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L'invention de l'agri-urbain en Île-de-France. Quand la ville se repense aussi autour de l'agriculture

MOTS-CLÉS

Agri-urbain, projet urbain, territoire de projet, transaction, hybridation, Île-de-France

KEY WORDS

Agri-urban, urban project, governance, transaction, hybridization, Ile-de-France

1 - Le développement de la ville et de l'agriculture ont en effet été pensés dans des espaces dédiés séparés. Mais les interactions ont toujours existé comme le montrent certaines études rétrospectives (cf. Pauline Marty, *Les appropriations urbaines de la question agricole : le cas de Brive de 1945 à 2012*, thèse Université Paris 1, octobre 2013).

2 - Dispositifs éprouvés d'abord de manière informelle, les programmes agri-urbains reçoivent une reconnaissance officielle en juillet 2001 avec un accompagnement financier pour sept d'entre eux, avant d'être institutionnalisés dans la loi de 2005 relative au développement des territoires ruraux. Si l'Île-de-France a investi cette formule sous ce vocable, d'autres régions affichent des procédures similaires sous d'autres appellations : parcs, champs urbains....

3 - La législation européenne prévoit une évaluation des impacts environnementaux des grandes opérations d'aménagement par une « autorité compétente » : l'Autorité environnementale a été créée en France par le décret n° 2009-496 du 30 avril 2009.

RÉSUMÉ

L'objectif de cet article est d'analyser les processus de transaction initiés dans certaines formules inédites qui intègrent l'agriculture dans le projet urbain à l'aune notamment des enjeux du développement durable. Le terrain d'investigation est l'Île-de-France, première région métropolitaine française, qui a une longue tradition d'aménagement à l'échelle régionale et soutient la nécessité d'articuler ensemble ses espaces urbains et ruraux. L'hybridation en cours entre le rural et l'urbain dans le dispositif phare régional, les programmes agri-urbains, celle des acteurs -institutionnels, associatifs ou individuels-, des modalités d'actions et des formes de gouvernance pose la question de l'avènement d'un système agri-urbain où se réinventent ensemble ville et agriculture.

ABSTRACT

This article analyses new forms of planning which integrate agriculture and urban development especially in relation to sustainable development. The research is based on the first French metropolitan region: Ile-de-France. The region has a long planning tradition and has been committed to supporting both urban and rural areas. The region's flagship project concerns the agri-urban programmes which involve different processes of hybridization between urban and rural areas. The aim is to analyse transaction or bargaining processes, which are constantly being renewed, between actors inside these programmes.

Après quasiment un siècle de séparation¹ entre agriculture et ville dans le cadre de politiques de développement sectoriel (Poulot, 2011 ; Salomon Cavin et Niwa, 2011), les crises répétées des systèmes urbains et agricoles conduisent à repenser les liens entre espaces agricoles et sociétés urbaines (Sieverts, 2002). Quand les métropoles éclatées englobent des zones agricoles toujours plus vastes – 75% du potentiel agricole français selon le recensement de l'agriculture de 2010 et le zonage en aires urbaines de l'INSEE –, de « nouvelles combinaisons qui ne les exemptent pas de conflits et de contradictions mais les font toujours plus » (Vanier, 2005) se repèrent partout pour faire advenir l'agri-urbain (Galli et al., 2010 ; Daniels, 1999).

Déjà perceptibles depuis deux voire trois décennies ces mises en lien de la ville et de l'agriculture ont trouvé dans le paradigme du Développement durable un cadre théorique susceptible d'articuler les différents courants de l'aménagement. En effet, la formule autorise la construction de figures qui intègrent les dimensions naturalistes mais aussi économiques et sociales d'un lieu (prise en compte des pratiques et représentations des différents acteurs, des conflits éventuels) pour en favoriser l'appropriation. L'objectif est d'aller vers un développement local endogène, soucieux d'une bonne mise en partage des ressources entre les parties prenantes in situ mais attentif aussi à replacer le local dans le global, comme si chaque site était un « bien commun » pour l'humanité toute entière. La réflexion sur l'agriculture dans et autour de la ville participe totalement de ce registre : reconnue multifonctionnelle depuis la Loi d'Orientation agricole de 1999, fournissant à la ville, en plus des produits alimentaires dans le cadre de circuits courts réinventés (Aubry et Chiffolleau, 2009), des biens environnementaux, récréatifs, pédagogiques et patrimoniaux, devenue durable elle s'impose comme un élément de fabrique de la ville durable (Zasada, 2011 ;

Brinkley, 2012). Les schémas de cohérence territoriale institués en France en 2000 s'en font l'écho à petite échelle, redoublés à grande échelle par des formes spécifiques dont les programmes agri-urbains, derniers territoires de projet institutionnalisés en 2005².

Notre propos est d'analyser les « processus de transaction » initiés dans ces formules inédites qui intègrent l'agriculture dans le projet urbain (Duvrenoy et al., 2005) à l'aune des nouveaux enjeux et manières de faire un aménagement rural et urbain partagé ou agri-urbain. Nous retiendrons dans la notion de « transaction sociale » définie par J. Remy (2005) « les jeux multiples entre le rationnel et l'affirmation de sens, le formalisé et le diffus, le continu et le discontinu, l'interaction et l'interdépendance (pour déboucher sur) la dialectique de l'invention ». Ce cadre théorique se révèle fécond tant les tâtonnements sont nombreux dans cette recherche de modalités nouvelles tant de découpages territoriaux que de gestion territoriale, puisqu'il s'agit de penser la ville depuis sa périphérie et l'agriculture hors des bassins de production.

Le terrain d'investigation est l'Île-de-France, première région métropolitaine française, qui a une longue tradition d'aménagement à l'échelle régionale depuis les années 1970 (Poulot et Rouyres, 2003) et reconnaît la nécessité d'articuler ensemble les espaces urbains et ruraux qui la composent en associant tous les acteurs à tel point que l'agri-urbain fait son entrée dans le Schéma directeur voté en octobre 2013. Si les Parcs naturels régionaux participent de ces constructions agri-urbaines, l'enquête portera sur les seuls programmes agri-urbains institués en Ceinture verte et désignés par l'Autorité environnementale³, « indicateurs majeurs de contexte » pour évaluer les retombées positives du nouveau Schéma d'aménagement. L'article veut envisager leur mise en œuvre tant dans le dernier SDRIF que sur le

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