This paper asks to what extent urban agriculture projects based on principles of Solidarity Economics are in a position to develop new economic forms based on solidarity—rather than competition—thereby posing an alternative model to neo-liberal capitalism. It seeks to understand how solidarity economies function concretely, what motivations, interests and goals move people to establish and participate in such initiatives, and what utopias they associate with such projects. It focuses on the Swiss gardening cooperative ortoloco, which can be defined as a peri-urban organic farm organised on principles that go beyond the supply of food to embrace explicit political aims and to realise an alternative economic model. For two years of existence, ortoloco has successfully applied these principles on its economic practice, but also constantly questioned them and developed them further. Extending the diversity of products and activities, and intensifying practical and theoretical cooperation with similar projects, the activists hope to apply the tested models on an ever-broader range of economic activities and spheres of living together in general. Whilst neo-liberal policies are presented almost worldwide as natural and without alternative, these projects are living proof that other ways of thinking and acting are possible.

Key words: community gardening, cooperatives, solidarity economy, urban agriculture, Zurich

Introduction

In the vicinity of Zurich, Switzerland’s metropolis, the ortoloco cooperative (‘Genossenschaft’) has been developing a community garden since 2010. Around 170 members of the cooperative, together with a professional gardener, are working an area of land rented from an organic farmer. In this way, they provide themselves with fresh organic seasonal vegetables. Besides the supply of food, a further explicitly political motive plays a central role for the commitment of the members of the cooperative: the specific goal of the cooperative is the realisation of an alternative means of economic organisation ‘based on productive cooperation instead of counterproductive competition’ (ortoloco, 2010, p. 1). The ortoloco community garden is thus oriented to the principles of the ‘Solidarity Economy’.

Projects based on the principles of the Solidarity Economy are to be found worldwide and in the most varied situations. Often these arise out of desperation and assist the activists at least in part to relieve their financial burden through self-provisioning. Associated with this economic dimension, there is usually a further dimension: the
projects organise themselves on principles that strive to distinguish themselves, or explicitly distance themselves, from the capitalistic way of organising the economy. The activities of these projects can thus be understood as critique, resistance and the search for alternatives. In times where everywhere increasingly assertive searches for alternatives are being mounted, it is useful to take a closer look at such initiatives.

This text should thus be understood as a contribution to the overarching question as to the extent to which projects in Solidarity Economics, and specifically urban agriculture projects, are in a position to develop new economic forms based on solidarity—rather than competition—thereby posing an alternative model to neo-liberal capitalism. We focus here on the gardening cooperative ortoloco in order to understand how solidarity economies function concretely, what motivations, interests and goals move people to establish and participate in such initiatives and what utopias they associate with such projects. ortoloco is suited to this inquiry because the explicit aim of the initiative is to attempt to realise an alternative economic model. This was precisely the point of departure of the initiative, founded as a reaction to the financial crisis of 2008. ortoloco is the result of discussions at the time, seeking alternative forms of economic organisation. The idea of a community garden arose eventually as an appropriate initiative. In realising their aims, ortoloco follows in no way a pre-ordained rigid model but attempts, rather, to develop the principles as it advances—theory and praxis fertilise one another as they progress. ortoloco, as an example, is intended to indicate how the implementation of such a solidarity economic garden project might look like, what potentials it unfolds, what edge conditions it comes up against, and what problems and contradictions can arise.

We first introduce very briefly the literature of the solidarity economy and urban community gardens before focusing on the modus operandi, goals and principles, and present more specifically the future plans and initiatives of the project. We end by placing the initiative in the general debate about urban community gardens and give some conclusions that again summarise their potential and limits.

Solidarity economies and urban community gardens—a brief introduction

Solidarity economies in neo-liberal times

In the wake of neo-liberal globalisation and the related global, national and local policies, social disparities have grown in recent years both inside particular societies as well as transnationally and internationally (Altvater and Mahnkopf, 2007, pp. 221–230, 523; OECD, 2008; ILO, 2008). In the Global South, under the pressure of national debts, most radical policies implemented in the framework of structural adjustment programmes have often resulted in widespread poverty and social polarisation. Also in the North, the consequences of privatisation, deregulation and the dismantling of state welfare programmes are also increasingly noticeable (see, e.g. Brenner and Theodore, 2002, 2005; Harvey, 2005). Especially since the onset of the world economic crisis of 2008, neo-liberal policies have been increasingly challenged, resulting in a debate on a crisis of neo-liberalism and on post-neoliberalism (Altvater, 2009; Brenner et al., 2010; Craig and Cotterell, 2007; Keil, 2009; Larner and Craig, 2005; Peck et al., 2010).

Whilst it is difficult to set down precise criteria to define the concept of Solidarity Economics, there are nevertheless certain characteristics that are often referred to by actors as those which define it:

- it is a form of organisation that is fundamentally democratic in that it invites participation on the basis of free and equal cooperation;
- it entails the organisation of activities to satisfy human needs in the framework of
environmentally sustainable use of resources (see, e.g. Bernardi, 2009; Müller-Plantenberg, 2007; orangotango, 2010 as well as diverse websites).

These characteristics stand in clear and conscious contradiction to the central principles of the dominant capitalistic world economic system—such as profit maximisation, exploitation, hierarchy and competition. It contradicts the well-known neo-liberal tenets like the assumption that the distribution of resources is most efficient when effectuated through the price-determined rational calculus of market-actors as well as free competition as the best of all solutions. Neo-liberal globalisation should not, however, be conceived of as a purely economic project. It is, more importantly, a social process concerned with developing new social power relations. In practice, we are therefore not dealing with pure theory but rather with the neo-liberal programme that aims to reconstitute the social process.

As these principles are no longer to be found in the economic system only but, in the meantime, have become hegemonic also in the social system (see the discussion on the ‘economisation of the social’ by inter alia Bröckling et al., 2000), the expressed critique is levelled not only at the economic system in the narrow sense but also at the social system that has been built up around these principles. Roger Keil suggests that neo-liberalism be investigated as a social formation in that, in contrast to earlier phases in the application of neo-liberal policies, today we can speak of ‘... the predominance of neo-liberal ideology in all areas of social life’ (2009, p. 232). Neo-liberal policies are no longer implemented by individual ‘external’ actors, are not only relevant to particular themes and are no more limited to the previous dominant social formation of Keynesian Fordism. Most problematic is that political and economic actors in the context of neo-liberal governance have internalised it as the basis of their transactions, as being without an alternative. In the self-realisation of the socialised neo-liberal subject, the principle of competition takes on a hegemonic role that is hardly ever questioned (Keil, 2009). This rather daunting picture of the present makes the existence of projects like ortoloco even more important in our view.

**Competition and solidarity**

Richter writes of ‘homo concurrens’ as today’s ruling human self-image that is not a description, but rather ‘as determinant of actions which truly influences the decisions of people and hence becomes their reality’ (2010, p. 17). At the end of the 19th century, the Russian geographer and anarchist Pjotr Kropotkin criticised the assumption that was increasingly spreading throughout the sciences and society, of the notion that the struggle for survival and competition between species is a Law of Nature and an essential prerequisite for progress and development (Kropotkin and Landauer, 1904, p. O). In contrast to this, in his book *Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution*, he posed the principle of solidarity that he held to be a central foundation for the development of human and animal life. If we follow Kropotkin’s suggestion to confront the ‘Natural Law’ of competition with the principle of solidarity, one arrives at social utopias in which competition as the dominant medium of organisation is dissolved through solidarity (Elsen, 1998, p. 85). Thus, solidarity could become the ‘basis of new, righteous solutions and new institutions’ (p. 98) and usher in a new form of social organisation.

In so far as they attempt to live this social utopia in a particular framework today, projects of solidarity economy are testing new principles in practice, developing these further and are living proof that human cooperation, integration and production on the basis of other principles than those propagated by neo-liberal ideology are possible. Projects of Solidarity Economics exist throughout the world in different forms. Most of these have specialised in particular
economic niches and operate locally. In this paper, we are concerned in some detail with the subject of ‘solidarity urban agriculture’. As the supply of food is one of the most important areas of human existence and production (see, e.g. Heynen, 2008), it seems to us that the application of solidarity economic principles is particularly relevant here.

Urban agriculture and urban community gardens

City and countryside are often understood as contradictory, mutually exclusive spheres. In practice, urban agriculture is a ‘global, epoch-spanning phenomenon’ (Halder, 2009, p. 58). Whether in the floating gardens of the Aztec capital of Tenochtitlan (today Mexico City), the hanging gardens of Babylon or the allotments of modern European cities, agriculture has always been a part of the urban, even where the division of labour, industrialisation, surface sealing, densification and rising land prices have in most cities led to the forcing out of agricultural uses from urban areas (pp. 59–60). Particularly for the provisioning for the urban poor, this, however, remains in many places an important contribution.

In recent discourse around urban agriculture, there is a growing focus on its importance in terms of political action as ‘guerrilla-gardening’ (Müller, 2009a; Reynolds, 2008), the squatting of public spaces (see, e.g. Rosol, 2010a, 2010b), as an example of the public/private divide in land-use conflicts and on relations with the local state (Knigge, 2009; Rosol, 2012; Smith and DeFilippis, 1999; Smith and Kurtz, 2003; Staeheli et al., 2002), and on intercultural gardens (Müller, 2002, 2009b). Both in southern as well as northern countries, initiatives in urban agriculture are no longer simply understood as producers of cheap, organic food but also as political projects and experimental fields for forms of economic organisation that are alternatives, founded on values fundamentally at odds with capitalistic, neo-liberal principles. This also characterises ortoloco as described below.

ortoloco—the regional garden cooperative

Since the onset of the financial crisis, the capitalist mode of economic organisation and the neo-liberal policies which were responsible for this are being increasingly criticised by a wider public. This discussion finds expression, for instance, in protest camps, occupations of city squares and demonstrations worldwide. Next to loud protests and silent refusals, in addition many attempts are being made to develop practical alternatives. The garden project ortoloco is also to be understood as such an attempt. According to their own statement of purpose, ortoloco is established against ‘requirements of the market that are distant from reality’, ‘profit-motivated and growth oriented’, ‘anonymous competition’, loss of connection between consumers and the production process, unfair requirements in agriculture and an ‘agricultural production scarcely corresponding to the actual needs of many consumers’ that ‘exploits people and resources’ (ortoloco.ch, ‘das ist ortoloco’). But how does ortoloco actually function?

Modus operandi of ortoloco

ortoloco is a solidarity economic contract agricultural project cultivating a garden in Dietikon near Zurich. The administration is in the Albulastrasse in Zurich. ortoloco is registered as a cooperative. Cooperatives of mutualism (German: ‘Genossenschaft’) that were in the early times of industrial capitalism the answer to poverty and unemployment have been formative for our current understanding of solidarity economies. Their goal is to ‘recapture autonomous work and economy’ (Singer, 2001, cited in Müller-Plantenberg, 2007, p. 55). In addition, ortoloco harks back to the ‘old’ instrument of cooperatives. Membership is open to anyone
who feels herself or himself connected to the aims of the cooperative and signs an entry declaration and acquires at least one share certificate of 250 Swiss francs (CHF), which will be paid back when resigning from the cooperative. All the important questions are decided upon by the general assembly that is comprised of all cooperative members. The management group, which is responsible for the administration and the control group, which oversees the management group, are elected by the general assembly.

ortoloco originated out of the Montagswerkstatt Zürich, founded following the 2008 financial crisis to discuss alternative forms of economic organisation. After being at length preoccupied with the issue of food sovereignty and local self-provisioning, there arose the idea to initiate a garden project in the course of a gaming exercise (Ursina Eichenberger, founding member of ortoloco, in Dyttrich, 2011, p. 82). There exist some 25 community garden projects in Switzerland. The role model for ortoloco was primarily Cocagne, a community garden project in Geneva existing since 1978, with which experiences are exchanged. The members of ortoloco found one another in the first instance through posters and fliers and through personal contacts. Most of the members of the association live in Zurich, however, via contact with the farmer, householders from Dietikon also joined.

Since March 2010, the project has been renting 60 acres ($60 \times 100 \, \text{m}^2$) of land from Fondlihof, an organic farm in Dietikon in the valley of the Limmat river (Figure 1). The approximately 170 members (up from 66 founding members) operate this, together with a professional gardener, who looks after the garden applying her professional

![ortoloco garden, administration and vegetable depots in the Zurich area](http://maps.google.de/maps?hl=de&tab=wl (20.3.2012))

**Figure 1** ortoloco garden, administration and vegetable depots in the Zurich area
know-how. The gardener is paid out of the annual contributions of the recipients of the vegetables produced. Only organic seeds are used. About 40 indigenous plant varieties are grown that do not require energy-intensive production methods. Planting and harvesting follow the annual cycle and steps are taken to avoid over-production. The harvested vegetables are put in bags weekly—small for two persons, larger for four and five persons—and delivered to depots placed in various neighbourhoods of Zurich, so the end-users can pick them up. In winter, bags may not be full or may fail altogether, necessitating consumers to look elsewhere for their provisions. As there is a lack of storage space, potatoes, for example, are bought in from a neighbouring organic farmer.

To accomplish the necessary work in the garden, washing and packing the harvest, transporting it into the city, administrative tasks, etc., the work is distributed amongst the members of the association. In addition to the annual contribution (1100 CHF for a small vegetable subscription, 2200 CHF for a large) a minimum engagement of four half days per year is required of all members who receive produce. Further work may be contributed voluntarily. The obligatory time of members is not sufficient to accomplish all the important work. However, as many association members are willing to put their free time into ortoloco, there has so far been no problem accomplishing all the necessary work.

Nevertheless, there have been situations in which the distribution of work was not easy. Therefore, starting in 2012 association members must take responsibility for at least two areas of work, which they may choose. Of course, they may also involve themselves in other areas of work. Through this change, responsibility for particular areas is clarified and thus communication is simplified. In addition, the members are engaged in ‘action days’, festivals, work and project groups, in undertaking special tasks and new initiatives to extend the project. Thus, any member can at any time initiate new ideas and activities to help develop ortoloco. Recent extension projects include the creation of new berry stands and the culturing of mushrooms. In this way, the diversity of the weekly vegetable bags can be increased (ortoloco, 2011). The project group brotoloco that is extending the activity to the production and supply of bread has, since 2012, been constituted as a separate association (brotoloco.ch).  

Principles and aims

The expressed aim of ortoloco is an environment-friendly resource-sparing not-for-profit-oriented agriculture project that supplies produce to consumers according to needs and that places members in direct relationship with the products and their production. Through fair conditions and voluntary engagement, it is intended to demonstrate an alternative model to the dominant anonymous competitive economy. In the statutes of the association, these principles are set out in three guiding principles as follows:

1. We will treat nature and the environment with respect and sustainably. The earth, plants and animals are not machines that may be revved up with impunity. In this sense we are an alternative to industrialised agriculture with its faceless expansive gigantic operations. Agriculture for us is an activity of stewardship not a business. We produce according to the seasons and force no uniformity of output. That is to say that we harvest what appears, not what is financially profitable. We recover an important area of life from the spheres of speculation and profit and through this work against the dominant economic logic with its growth urge. We create an alternative form of economic organisation based on productive cooperation instead of counterproductive competition. In this way agricultural smallholdings may be preserved.

2. Today’s distanced relationship between producers and consumers will be broken down. Sustenance should happen where food
is produced with only minimal importation. *The function of middleman will be abolished.* Through this direct, personal exchange between producers and consumers, the project presents a sustainable model for the future. The consumers are motivated and interested to appraise themselves concerning the creation and characteristics of their sustenance. They wish to learn and regularly spend interesting and joyful days in the open in the fields. Through this they will improve their quality of life. (*ortoloco*, 2010, p. 1, translation and emphases by the authors)

These values are clearly discernible in the organisation and activities of *ortoloco*. In discussion with the association members, it became clear that an intensive and constant engagement with the values of the solidarity economy are realised through the project. The central motivation to participate in such projects is not simply access to high-quality vegetables and love of gardening but also the will, based on new economic forms, to test and create other values.

**Future plans**

Interest in the *ortoloco* project and its vegetable subscriptions is very high. In order to not have more subscriptions than the garden can supply, new association membership has to be regulated via a waiting list. An extension of the area being farmed is planned in order to extend the number of members with access to produce. In order to work the additional land, a second professional gardener has been employed since March 2012. However, the activists contend that a maximum size should not be exceeded in order to preserve the familiar character of the initiative. As one of the founders of *ortoloco* worries that with a larger group in which everyone no longer knows everyone else could result in a larger administrative burden and a loss of the quality of democratic decision-making. With the relatively small group in which people know one another, relations with the project are direct and in addition are more fun (Tex, personal communication, 2 February 2012).

The idea to include agriculture explicitly into urban planning and through this to ensure in the longer term a regional supply of vegetables for whole neighbourhoods is also being discussed. In his book *Neustart Schweiz (A New Start for Switzerland)*, the Zurich author P.M. propagates the reorganisation of society into neighbourhood units that supply themselves with vegetables through contracts with neighbouring farmers and eventually the participation of residents. The book, which shows connections to the ‘Transition Towns’ movement, was discussed in the context of an event on food sovereignty of a local self-provisioning organised by the *Montagswerkstatt Zürich* (Dytreich, 2011, p. 82) and is declared on the *ortoloco* website to be an ‘inspiring social vision’ (*ortoloco.ch*, ‘Links’). In this sense, *ortoloco* is planning for the future a focus on the target group ‘community housing and settlement’. Besides the small and large vegetable subscriptions for small and large households, house and neighbourhood subscriptions with offers of vegetable boxes for 10, 20 or even 50 houses will be made. Whether there will be a demand for these and if this idea can be implemented in practice is yet to be seen. Tex sees it as important to make the offer first in order to see what the chances are of them being recognised (personal communication, 30 November 2011).

Furthermore, the initiative wishes to extend the application of solidarity economy principles where possible to all important sectors of the economy. Thus, the project groups that extend the range of production offer association members the possibility of satisfying an ever-greater proportion of their needs. Tasks for the future could be, for instance, a cheese dairy, pasta production and a kindergarten (Tex, visit at *ortoloco*, 23 July 2011). It would also be desirable, according to Tex, to develop cooperation with other associations independent of *ortoloco* that are active in other economic areas but are organised on similar principles. He is thinking, for
instance, of textile or energy-production associations. A step in this direction already taken is the establishment of the already mentioned brotoloco out of the existing ortoloco project group.

The place of ortoloco in the debate about urban community gardens

Much of the academic work on urban community gardens is concerned with gardens in poor neighbourhoods in large Latin American and African cities (see, e.g. Haidle and Arndt, 2007; Halder, 2009; Mougeot, 2005) or informal uses of land in connection with structural adjustment, targeted speculation or economically encouraged vacant land in major North American and European cities (see, e.g. Meyer-Renschhausen, 2004; Rosol, 2005; Schmelzkopf, 2002).

ortoloco shows in the context of its history of creation and the specific situation of Zurich certain differences but also commonalities with these other projects. ortoloco is not a project created out of financial distress. Financial aspects play only a minor role in the decision to participate in the project. It is neither created or uses land informally. The project decided on an appropriate legal form of a cooperative that has a long and widespread tradition in Switzerland and the land is officially leased from a farmer. Furthermore, we find ortoloco outside Zurich in the so far hardly urbanised Limmat valley. This is a consequence of constantly rising land prices in Zurich where hardly any vacant land or land at low rental prices exists that might come into question to accommodate community gardens. Nevertheless, the project can still be considered as urban agriculture because it originated in projects located in Zurich, is supported by residents of Zurich and networked with Zurich-based institutions and projects whose structure utilises, for instance, communications and distribution of vegetable bags and explicitly serves the urban population with minimal transport (the distance to the city centre is just 10 kilometres as the crow flies).

ortoloco possesses commonalities with ‘community-supported agriculture’ (CSA) (Brown and Miller, 2008; Schnell, 2007). Like those, ortoloco is supported by dependable takers of the produce produced near the city centre, who pay a fixed amount at the start of the year and who thus share in the enterprise risks—for instance, in the case of poor harvests (see the above note on contractual agriculture). This format makes possible production close to the city of high-quality organic produce by small farmers who otherwise would hardly be able to face the steep competition. In contrast to the usual forms of CSA, however, in the case of ortoloco the recipients of the produce are also the producers and really only pay the production costs of the vegetables produced. Furthermore, they reduce the price through their own activity. Thus—it is hoped—vegetables, in comparison with the CSA model, will become affordable to broader levels of the population.

In sum, ortoloco can be defined as a peri-urban organic farm organised on the basis of Solidarity Economics that extends beyond the supply of food to embrace explicit political aims.

Conclusions and outlook

In the course of our visit to ortoloco in July 2011 we were impressed by the high spirits in the garden and, indeed, on the whole Fondlhof. A couple of association members were working in the fields, others were having a break and chatting over a cup of own-produced apple juice, children playing in the farmyard, a large dog allowed itself to be stroked; also the owner of the Fondlihof passed by. At the same time, we were observing a project, which has proved its success over two years, supplying 300 consumers with vegetables. The considerable amount of work required has always been undertaken not on the basis of force but because of
the pleasure in the matter or at least the will to continue the project. In this sense, ortoloco is living proof that economies based on free cooperation and solidarity are possible.

The implementation of the project surely works because of the ongoing collective reflection on their values and their realisation in practice. This occurs both in the internal participatory processes of the organisation and the exchange with befriended projects and activities. Beyond the theoretical exchange, there is also the shared use of infrastructure (such as vegetable depots and advertising) or mutual exchange of complementary products (housing associations, befriended organic farmers, brotolooco). In this way, the notion of cooperation is applied well beyond the boundaries of ortoloco.

Through resource-conserving production in direct proximity to the users, urban agriculture can have positive ecological effects. Participatory projects such as ortoloco raise at the same time the quality of life of the participants by connecting work and leisure and making available high-quality, healthy organic and tasty products which, beyond their use value, represent a kind of ideal. In this way, the project promotes 'the good life' beyond mass consumption that is no longer based on material wealth.

In that projects such as ortoloco apply alternative principles to economic life, develop these further, discard things that don't work and adopt others that do, in the process, they continually stretch the borders of the possible. Whilst neo-liberal policies are presented almost worldwide as natural and without alternative, these projects are living proof that other ways of thinking and acting are possible. Cooperation with similar projects and attempts to apply the tested models on an ever-broader range of economic activities and spheres of living together in general, encourage one to believe in the possible major changes carried out by the accumulation of many small, locally operating initiatives (Sassen, 2000, p. 26).

On the other hand, it would be naive to believe that the ortoloco model might be greatly expanded. And of course, it is not possible for ortoloco to carry out its activities entirely outside the complexities of the global economy or the capitalistic pressures that distort its activities. It should furthermore be remembered that also neo-liberal thinkers like the German ordo-liberals propagated the individual allotment gardens and voluntary mutual assistance as preventing 'proletarianisation' and state-dependency (Röpke, 2002 [1942]). Substitution of income through allotment gardening has also been identified by Engels, in his famous critique of Proudhon concerning the housing question, as a possibility for capitalists to reduce wages further (Engels, 1974 [1872]). Thus, self-provisioning of city dwellers through farming is not free from contradictions.

Furthermore and more practical, there remains the unsolved problem that membership of ortoloco and access to vegetable subscriptions are dependent on the payment of an annual fee. These fees are equally high for all members independent of their financial situation. It is to be feared that some people will not be able to afford the 'luxury' of membership of the project. According to Tex (visit to ortoloco on 23 February 2011), it is therefore under consideration to make the size of the fee dependent on level of income. Moreover, the association members of ortoloco cannot feed themselves entirely from what they produce but are dependent on incomes from other activities with which to buy other products. And finally, only a certain range of vegetables are produced and in winter produce has to be purchased elsewhere.

The question thus arises as to the usefulness of such a project if, in fact, it cannot exist entirely outside the capitalistic system and guarantee the entire provisions of its members of the association, all year round? Here we can only answer that the great potential of projects like ortoloco lies in their characteristics as experiments in new economic practices and should be seen as
small steps in a desired direction. It is perhaps a useful insight that certain plants do not grow or grow only in certain seasons in Central Europe and that it is still possible to be happy with what does grow, that we can learn from projects such as ortoloco. From this we can deduce that whilst such projects cannot extract themselves entirely from the capitalist world and the complexities of the global economy, we can nevertheless be optimistic. To see that people are prepared to commit themselves voluntarily and with strong political beliefs and that such a project is economically feasible as well as providing ecological benefits through regionally, seasonally and organically grown produce demonstrates that ‘another world could be grown’.7

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Notes

2 In the framework of a field trip of the Department of Human Geography of the University of Frankfurt, in the summer of 2011, we had the opportunity to visit the garden in Dietikon near Zurich together with some of the members of the association. We were able since then, via the contact established with Tex, one of the founder members and member also of the management group, to follow developments and the planning process of ortoloco.
3 So-called ‘contract farming’ (‘Vertragswirtschaft’) consists of a contractually regulated relationship between farmers and recipients or, on the ortoloco case, lessees. In this way, fairer conditions are made possible in farming (ortoloco.ch, ‘Portrait’). Above all, in the west of Switzerland the regional contract agriculture (agriculture contractuelle de proximité) is very widespread (Dyttrich, 2011, pp. 79–80) (see also the section on CSA).
4 http://www.cocagne.ch/page-daccueil/ (last accessed 24 November 2011).
5 brotoloco refers to bread-baking (bread in German: ‘Brot’). See also http://www.brotoloco.ch/ (last accessed 2 February 2012).
7 Thus the title of the web page of Ella von der Haide. See http://eine-andere-welt-ist–pflanzbar.net/ (last accessed 2 February 2012).

References

ing rights to the city in New York’s community gar-

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