by (Gey, 2014, p.594).

Gey further argues that if the utopia for the future metropolitan is rooted in the idea of more incorporated nature into architecture in a modern interpretation, the adaptation to an urban green space utopia also incorporates safety besides the poetic sense of the surrounding beauty of nature (2014, p.596). Ulrich Beck defines utopian momentum in a post-industrial society in *World Risk Society* where the images of future risks can be perceived as lost security and images of risks representative of lost utopia, an utopia which ‘what is human’ is perceived and restored through the process of modernization (Beck, 1998, p.41).

In the emerging risks of the post-industrial metropolis urban planners are reversing Beck’s momentum by modernizing the utopia and planning for a sustainable city (Gey, 2014, p.596). In a constant changing world the feeling of security is brought to humans by the inclusion of nature as green space. Nature has also come to regard the aspect of security in where urban resilience and ecological services e.g. mitigating heat island effects are brought into consideration alongside with recreational values (Gey, 2014, p.598ff).

In the modern civilisation, loss and destruction of the natural environment is an expanding threat (Beck, 1998, p.71). The neighbouring community that emerged through interaction and creation of shared memories has disappeared due to mobility and constant change (Beck, 1998, p.189). Le Grand Paris projects present nature in relationship to the community with the intention to build ground to solidarity (Gey, 204, p.600). The team lead by Jean Nouvel argues that gardens compensates for the inconvenience of living in an urban area; the garden recovers an identity that ‘has been buried under the city’. The activity of urban gardening lay a foundation for social links when introducing public or private green space will promote social interactions (Gey, 2014, p.601).

### 3.2. Theoretical framework

The number of people in the world living in cities has passed the number of people living in rural areas and therefore most people nowadays do not produce their own food as the city provide other opportunities of occupation (Beatley, 2011, p.4). When moving into cities people lose the intimate contact with nature since nature has not been a priority in urban planning. The theory of biophilia is that nature is not optimal but essential for the human life. Increasingly numbers of architects and designers integrate today a biophilic approach whiles urban policymakers and planners have lagged behind. Therefore, humans now face the challenge of ensuring contact with nature due to the global population will become even more urban in the future (Beatley, 2011, p.3).

In *Biophilic cities: Integrating nature into urban design and planning* Thimoty Beatley stresses the need to understand the possibilities for cities to become biophilic as such is considered to holds numerous features valued as sustainable to urban areas:
“[a] biophilic city is a city abundant with nature, a city that looks for opportunities to repair and restore and creatively insert nature wherever it can. [...] In biophilic cities, residents care about nature and work on its behalf locally and globally.” (2011, p.3)

Planning for a biophilic city will consider economic and environmental properties since several biophilic urban elements can provide ecosystem services (Beatley, 2011, p.8). There is also empirical evidence that support the theory of presence of nature being substantial to human wellbeing (Beatley, 2011, p.6). An acknowledged study made by Roger S. Ulrich in which gall bladder postoperative recovery was observed showed that patients in hospital rooms with views of trees and nature recovered more quickly compared to patients with view of walls (1984, p.420). The quicker recovery involved fewer moderate and strong analgesic doses; fewer negative appraised comments from nurses; shorter stays at the hospital; and slightly less minor postsurgical complications (Ulrich, 1984, p.421). The results from the study were incorporated into the design of medical facilities to include e.g. green features and healing gardens. Other studies have shown the capacity of nature to reduce stress, improve cognitive skills and performance as well as enhance positive attitude (Beatley, 2011, p.4).

The term biophilia was introduced as hypothesis by the Harvard myrmecologist and conservationist Edward O. Wilson in Biophilia where he declares “I have suggested that the urge to affiliate with other forms of life is to some degree innate, hence deserves to be called biophilia.” (1984, p.85) Wilson argues that the human mind during the evolution has been evolved in a biocentric world and that the ethical pillars of society therefore make most people support the preservation of organic diversity (1984, p.138). Biophilia implies that compassion and caring stems from humans’ evolutionary and biological history in nature and hence humans construct a conservation ethic that ought to cherish and protect every species (Wilson, 1984, p.139).

Another view upon human relationship with nature is deep ecology developed by Arne Naess who stresses that contrary to the anthropocentric attitude; the human is deeply connected to nature as a part of “ecological holism” (Madsen, 2008, p.559f). In the philosophy of deep ecology environmental ethics will be recognized when the deep connection to nature, or “ecological self”, is realized which would then put an end to the anthropocentric dominance and abuse of nature (Madsen, 2008, p.560). Two central principles are self-realization and biocentric equality (Dryzek, 2005, p.183f).

Cities is for the major part of the human population the dominant habitation form and the incorporation of a biophilic perspective is needed since nature has been excluded or given lower priority in cities, which subsequently have had negative impact on human wellbeing (Beatley, 2011, p.152). The incorporation of nature in urban areas, as suggested in the biophilic theory, is hence in relation to human welfare and does not have an intrinsic nature value comparable to the biocentric equality advocated deep ecology in which all species, including the human species, are equal (Dryzek, 2005, p.184). However, the ecological value is ought to increase along with economic and social values in a biophilic approach (Beatley, 2011, p.8).
3.3. Notions

Sustainable Development and urban green space are the most central notions in this thesis. Thus the background and viewpoint of the notions are outlined in order to provide a more profound comprehension in regards of the other parts of the study.

3.3.1. Sustainable Development

In this thesis, the definition of Sustainable Development is the interaction between the pillars of social, economical and ecological development as the predicaments of the future from The Club of Rome, and the three pillars’ context in the ability to meet the needs of present and future generations as outlined in Our Common Future. Both definitions are presented below.

Exhaustion of resources and the degradation through pollution combined with the exponential growth in economy and global human population raised the concern about the potential limits to Earth’s capacity to support life, primarily the capability to support human life (Dryzek, 2005, p.25). Out of a meeting between economists, humanists, scientists and industrialists in Rome 1968, an informal organisation was formed, The Club of Rome, which 1972 published the book The Limits to Growth: A Report for the Club of Rome’s Project on the Predicament of Mankind whose purpose was to:

“foster understanding of the varied but independent components – economic, political, natural and social – that make up the global system in which we all live; to bring that new understanding to the attention of policy-makers and the public worldwide; and in its this way to promote new policy and initiatives and action.” (Meadows & Club of Rome, 1972, p.9)

The Limits to Growths presents computer models projecting interrelationships and implications of five major trends of global concern namely rapid population growth, acceleration industrialization, malnutrition, exhaustion of non-renewable resources and degraded environment (Meadows & Club of Rome, 1972, p.21). The space-time graphs presented in The Limits to Growths attempt to anticipate major trends as much as one hundred year in the future in order to stretch the understanding of the decisions that will affect economic, social and physical conditions of the world for decades to come (Meadows & Club of Rome, 1972, p.22).

Sustainable Development is an ambitious concept since it refers to human systems in combination to intelligent resource operation within natural carrying capacity (Dryzek, 2005, p.146). In 1987 the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) published the report Our Common Future, also known as The Brundtland report after the former Norwegian prime minister Gro Harlem Brundtland’s chair of WCED. Our Common Future popularized the term Sustainable Development and the definition in the report is the most widely quoted:

“Humanity has the ability to make development sustainable to ensure that it meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.” (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987, p.8)
Our Common Future accomplished to integrate development, population, social justice and environmental issues, both within and across generations (Dryzek, 2005, p.148). In 1992 during the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 171 national government delegations approved Sustainable Development the approval and endorsed Agenda 21 as a global partnership on the acceptance of and the need to take a united approach to environment and development issues (UNCED, 1992, §1.2.).

In the relatively short time frame since Sustainable Development was presented, the convergence between the three pillars of economic, environmental and social development have had an impact in decision making for governments, businesses as well as civic society globally, which inevitable has led to different stakeholders have tried to stake claim of the notion in favour to their own interests. The criticism towards the definition of Sustainable Development presented by WCSD includes the different opinions on what is to be sustained, for whom and what a human need is (Dryzek, 2005, p.146).

Arguably, the many meanings and definitions of the term Sustainable Development, alike the term democracy, could be addressed as a discourse rather than a concept which de facto makes the term largely about social learning. Hence, the politically powerful term Sustainable Development has established and are carried out in variable approaches depending on assumptions about ecological, economical and social pillars interact (Dryzek, 2005, p.158). Our Common Future describes Sustainable Development as:

“not a fixed state of harmony, but rather a process of change in which the exploitation of resources, the direction of investments, the orientation of technological development, and institutional change are made consistent with future as well as present needs. We do not pretend that the process is easy or straightforward. [...] Thus, in the final analysis, sustainable development must rest on political will.” (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987, p.9)

Sustainable Development will thus vary depending on cultural and political climate.

3.3.2. Urban green space

Urban green space is in this thesis defined in the widest sense and includes parks, planted trees, lawns including green sport fields, urban gardens opened to the public, green roofs and walls as well as private gardens that have been made available to the public. A brief presentation of the incorporation of different kinds of green space into the urban context is presented below.

Green areas and thoughtful landscape architecture are elements of an attractive urban setting. Welfare as well as tourism are the main driving forces for landscape management in cities of developed parts of the world as green urban spaces are seen as to provide aesthetic environments for recreation and leisure. Urban green space has had different purposes throughout history. Several early historical sources describe the Hanging Gardens of Babylon build by Nebuchadnezzar II around 600 BC, an urban green space today primary thought of a marking of social status (van Leeuwen et al, 2010, p.20).

Agricultural resource utilization has been of interest in the medieval 1300 but also later on during food crises in the 1900 when urban vegetable gardens became popular and provided fresh food for the citizens in Europe (van Leeuwen et al, 2010, p.21). During both world wars as well as during the Depression community gardens in New York provided increased food
supplies for the citizens (van Leeuwen et al, 2010, p.22). From the early 20th century the term urban is defined as non-agricultural in documents making food production mainly a rural subject (Granvik, 2012, p.113).

In the Age of Enlightenment around 1700 collective gardens were rather seen as for educational purposes than for agricultural purposes (van Leeuwen et al, 2010, p.21). Since the beginning of 1700 the urban architecture has emphasised gardens as ornamentation and today perhaps the most prevailing and powerful symbol of modern urban green planning is the lawn, currently making up a commercial multibillion industry including irrigation systems, fertilizers, pesticides, lawnmowers and seeds. The origin of the lawn is probably secondary meadows after clearing and grazing as well as the European floodplain meadow vegetation. Lawn as a feature of decorative element was used for the first time in medieval time and has been an essential element of landscape parks, becoming a symbol of social status of many time periods since (Ignatieva & Ahrné, 2013, p.2).

After World War II the development of urban biodiversity research started in Europe. The integration of landscape ecology principles and urban planning has resulted in the large plan scales development of green corridors or green infrastructure (GI), initially to promote urban biodiversity. The modern GI includes lawns, green roofs and walls (Ignatieva & Ahrné, 2013, p.5). Today urban green space is becoming to include environmental, educational and agricultural purposes in addition to leisure and recreation and the importance of urban green space has today become closely related to urban agriculture and urban gardening as the social, economical and ecological strategies are interacting (van Leeuwen et al, 2010, p.21).

A form of urban green space is urban gardening, which includes many forms e.g. family gardens, community gardens and allotment gardens. Through the Agenda 21, an important implementation of Sustainable Development is to support mechanisms for local initiatives and urban local food production could enhance local economy and support culture and identity (Granvik, 2012, p.114). The significance urban green space includes aesthetic, spiritual, historical, scientific or social value for past, present and future generations where the place itself carries different values for different individuals or groups (UNESCO, 2012). The various objectives of cultural, economical and ecological values demonstrate the complexity and multidimensional structure of green space as an overall contribution to quality of urban life (van Leeuwen et al, 2010, p.23).

Cities are standing against developing pressure and challenges through global market liberalization, decentralization and climate change (UNESCO, 2012, p.51). Our Common Future describes the environment not as a sphere separate from human actions and hence not shall be treated in isolation (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987). The concern for the environment calls for new approaches for urban living based on the strengthening of sustainability and the quality of urban life (UNESCO, 2012, p.52). The integration of natural and cultural heritage through urban planning strategies into local development processes of i.e. urban green space is a resource for Sustainable Development (UNESCO, 2012, p.50).
4. Method

This part presents methods for the results of the literature study and the qualitative interviews including selection, data preparation, research ethics as well as reliability and validity. Certain areas of weaknesses are also elaborated on.

4.1. Critical discourse analysis

A discourse is a shared way of understanding the apprehending world and is embedded in the language. Discourses construct the relationships and meanings, define the knowledge about a subject and can provide a base for analysis (Dryzek, 2005, p.9). Phenomenology is the philosophical perspective in where phenomenon is reached through analysis of the described experience and consciousness of the surrounding world. (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p.68).

A critical discourse analysis (CDA) is based on social constructionism and phenomenology (Börjesson & Palmblad, 2007, p.9). Social constructionism assumes that humans cannot fully understand the meaning of a phenomenon in its true essence. Rather, the meaning is comprehended through socialization, which is influenced by the individual’s personal understanding and description of the reality. A discourse is a way of understanding and speaking of the surrounding world (Winter Jørgensen & Phillips, 2000, p.7).

The result of this study is based on the collected material from planning and policy documents as well as from qualitative studies. The number of descriptions limits the discourse analysis, which consequently cannot reveal the true essence of the reality but reveals reflections about how the surrounding world is perceived (Börjesson & Palmblad, 2007, p.9). The language as constructing and forming the perceived subjective reality is what is central for CDA. The relation between perceptions, language and reality is dialectic; the language forms the social reality and the social reality affects the perceptions and ways of speaking about a phenomena:

“‘Discourse’ is basically social use of language, language in social contexts, although those who use the term tend to be committed to certain more specific claims about the social use of language, e.g. the claim that discourse contribute to the ‘construction’ of social reality.” (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2013, p.78)

Fairclough and Fairclough argue that discourses are used in certain ways in all consumption and production of text and language (2013, p.82). The order of discourse is the dimension of the language associated with a specific social situation (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2013, p.83). The language shapes the perceived reality instead of reproducing it directly. The critical discourse analysis is in this study the method to approach how notions are formed in social context as well as how the social context forms the notions and reality (Bergström & Borèus, 2005, p.305).

The research question is answered by increasing the understanding of how perspectives of Sustainable Development are carried out in language and texts. The reason of a CDA to approach the collected material is because of the strengths the discourse analysis has regarding the interviewees personal definition of Sustainable Development in an every day life. A CDA can besides of the personal perceptions reveal power relations and social structures, which makes a CDA superior a discourse analysis (DA) considering analysis of injustice. Both intergenerational and intragenerational injustice is of interest to analyse in this study (Fairclough, 2013, p.230).
The revelations of e.g. social inequalities from a CDA contribute to a wide understanding of a phenomenon, which is desirable for Sustainable Development as it is a broad notion (Bergström & Boréus, 2005, p.305). The width of a CDA as an analysis tool is also its limitation. The understanding of the interviewee’s surrounding world expressed through language can be interpreted on a too superficial level and fail to go into depth. Since this study question seek to juxtaposing citizens’ and planners’ perspectives to reveal discourses, a CDA is considered to be a better analysis tool than a DA.

CDA differ from a DA in the way that CDA looks at discourses from a political level as well (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2013). In this study the political agenda is Le Grand Paris project in the objective of Sustainable Development, which cover the social, ecological and economical pillars. The width of the notion Sustainable Development motivates the selection of a CDA since it is a wide analysis method.

4.2. CDA for texts

The documents in this study were mainly found through search engines on web pages of government, public sector or companies in close cooperation with the government. Some documents were found through larger search engines like Google. Since the project Le Grande Paris was launched in 2007, the documents analysed in this thesis are from 2007 and onwards and concerns urban planning, green space, Sustainable Development as well as Le Grand Paris. The major part of the documents is in French and the rest is in English.

For CDA in texts, the linguistic technique is predominant and the focus can be to either find the shared or contradicted opinions in various texts (Bergström & Boréus, 2005, p.357f). The discourse components are characterized both a discursive and a non-discursive nature and can be of significance in intertextuality; how texts relate to each other (Bergström & Boréus, 2005, p.322ff). It is of importance to emphasise the width of a CDA as it is an open method. A CDA can implement different techniques in the same study; a detailed text analysis can be combined with macro analytical elements. Like the CDA for the qualitative material, the CDA for texts in this study focuses on how discourses are reproduced, and what ideologies they might carry (Bergström & Boréus, 2005, p.341).

This study focuses on Le Grand Paris project as the political agenda in the objective of Sustainable Development. The macro analytical elements of CDA can address social injustice and power relations; this is what makes the critical discourse analysis critical (Fairclough, 2013, p.231). The detailed text analysis is also important to reveal if and how words in texts are reproduced. The occurrence of words does not necessary expose the substance of a text, instead the words occurrence in relation to each other is of interest (Bergström & Boréus, 2005, p.341). The word ‘durable’ (sustainable) is in this study mostly of significance in relation to e.g. ‘urbain’ (urban) or ‘développement’ (development).

4.3. Qualitative interviews

With the background of the research question and in the results of the CDA of the planning and policy documents, the decision of method for the interviews was qualitative as the qualitative interview seeks to capture a nuanced view of the interviewees’ perception of reality, in this case urban planning and green space (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p.17). Phenomenology in qualitative interviews is displayed when perceptions of a person’s daily life based on personal perspectives and expressions are desirable. The assumption is that the
world as perceived and described by the individual is the relevant matter. The objective is an expression of trustworthiness towards the phenomena being studied in phenomenological philosophy (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p.42).

A semi-structured interview tries to understand themes in the reality from the interviewee’s perspective. The interview is open in the sense that it aims to mimic a normal conversation but still is carried out through an interview guide. The interview guide focuses on themes with suggested questions (see Appendix 1.) that allow supplementary questions in order to be open for unexpected changes in the subjects (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p.43). In relevance to the research question and the aim of the study, the interview guide was divided into four main themes; Cultural and economical aspects, Environmental presumptions, Le Grande Paris, and Urban green management and planning. The goal was to construct a coherent understandable reasoning in regards to the specific purpose of the research question. A too structured interview would likely not have encouraged the interviewee’s free reasoning about the subjects.

The first two themes, Cultural and economical aspects and Environmental presumptions, intended to obtain understanding about discourses regarding the social, economical and ecological pillars of Sustainable Development. In the end of the interview, opportunity was given the interviewees to clarify their believes about Sustainable Development as a specific question about the notion was specified. The theme Le Grande Paris, and Urban green management and planning intended to reveal any discord between the discourses of the planning and policy documents and the discourses of the interviewees.

4.3.1. Selection

For the semi-structured qualitative interviews there were 5 interviewees in total. The selection of the interviewee for the first interview was not randomized but contacted based on the availability of a person interested in a form of urban green space, namely urban gardening. The following selection was through a ‘snow ball selection’ in where contact is taken with people connected to the first interviewee. This technique reduces representativeness but is an easy method for researchers to approach possible interviewees. The result of the interviews can therefore only be generalized to the population of the interviewees and cannot be said to be large enough to represent a fully varied population.

However, the aim with the interviews was not to reflect a population with various age, ethnicity, gender, etc. as these qualitative interviews reflect subjective observations of the surrounding world and therefore the results will be associated with a certain time and place. Rather, the aim with the interviews was to via personal experiences of respondents living in Paris, increase the understanding of perspectives regarding public green space. The context was therefore of more significance than the ability to generalize the results in a greater sense. Although, the subject of the research cannot be said to be of sensitive character, the interviewees’ names are figurative (see Appendix 2.). Time and place as well as if the interview has been recorded or not are listed in Appendix 2.

4.3.2. Data preparation

Those interviews that were recorded were partly transcripted. Because of the time consuming work with transcribing a full interview, only the most central parts has been transmitted into text. The transcripted material was then thematised in order to easier analyse and answer the
objectives of the study. There are no general techniques to transcribe interviews but the aim was to have a descriptive, readable story (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p.197).

As the interview material is the base of a discourse analysis, all the expressions such as pauses, emphasises on words, mumbling, excessive slang or jargon has been excluded for the analysis to concern the content of the answer and not a deeper language analysis. In a completely literal transcription, an interviewee can also appear to be incoherent and less linguistically gifted (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p.204). Therefore, some sentences in the published version of the analysed material that occur below have been rewritten or translated as shown in the example below:

The sentence in original:

Claudette: *Baah, chai pas... Mais you can see, see all of it... Tuvois? The flowers, les arbres. Donc, the green, the green affect the neighbourhood. Voila.*

The sentence above can in the final version be written:

Claudette: *You can see all the flowers and the trees [from there] and therefore the green spaces affect the neighbourhood.*

4.3.3. Research ethical considerations

In order to protect the individual, four general main requirements are laid out in research concerning interviews: requirement of consent, information, confidentiality and utilization. Firstly the interviewee shall be informed about the study purpose, methods, requirement of consent and what the study might contribute to as well if the result of the research will be of any personal interest for the interviewee or not. In research involving humans the interviewee must be informed about the consent requirement since the interview is optional. This also gives the interviewee the knowledge about their right to stop the interview without further explanation (SFS 2003:460).

The confidentiality requirement means that there should be no details that could reveal the interviewee’s identity or be damaging to their reputation the in the published version. The confidentiality requirement also includes that personal records is not exposed in such way that unauthorized persons can access it. The utilization requirement is to protect the individual person but also to enable the researcher to be able to use the collected material. The interviewee shall be informed that the material collected from the interview can only be used for research purposes (SFS 2003:460).

All the interviewees were informed about requirement of consent, information, confidentiality and utilization in agreement with research ethical considerations. The interviewees were provided with a short presentation of the study and the information that the study would likely not be of any personal interest for the interviewee. Information about the purpose was also described: to increase the understanding between green urban space and Sustainable Development through qualitative interviews. Information about anonymity, the interview being optionally recorded and that the ability to stop the interview without further explanation was also given. The interviewees was also informed that the author holds the right to publish the whole or parts of the interview material and that the published material will be publically available.
As it was optional, two of the interviewees did not give the permission for their interview to be recorded. The other interviewees that agreed upon the interview being recorded were informed that the material would only be available for the author, the supervisor and the evaluator.

4.4. Reliability and validity

Reliability is the consistency of the research in regards to whether the result can be reproduced in other times by other researchers. Intrasubjectivity concerns the researcher’s interpretation of the result and intersubjectivity the comprehensibility of a concept between humans. Reliability of the interviewees’ alteration as well as the researchers interpretation of the answer might differ under other circumstances (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p.360).

Likewise, every reader will approach a text with preconceptions and interpretation of a text is impossible without a certain pre-understanding. The understanding of a text is affected by individual experiences, perceptions of the surrounding world, social context, education, language etc. The process of interpretation of a text is in relation to the social self is inevitable. Discourse analysis of a text is an interpretation rather than discover the trough of a text. A CDA as a type of discourse analysis can therefore not be said to have high reliability (Bergström & Borèus, 2005, p.25ff).

If the result of the interviews and the literature study can be reproduced, the reliability is considered high (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p.361). Concerns regarding qualitative interviews are e.g. the amount of information about the study the interviewees will have on beforehand. The interviewees was given information about the study as a certain involvement in the subject was assumed to be of significance in order to obtain more refined results. However, the reliability is thereby affected as the researcher inevitable request less spontaneous answers due to prior detailed information about study (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, s.87). Reliability is also deliberated regarding transcription and categorization of the recorded result as the interpretation can vary between researchers and time (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p.201). To avoid misquoting from the interviews not recorded, notes were written down during a pause in the interview alternatively directly after it in order textualize phrases as literal as possible. Yet too much emphasis on reliability during the research process can have negative impact on originality and variety (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p.263).

Validity is whether the research is investigating what is proclaimed and how well it corresponds to reality. (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p.361). Validity is depending upon logical assumptions of how adequate theory and methods are in relation to content and objectives of the research (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p.267). A problem concerning validity for CDA of texts is the lack of guidance rules in the procedure. Van Dijk describes the theoretical and methodological problem with CDA as the lack of theory about the principles of the critical discourse analysis’ own critical activity (2008, p.823). As every reader approaches a text with preconceptions and interpretation, personal interpretations is unavoidable for a CDA, which weakens the validity (Bergström & Borèus, 2005, p.25ff).

Because of the researcher’s theoretical framework, analytical interpretations of interviews can result in interpretations of the answers moving beyond the interviewee’s self-understanding (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p.274). Transcripted interviews are more difficult to validate since transcription in certain aspects concerns ethics. The aim for research can arguably be said to aim to contribute to something good. Thus, from an ethical perspective it is desirable to represent the interviewee in a fair way. An interviewee’s answer can appear to be incoherent or confusing when written in text and therefore it might be considered unethical to
publish unjustified quotes in regards of making the interviewee appear less knowing (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p.203f).

Stigmatization and unrecognizability of the transcripted material can be minimized if the interviewees are given the opportunity to read and adjust their transcripted material (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p.204). This way the study can be internally validated. Because of time constrains the interviewees in this study was not given this opportunity. Instead, the quotations in the presentation of the results are made as in the example above (see chapter 5.3.2.).

External validity e.g. ‘thick descriptions’ of the method provides other researchers the ability to evaluate whether the results can be reproduced under similar circumstances (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p.360). Since the qualitative interviews do not represent a population in this study, it cannot be sad to be generalizable. Nor can the CDA of the planning and policy documents be generalized, as the sample of the literature study is inadequate.
5. Results

This chapter presents the results of the literature study of planning and policy documents followed by the results of the qualitative interviews. With the objective of the research question, method and theory, the results consist of the most predominant discourses discovered. Since Sustainable Development is close interactions between the economical, ecological and social pillars there is no exact diversion between the pillars presented below.

5.1. Planning and policy documents

All policy and panning documents analysed in this study is presented below (Table 1). The Paris Climate Protection Plan: Plan to combat Global Warming published 2007 outlines the target goals for reductions of green house gas (GHG) emissions and energy goals. The targets set are ambiguous in the sense that the EU member states has signed targets of 20 per cent less GHG emissions, 20 per cent less energy consumption and 20 per cent of energy consumption to come from renewable energy sources while the targets set by Paris is 25 per cent respectively (Mairie de Paris, 2007).

An annual activity plan report called Bleu Climate outlines the actions undertaken in the framework of The Paris Climate Protection Plan. The activity report is part of Paris’ performance approach and serves as an important information and evaluation document in how the Paris municipality monitors the commitments of the work towards Sustainable Development. It presents updates of the budget execution and progress in projects that will be undertaken in the following years (Mairie de Paris, 2015).

Other policy and planning documents analysed are mainly from Atelier parisien d'urbanisme (Apur), the Paris Urban Planning Agency, the French government as well as from France Stratégie. Besides of the projects or studies required by the government, the activities to be undertaken by Apur are decided by its Board of Directors each year (Apur, 2015a). Since 2008, six major themes of the Apur activities were predetermined for the years to come; The Paris Climate Protection Plan; housing; transport; evolution of urban landscape; the role of Paris as a metropolis; and nature in the urban and public places (Apur, 2015a). The themes above can be said to reflect the influence of Le Grand Paris project launched in 2007.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Year</th>
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<tr>
<td>Programme partenarial APUR 2015/2016</td>
<td>Apur</td>
<td>2015</td>
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<tr>
<td>France Ten Years From Now: Priorities for the Coming Decade</td>
<td>France Stratégie</td>
<td>2014</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bleu Climate: Annexé au BP 2015</td>
<td>Mairie de Paris</td>
<td>2015</td>
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<td>Le Plan Climate de Paris</td>
<td>Mairie de Paris</td>
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<td>The Paris Climate Protection Plan: Plan to combat Global Warming</td>
<td>Mairie de Paris</td>
<td>2007</td>
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Table 1. List of documents analysed showing the title of planning and policy documents, author and publication year.
5.1.1. Green as public space

Throughout time, the pressure on land use in the Parisian area has increased and the importance of nature became secondary during the urbanisation. In the current urban context, nature needs to be understood beyond the image of a gap between buildings for it to become a space to be lived in, shared and appreciated. The green space needs to be recognized as a service for the dense city Paris has become (Apur, 2013). The natural spaces, i.e. vast forests, parks and fields, cover 80 per cent of the region Île-de-France (Société du Grand Paris, 2015, p.3). The city of Paris has 478 public green spaces: 16 large parks, 14 cemeteries and hundreds of neighbourhood parks and gardens (Laurian, 2012, p.50). Paris has 9.4 per cent m² public green space by proportion of surface area which can be compared to London’s 38.4 per cent or Stockholm’s 40 per cent (World Cities Culture Forum, 2015).

However, in the following years of 2001 the municipality of Paris implemented ambitious Sustainable Development initiatives regarding green space as well as other components of the city (Laurian, 2012, p.37). The two large woodlands outside the Paris city boundaries are each more than twice the size of Central Park in New York with Bois de Vincennes and Bois de Boulogne of 995 respectively 846 hectares (Laurian, 2012, p.50). Nevertheless, the need of increasing vegetation in the city of Paris is pressing in order to enhance quality of life according to The Paris Climate Protection Plan (Mairie de Paris, 2007, p.62).

The Paris Climate Protection Plan is well in line with early outlines of Le Grand Paris project as it states on the subject of urban planning that “The City of Paris will apply general objectives of the Climate Protection Plan in all its operations and is already targeting carbon neutrality for its major development operations.” (Mairie de Paris, 2007, p.3) The commitments to mitigate green house gases (GHG) outlined by the Kyoto-protocol and the incorporation of green spaces in Le Grande Paris project was incorporated in policy documents and later realised into urban space (Mairie de Paris, 2007, p.3ff). Despite the city’s density the municipality added 32 hectares of green areas in Paris between the years 2001-2008, including 100 000 planted trees in the streets. In 2007 more than 30 community gardens were created, resulting in 9300 m² of added urban gardens (Mairie de Paris, 2007, p.62).

Similar to the initiative 2001-2008, an attempt to make Paris more sustainable and resilient in the future a program for adding more green space until 2020 has been introduced. One of the objectives are that everyone living in Paris will have no more than 7 minutes walking distance to a public green space or water (Mairie de Paris, 2014, p.23).

The distance to green spaces for a person living in Paris is today 10 minutes based on a distance of approximately 250 meters and a person walking slowly, e.g. with children and a pram (Apur, 2014, p.98). To achieve a walking distance of 7 minutes 30 hectares of green space will be added to the city and 20 000 trees will be planted. Additionally, the streets are planned to be fully surrounded with vegetation and 100 000 hectares of green walls and roofs will be added, which corresponds to one third of the urban agriculture alone (Mairie de Paris, 2014, p.23).

What specific impacts the reduced distance of green space will have on a person living in Paris is not discussed in the planning documents. It appears as if means of improving closeness to nature for the population is self-evident comparable to “green is good”.

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5.1.2. Green as biological services

The critical perspective of the city as sustainable is elaborated in The Paris Climate Protection Plan:

“Paris generates large flows of energy, water and also consumes products that produces green house gases throughout their lifestyle. Therefore, the city [of Paris] mobilizes services, providers, partners and users on the following areas: reduction and recycling of waste, sustainable water management and development of sustainable food.” (Mairie de Paris, 2014, p.20, my translation).

This recognises the urban metabolism as a parasite ecosystem and evokes the question if cities can be sustainable as they exist at the expense of other system and hence inherit are not developed to sustain an environmental urban life (Barles, 2007, p.1757).

The green spaces in Paris are mostly referred to in regards of the aspects of future urban security in where urban resilience and ecological services e.g. mitigating the effects of urban heat island (UHI) (Gey, 2014, p.598). Green spaces are recognized as invaluable ecological services in almost every planning documents in this study as they promote evaporation, provide cooling effects, reducing particular matter and capture sound. The most emphasis of ecological services is on the mitigation of UHI. In the activity report for 2015-2016, Apur states that they will extend their work on UHI, the integration of green space and the adaptation of climate change in relevance to the densely populated city Paris is (2015b, p.3).

One of the teams from the Concours Internationale du Grand Paris presented an analysis of the effect of vegetation on UHI with a comparison of 2003 and 2030, see Figure (Fig. 4.) below (Gey, 2014, p.598). The analysis presented is still used in many of the documents produced by Apur.

![Fig. 4. Comparison temperature for urban heat islands (UHI) in Paris, cross-section South West-North East, for 2003 (top) and 2030 (bottom) from Group Descartes contribution in Concours Internationale du Grand Paris (Gey, 2014, p.598).](image-url)
In relation to the program to add more green space until 2020 another example how the presence of the multidisciplinary teams of the Concours Internationale du Grand Paris is noticeable. The imagery of how the incorporation of added green space in the streets is planned is from the team ‘AJN’ (see Fig. 5.) (Apur, 2014, p.129).

Even if the means in the Apur’s planning document of added green space in the streets can bee seen as primary for ecological services, the outcome of the multidisciplinary approaches can be said to still effect the Paris urban planning today; despite the fact that Le Grand Paris, or rather precisely the Concours Internationale du Grand Paris, did not produced an outcome of a winner to represent the future of the project, the expertise of the contestants is used in planning documents of e.g. Apur, and thus have an important input in the urban planning of the Paris region.

Besides of the initiatives od added green space until 2020, the emphasis on green space seems to have fallen out of the political agenda over the years since the launch of Le Grand Paris in 2007. Sustainable Development is primary in relation to housing, transportation and economic development. Unlike the climate plan from 2007, the Bleu Climate published in 2014 has a strong focus on transportation and the document mentions sustainable urban area (urbaine durable) only in reference to transportation (Mairie de Paris, 2014, p.23). The lack of political interest is also notable when it comes to the public display of the contributions for Le Grand Paris; the website of the contestants was closed down in 2014. The contributions to the competition was expected to be displayed for the public and could still be considered a public interest as the expertise in still used in the development of the Le Grand Paris for the Paris Urban Planning Agency (Apur).
5.1.3. Socio-economical sustainability approaches

Sustainable Development is widely accepted as an important conceptual framework in urban policy and development (Dempsey et al., 2011, p.289). The common European approach to sustainable communities includes the Agenda 21 initiatives and in the ‘Bristol Accord’, signed by the EU member states, sustainable communities are defined as:

“places where people want to live and work, now and in the future. They meet the diverse needs of existing and future residents, are sensitive to their environment, and contribute to a high quality of life. They are safe and inclusive, well planned, built and run, and offer equality of opportunity and good services for all.” (ODPM, 2005, p.6)

France Ten Years From Now: Priorities for the Coming Decade France Stratégie conducted a report based on the expertise from economists, businessmen, politicians and the civic society on the subjects of the country’s future. The report analyses the current situation and sets out strategic priorities for the next decade (Gouvernement, 2015). In the context of centralized national powers in France and tensions between the capital and the government, environmental policies are strongly stated but weakly implemented on a national scale (France Stratégie, 2014, p.3).

In the report France Ten Years From Now from 2014 the government recognizes some of the key dilemmas of the future of France being the uncertainty regarding the countries collective choices: “Is the French model sustainable? Is economic growth possible and desirable?” (France Stratégie, 2014, p.3) The report further states that the French people no longer know what unites them, a fragmentation less likely to motivate mutual solidarity (France Stratégie, 2014, p.3). The solution proposed is for instance participatory democracy that should be promoted through citizen involvement (France Stratégie, 2014, p.5).

Although Sustainable Development is elaborated on, what impacts green space has on social and economical sustainability is not often communicated in the planning documents. Apur’s mission is to study and analyse social evolution in the urban context mainly through demographic, economic, social and property data in order to lie out planning documents to contribute to the development of the city (Apur, 2015a). One of the objectives of Le Grand Paris besides of transportation is affordable housing (Gouvernement, 2014). For identifying the features making up the shared landscape and the quality of the neighbourhoods for the existing and future landscape, the government of France defines political priorities to support regional Sustainable Development. Promoting functional and social diversity and promoting housing construction while limiting consumption of space are two of these political priorities taking into consideration. The government expresses the need to make citied denser by reducing the total consumption of space by urbanisation (Gouvernement, 2014, p.2).

The political aim of promoting territorial and social equity to improve social cohesion and motivate solidarity is contradicting to the aim of adding green public spaces since market prices goes up when urban space in a densely populated city is removed. Homes with a view of trees sell at higher costs compare to homes without tree view (Beatley, 2011, p.7). There has been an urge to increase the green space, especially in socially deprived areas, but there is also a pressing need of affordable housing for underprivileged households. Hence, of a class societal aspect, this contradiction is of socio-economical frictions as the least economically and socially privileged group in society is affected however the strategies are carried out (Amati, 2008, p.237).
If there are no non-commercial spaces in a city, some parts of the population will be excluded and segregation will increase. The government acknowledges that in order to ensure urban sustainability, planning documents should regulate the future of public facilities within a neighbourhood and require a certain proportion of subsidized rental housing units (Gouvernment, 2014, p.2). This approach support social sustainability in Paris as these regulations can decrease segregation while still providing spaces for well being by adding green space.

5.2. Qualitative interviews

The respondents in this study were living in Paris by the time being interviewed. The first interviewee is Claudette, a student brought up in Paris interesting in urban gardening and living across from the Coulée verte, a park on top of an old railway infrastructure. The other interviewee brought up in the city is Albert, working in a real estate agency. Mathieu was the one interviewee having moved to Paris from another part on France and was working with public relations in the fine dining and event industry. Two of the interviewees were not originally from France, Peter from Austin, Texas and Stephanie from Bangladesh, although both had been living in Paris for several years. The interviewees are presented below in Table 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Claudette</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albert</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Real estate agent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathieu</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Public relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter</td>
<td>United states of America</td>
<td>Art director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stephanie</td>
<td>Bangladesh</td>
<td>Programmer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 2. Name, Nationality and occupation of the interviewees.*

5.2.1. Economy

In the objective of Sustainable Development the dimension of economy in a densely populated urban setting is fundamental as it sustain circulation of goods and services. Since the social, ecological and economical dimensions interrelate in the notion of Sustainable Development, economy is also related to politics within and without boundaries of societal values or ethics, e.g. justice, safety and struggle against poverty, but it is also connected to nature (Sirelli, 2013, p.2). The shared opinion among the interviewees in the correlation between economy and ecology is the effect that nature has on the value of a house. Albert is in the real estate business and describes one of the most expansive apartments sold by his company; a big penthouse with a view of one of the centrally located parks in Paris:

Albert: *Because of the view of [Jardin du] Luxembourg it was fantastic! Four meters high glass windows facing the park. [...] It was one of the most expansive places. We used to bring some clients up there just to show off haha!*
The economy in the example above closely connected to nature when the experience of the natural beauty from one’s home becomes central for the estimation of the apartment. The setting of the green space becomes an element of luxury and showcase of wealth. Homes with a view of trees are often proven to sell at higher costs compare to homes without tree view (Beatley, 2011, p.7). Claudette also indicates the understanding of economy and ecology clearly regarding another park in Paris when saying: “It is really how to make leisure a business I guess…”

Every interviewee but one mentioned the positive associations with public green space in relation to personal health. The connection between cost benefits and improved health is therefore not to be neglected. A factor for economical analysis in the objective of green space in Paris is the rhythm of everyday life (Sirelli, 2013, p.292). Stephanie expresses the frustration in the restricted working hours, as she cannot enter the park closest to her work:

Stephanie: The problem is that they close the park at 6.30 and if I work, since I am a professional, I end at 6 or 6.30. So we need some parks, which will be open like maybe from 6 to 10. Otherwise it is hard to experience it.

There is a demand from the interviewees of non-commercial public spaces in the city. Urban planning is often about building places for social life of work or consumption; offices, shops, restaurants, cinemas etc. Hence, few places remain for other types of social meetings. The parks in central Paris are fenced and closed for the public during the night. This is primary seen as positive among the interviewees but still evokes the question about the populations pre-determined free time if spaces after working hours is devoted to promote consumerism, not seldom of an unsustainable kind.

Another part of economy is the concern about the future energy consumption. Consumption of energy is inescapable and the price of energy should therefore sought to be as small as possible. Haussmann’s architecture is appreciated aesthetically but has become energy old-fashioned and expansive.

Mathieu: We are not in the luminary epoch of the city anymore when we were thinking about philosophy and so. Back then you could draw whatever you wanted or plan or build whatever you wanted. All these beautiful buildings. We need more ecological buildings. When Haussmann was making the city he didn’t know how to make it ecological –things that we know now. When you study the diagnostics of the energy of the building, it is very bad.

It is pointed out by Mathieu that todays measure regarding energy efficiency that was essential in the earlier times has affected present generations.

5.2.2. Garden for relaxation

Urban green space has had different purposes throughout history (van Leeuwen et al, 2010, p.20). The term garden or urban garden below is used in the widest sense including everything from private gardens to public parks. The reason for this is the choice of the word garden by the interviewees themselves and therefore the decision to use the term garden instead of parks was made. This could relate back to the information about many public parks like Jardin du Luxembourg was a private garden until it opened up to the public according to one of the interviewees. Also the fact that jardin translates to garden and is used in that sense.
The historical, social and linguistic impact on the discourse about relaxation in the garden is interpreted as “a public green space as created by humans”.

The nature shaped by humans is often characterized by the pleasure of experiencing a slower, more quite life compared to many other spaces in the city (Sirelli, 2013, p.293). One of the interviewee played baseball growing up and explains an intimate moment on the lawn of the baseball field:

Peter: The thing that was my escape, I grew up on a baseball field you can say. An open green space. And my most peaceful memories are being out on the baseball field, all by myself, like working out and laying on the grass stretching. If I ever was stressed out this was the one thing I could think about. And if someone drove by they would say: “oh, yeah, we saw you and you looked so, like, incredibly peaceful, happy!” And I remembered the exact same moment they drove by. And I remember it to this day.

The gardens are seen as a good way to escape. The escape is from stress associated with living in a big city and sometimes it is just to get away from the concrete. The concrete is understood as the less vivid material making up the city. The garden is therefore fulfilling the need of the closer experience of nature that the interviewees desire (Zhou & Rana, 2012, p.175).

Albert: It also good with a little piece of nature here and there. Gardens areas are relaxing areas, you know!

Peter: There are more parks here. I think it is amazing. They’re really cool. Escape from all the concrete, haha. I know people take trips to the countryside but the gardens are a pretty good escape.

For many Parisians the escape to the garden is not enough for uplifting them in their daily life. The ones brought up in the city often escape to the countryside during the “invasion of the tourist in the summer” as Mathieu puts it. The interviewees also value gardens in Paris based on whether they are touristic or not. During the interviews many gardens are mentions and almost always if they are worth a visit or not. Claudette exemplifies this clearly during the interview:

Claudette: “Oh, but don’t go there –it’s too touristic.” And “…its not filled with tourists […] you have to see it, you’ll love it!” As well as “And it’s not touristic at all!”

Paris is it the most visited country in the world (Beatley, 2012, p.29). Tourism as a driving force for green urban planning is not perceived as desirable by the interviewees as the gardens are primary seen for the population of the city rather than for tourists.

5.2.3. Green justice

In an urban context, social justice is the practice of no exclusion of individuals participating economically and politically (Dempsey et al., 2011, p.292). For Sustainable Development, defined by WCED in 1987, justice is both intra- and intergenerational and therefore social equity and sustainability can be related to the built environment. Social justice can be seen as
a collective ‘sustainability of community’ where the build environment impact present and future generations (Dempsey et al., 2011, p.293). The city as a collective structure needs to ensure a certain quality of life for the people living there.

Albert: *Haussmann was told to create trees in the avenues to make people happy. He understood that human is a kind of nature too and to make them two in relation. I like to see trees in the street instead of the street.*

The urban planning of past generations affects the everyday life of the interviewees. Moreover, justice is today extending to include an environmental dimension in the local context of the built environment (Milbourne, 2010, p.943). The relationship between place, justice and environment is interesting in relation to provision of green space. Claudette describes the positive impacts of the public green space in her neighbourhood:

Claudette: *You can see all the flowers and the trees [from there] and therefore the green spaces affect the neighbourhood.*

On the contrary, during one of the interview the lack of green space is expressed. Peter talks about how he misses running in the park:

Peter: *I miss trail running. I used to trail run. I don’t run here because I don’t like to run on concrete. [...] But I do miss it a lot. But it’s inconvenient to travel to go running. I guess you could always run back home but, haha, that’s a long way! But I’ve seen the huge green rectangles on the map... oh well, on the map it is green. That’s the big park for running and stuff, right?*

The examples from Claudette and Peter above demonstrate the difference in accessibility of green space for two people living in the same city. A limited provision of a green space can reduce life quality and can even make the people of a neighbourhood feel disempowered (Milbourne, 2010, p.943).

Although, there are few people that would argue for an unequal neighbourhood without safe green public space, the ability to influence the decision-making for increasing green space in one’s neighbourhood is seen as difficult by the interviewees. The other interviewees share the opinion that as individuals in a neighbourhood they cannot influence urban planners. Mathieu describes the hierarchy in decision-making and emphasizes the need of a University degree e.g. from the University École Polytechnique:

Mathieu: *No, not today. Of course not. I am not that educated. It is a hierarchy to make everything, people, in peace. I would have to study at Polytechnique! [...] I am not the best person to ask really... but maybe it is like the butterfly effect. Everything will lead to a lot of, a lot of, a lot of other things. Maybe step by step I can do something.*

Urban planning often emphasizes the concept of public participation (Serreli, 2013, p.263). However, in regards of the interviews, participation from the people in a neighbourhood is not performed in reality. The issue of public involvement is perhaps because of the difficulties to access information. Two of the interviewees had not heard of Le Grand Paris and for the others the project was thought of simply in relation to transport and/or housing.
Access to public urban green space in a neighbourhood might enhance quality of life for the residents. Therefore, to promote socio-ecological justice, the people living in a neighbourhood should be given the opportunity to effect the near urban environment furthermore the life quality of present and future generations equivalent to the way Haussmann intended to effect theirs by adding threes in the streets (Faehnle, Bäcklund & Tyrväinen, 2011, s.52).
6. Analysis

Presented below is the analysis of the findings of my results. The discourse analyses are divided into economical, social and ecological parts in order to present perspectives, incentives and discords between urban planning and citizens.

6.1. Economic discourses

Both the interviewees and the planning documents underline the attraction of a house with a view of nature (Government, 2014). More green space in Paris would increase prices on housing as market prices go up when urban space is removed. According to the biophilia theory, nature is vital for human wellbeing (Beatley, 2011). The view of natural beauty from one’s home becomes central for the estimation of the apartment, which therefore implies that there is an incentive for a more biophilic city. Planning for a biophilic city will consider economic and environmental properties since several biophilic urban elements can provide ecosystem services (Beatley, 2011, p.8).

A major economical service is the health related benefits. The emphasis on public green space being vital for personal health among the interviewees further demonstrates the human need of nature. Previous research by Roger S. Ulrich in which recovery from gall bladder operations was observed showed that patients with a view of nature recovered more quickly compared to patients without (1984, p.420). The relationship between cost benefits and added green space in Paris is not mentioned in planning documents. The incentive to shorten the distance to green space for the residents appears to be self-evident (Mairie de Paris, 2014, Apur, 2014). However, in order to enhance Sustainable Development, arguments for cost benefits due to added green space could have been pronounced in a clearer way in the planning documents to ensure the positive effects of nature on residents’ state of heath in the future (Ulrich, 1984, Beatley, 2011).

The interviewees doubt that they have an impact on city panning but criticize the modern lifestyle associated with living in a city. The interviewees assume that inventions for a more sustainable future city are to be developed through business as usual. The economic structure is therefore not questioned per se, even if the unsustainable consumption patterns are. On the contrary, France Ten Years From Now (2104) recognizes sustainability issues related to an exponential economic growth and questions if economic growth is possible and desirable for the future (Government, 2014).

An objective for Le Grand Paris project is that Paris will maintain its place in economic world ranking. Mitigating effects of climate changes through global market liberalization is recognized as challenging by the French government (Government, 2014). The main focus on transportation as a way to enhance the economy in the Paris’ region is overall stronger than the development of the tourist sector in Le Grand Paris project (Apur, 2015). Previous research on the planning of Le Grand Paris shows that appreciation of nature can be incorporated into infrastructure and transportation (Gey, 2014, p.594). Paris, being the most visited country in the world (Beatley, 2012, p.29), has potential regarding attracting more tourists by adding green space (van Leeuwen et al, 2010, p.20). Added green space has many positive ecological services. Yet, the policy planners involved in Le Grand Paris does not recognize tourism as main driving force for landscape management (van Leeuwen et al, 2010, p.20), although it could have potential in developing the French economy in more respect of environmental boundaries.
6.2. Social discourses

The report *France Ten Years From Now* states that the French people no longer know what unites them and that the solution to this problem might be social involvement (France Stratégie, 2014, p.3ff). By problematizing how French people should be united, the government makes a difference between *French* and *not French* and constructs a society that can be perceived as excluding (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2013, p.78). To address unsustainable social issues, a united approach globally and locally, sometimes referred to as “glocal”, is often stressed in Sustainable Development (UNCED, 1992). Sustainable Development can be implemented by supporting local initiatives, which can be of cultural values (Granvik, 2012, p.114). The discourse of a unified state in the meaning of being *French* or *not French* could be used to justify any structural social inequalities both nationally and locally.

Political actions need to ensure social transformations are sustainable. CDA can contribute in how social and ecological injustice can be tackled by recognizing what is underdeveloped (Fairclough, 2013, p.21). Discourses on social development are communicated by both planning documents and the interviewees of this study. Life quality is believed to increase when there are more opportunities of visiting parks or other green spaces in the city. One example of this is the objective that everyone living in Paris will have a shorter walking distance to a public green space (Mairie de Paris, 2014, p.23).

According to the biophilic theory, being surrounded by nature will contribute to residents caring more about nature and other people as the public green space is a place for meetings between humans as well as between human and nature (Beatley, 2011, p.3). Like Dryzak (2005) emphasizes, there are different opinions on what a human need is and what needs to be sustained but the political aim of Le Grand Paris, to promote social equity by increasing public green space, especially in socially deprived areas, would likely develop social justice for present and future generations. The biophilic conception of a human wellbeing explains why public green space should be added in urban space. If biophilic cities make residents social and environmental more responsible, Le Grand Paris project is intending to ensure nature being accessible to the public in order to develop socio-ecological intra and intergenerational justice (Faehnle, Bäcklund & Tyrväinen, 2011, s.52). However, the political weight on the objective of a more environmentally friendly future Paris was reduced when Christian Blanc adopted his self proposed transportation project over of the teams’ contributions in the Concours Internationale du Grand Paris (Le Monde, 2010).

6.3. Ecological discourses

*Our Common Future* describes the environment not as inseparable from human actions and hence not shall be treated in isolation (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987). The interviewees’ enthusiasm for nature in the sense of ecological services is more subtle compare to what is stated in the planning ad policy documents, where effects of mitigating e.g. UHI are clearly identified (Apur, 2014, p.129). The ecological discourse effects how different presumptions of ecology are constructed through language will result in slightly different views on the world (Winter Jørgensen & Phillips, 2000, p.7).

The relationship between place, justice and environment is interesting in relation to how nature is perceived by the interviewees. The few meters of green space in Paris might have affected the interviewees view upon the importance of nature for ecological services, as they have been disconnected from nature (World Cities Culture Forum, 2015). This phenomenon is recognized by the biophilic theory, in where humans loose the close touch with nature when living in a non-biophilic city (Beatley, 2011, p.3).
The integration of natural and cultural heritage through urban planning strategies into public urban green space is a resource for Sustainable Development (UNESCO, 2012, p.50). There are currently increasing numbers of architects and designers integrating a biophilic approach in an urban context (Beatley, 2011, p.3). The concern for environmental issues related to climate change calls for new approaches for urban living (UNESCO, 2012, p.52). Le Grand Paris project demonstrate that urban planners and policymakers are becoming aware of how to utilize space between buildings in an intelligent way e.g. by planting trees in the streets (Apur, 2014, p.129).

The interviewees refer to public green spaces as gardens. The language exposes a long tradition of cultural and ecological heritage of nature being organized by humans. Since humans have evolved in nature according to the theoretical framework of this study, humans will try to cherish the ecological environment also in their urban setting. This is showed in the many ways the interviewees express the aesthetic values of nature. This means that compassion and caring stems from the human evolutionary background and biological history in nature. Therefore humans have the ability to construct a conservation ethic that cherish and protect nature (Wilson, 1984, p.139).

UN recognizes that densely populated cities are typically more efficient, cheaper and less environmentally harming compare to rural household (2014, p.17). With the on-going urbanization and climate change, gardens as holders of eco-cultural heritage need to be preserved and developed to future generations in similar ways that the interviewees appreciate by Haussmann the developed green grand boulevards.
7. Discussion

Climate changes and the on-going global urbanization will increase the demand of resilient and sustainable cities. According to the biophila theory, humans lose touch with nature when moving into the city since green space has not been a main priority in urban planning (Beatley, 2011). The empiric evidence from this study shows that there is a prevailing idea about the inclusion of nature as an element in the built urban environment is desirable and should be enhanced in order to promote Sustainable Development.

The definition of Sustainable Development used in this thesis describes the environment as inseparable from human actions and should therefore not be treated in isolation but with the interactions with social and economical activities as well (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987). The critical discourse analysis used on the result is an open method that allows wider interactions on a larger scale and thus, questions about social, economical and justice is taken into consideration easier. Although the intention with this study is not to have generally transferable results, the open nature of the critical discourse analysis affects the validity and reliability of the results.

The Haussmannian modernization included increasing of green space, comparable to Sarkozy’s initiative of Le Grand Paris. The methods of urban planning in a modern democracy are different from the times when Haussmann converted Paris and democratic decisions are inherent slow processes. Yet, Le Grand Paris cannot be said to be the Haussmannization of our time since many of the ideal visions have fallen short during the years: less emphasis is given to inclusion of green space in comparison to transport. What is most remarkable with the development in a modern, democratic society is the process of exclusion of experts from The International Competition for Le Grande Paris and thus the participation from the public due to the fact that the decision was taken to proceed with a personally suggested proposal.

Although, there are political initiatives to add more green space until 2020, which poses another dilemma arises: for a densely populated city like Paris, more green space mean less space is given to housing which may lead to segregation and socio-economical inequity when market prices increase. On the positive side, the incitements from ecological services, e.g. mitigating UHI, are distinctive and will ultimately lead to increased wellbeing for the citizens. The aim that every resident should not have more than 7 minutes walking distance to the nearest public green space also demonstrates the belief in the access and presence of nature has valuable effects on humans (Mairie de Paris, 2014). Therefore, urban green space becomes a type of natural social capital connected to public health which can be regarded as social sustainability closely related to economical and ecological dimensions.

The enthusiasm for public green space for the citizens in this study is mainly for aesthetic and recreational values. The problem with the biophilic theory as the objective of lost natural elements due to human activities is whether added urban green space becomes an issue about green washing or not. The positive effects from access to public green space is many times believed to increase the appreciation for nature while ecological foot prints are reduced.

The value of accessibility to nature are especially clear when working hours and opening times for parks do not correlate. The alternative way of expressing this is that time spent on earning money and leisure time in a non-commercial activity is conflicting as public spaces for social interaction in the urban setting after working hours is focused on spaces consuming goods and services. However, a strong focus on consumption in a large city will lead to economic growth, which is one of the goals for Le Grand Paris.
In the current urban context, urban planners need to recognize nature beyond the image of a gap between buildings for public green space to become a space to be lived in. Due to the conflicting initiatives of affordable housing and added green space, the desire of more public green spaces for social interaction cannot fully be met since the added green space partly will consist of trees in the boulevards and streets. This type of green space will mitigate UHI and provide visual contact with nature, which has proven to have positive health benefits, but will not contribute to spaces where people can meet.
8. Conclusion

The aims for Le Grand Paris have mainly become to focus about affordable housing and to transport to increase the city’s competitiveness in a globalized world. Meanwhile, as the citizens escape to the public green spaces, the continuing urbanization of Paris will increase the need to get away from the city stress and connect with nature. The access to public urban green spaces is to be increased in the coming years. Nevertheless, the perceived opportunities of public involvement in urban planning need to be improved. A major constraint for urban planners is to understand the motivations of the local society in order to create the city that in turn will improve the life quality of its inhabitants. Therefore, approaches through processes of democracy and participation could contribute to intra- and intergenerational socio-ecological justice for the sustainable Paris.
9. Acknowledgements

Foremost, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor Madeleine Granvik for the support, knowledge and provision of research material. Besides by supervisor, I would like to thank my opponent Paula Lenninger for insightful comments and suggestions of changes. My sincere thanks also go to the interviewees; every single one was a delight to interview. Last but not least I would like to thank my family and friends for supporting me and believing in me in moments of doubt.
10. References


11. Appendix 1

Interview guide
How old are you?
Where are you from?
What do you work with?

Cultural and economical aspects
Are there any positive aspects of living in a city? Are there any negative aspects of living in a city? If so why?
Are there any positive aspects with urban green space? Are there any negative aspects with urban green space? If so why?
Why is it important to grow things in the city?
Do you think urban green space can contribute in a neighbourhood? If so how?
Does urban green space have any educational value in a city? Any other value?
Do you think there is any difference in the value of housing in neighbourhoods with green space?
How do you see the development of urban green space in Paris in the future? In other parts of the world?

Environmental presumptions
Do you think about the environment in your every day life? In which situations?
Do you think other people think about the environment in their every day life?
Is the environment important when it comes to urban green space? In what way?
How do you feel about environmental problems in Paris? Can you give some examples?
How do you feel about climate change? Is climate change a threat? Do you worry about climate change?
Is it important to protect endangered species?
Is biological diversity important?

Le Grande Paris
Have you heard about Le Grande Paris project? What do you think about the project?
Are you happy with the contact to nature you get from living in the city?
How do you think Le Grande Paris will affect you?
How would you like to see Paris as a city in the future?
Urban green management and planning
Does consumers have responsibility when buying food products?
Do you consider local food being important? If yes, in what ways? Are locally produced foods important?
Do you think self-sufficient is desirable when it comes to food production? Do you produce food?
Do you sell or buy any locally produced food in Paris? If so how is the sales system organised?
Do you experience that you have the possibility to influence the public planning concerning gardening in Paris?
Whose job is it to create a sustainable city? Who is responsible for urban green space?
How would you describe the contact with local communities and urban planners?
Is it important with local engagement?
Are there any changes that are necessary for the future regarding urban green management?

Final questions and thoughts
What is Sustainable Development (Développement Durable) for you?
Is there anything you want to add?

Lastly, I am doing a ”snowball” selection for my interviews. Is there anyone you think I should talk to or that you think would like to talk tom me?

Thank you for taking the time to do this interview with me!
If you have any questions do not hesitate to contact me.
12. Appendix 2

List of interviews

1. Interview with Claudette. Paris, France. 2015-03-02.
13. Appendix 3
Map of Île-de-France

Region Île-de-France (Préfet de la Région d'Île-de-France Préfet de Paris, 2015).
14. Appendix 4

Map of Paris département

Map of Paris department (the department of Paris) (Apur, 2015c).
15. Appendix 5
Map of Paris’ arrondissements

a) Paris’ 20 arrondissements (districts) (Apur, 2015c).

b) Paris 11th arrondissement (11th district) (Apur, 2015c).