Regenerating industrial heritage through sustainable food: 
A look back at the Tast’In Fives experience in Lille (France) and its paradoxes

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Tast’in Fives is an urban rehabilitation project that aims to renovate a huge industrial wasteland located in a working-class district of Lille (France). Supported by the city, this project brings together food production and consumption activities, urban agriculture, as well as catering and food services. While the conversion of former industrial sites into food courts is not unprecedented, the Lille experience is ambitious in its scope and its systematization around sustainable food. Our paper will focus on a more specific aspect of this spatial experiment, that of food sustainability and the way it has been transformed into a societal injunction, participating in a form of governmentality of bodies (Foucault, 1972) through the act of eating, leading to forms of resistance to the urban regeneration project.

"It is necessary to change the eating habits of the populations in difficulty in the district in order to allow them to access a better well-being" (an institutional). We are witnessing a new "governmentality of bodies" built on a soft moralization that uses roundabout ways and can be guessed in the interstices of the proposed activities via a valorization of food sobriety, via a swarming of rules and social norms that, going far beyond culinary production and eating, guide bodies and consciences towards a "savoir-être" to which one must conform, and finally via a denial of the social that evacuates questions of social inequalities and cultural differences. Everything happens as if the kitchen were indisputably a vector of a harmonious social mix made naively possible by the conviviality and the living together to which the individual is enjoined to conform, as if the activities implemented in the industrial wasteland participated in the promotion of these other ways of consuming designated as "responsible" or even "intelligent".

However, resistance is expressed through the diversion/turnaround of the institutional discourse on the injunction to eat well (ostentatious waste of food, staging of junk food in the vicinity of the industrial wasteland, etc.), which sometimes shifts to the urban developments themselves. This resistance reflects the feeling, shared by the opponents interviewed, that they are faced with "moral entrepreneurs [who]... want others to do what [they] think is right" (Becker, 1963). This resistance gradually forces the project initiators to compromise (by bringing in new partners, accepting criticism and suggestions) in order to keep control of the project and ensure its political and economic success. Forms of "social transactions" then take place, the purpose of which is, for the project leaders, to negotiate the negotiable and not to compromise on the non-negotiable (Blanc, 1992).

In conclusion, this experience in Lille of "recharging" the industrial heritage can be read as an attempt by local authorities to construct a form of territorial utopia. Faced with it, the real arises in the form of resistances that are as many calls, not necessarily formalized, to reappropriate the places as forms of "heterotopias" (Foucault, 2001).