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Management and Leadership in Community Gardens: Two Initiatives in Greater Christchurch, New Zealand

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MANAGEMENT AND LEADERSHIP IN COMMUNITY GARDENS: TWO INITIATIVES IN GREATER CHRISTCHURCH, NEW ZEALAND

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Abstract

In an increasingly urbanised world, significant land-use changes, environmental degradation, changes of society and lifestyles can be evidenced. Community gardens are examples for important, subsistent agricultural assets to a sustainable city development. They carry the potential to meet multiple needs of the dwellers such as community based natural resources management, local food supply, social (re)development, etc. This action research is particularly concerned with two different community gardens in the urban area of Greater Christchurch, New Zealand, in order to provide understanding of interrelations between leadership performance, management practice and social, environmental, cultural and economic 'effectiveness' of community gardens on a community level in urban environments. Findings argue that leadership and management affect interrelationships in multiple ways within a local community. A detailed investigation of different leadership concepts and management performances and group dynamics was undertaken that highlight the importance of a strategic organisation of these local initiatives. 'Effective' leadership that reacts according to the community garden community is essential for making community gardens relevant to its users, and with its implications on a wider social and physical urban environment.

Key words: Urban agriculture, Community garden, leadership, management, group dynamics, sustainable urban development, New Zealand

Zusammenfassung

Die zunehmende Verstädterung unserer Welt brachte in den letzten Jahrzehnten nicht nur Umweltverwüstungen sondern auch deutliche Veränderungen von Landnutzungen, der Gesellschaft und deren Lebensstilen mit sich. Gemeinschaftsgärten sind kleinlandwirtschaftliche Alternativbeispiele für eine nachhaltige Stadtentwicklung, welche das Potential tragen, vielfache Bedürfnisse der heutigen städtischen Bevölkerung zu stillen: gemeinschaftliche Ressourcennutzung, lokale Nahversorgung, soziale (Neu)Gestaltung etc. Diese Aktionsforschung (engl.: *action research*) hat sich besonders mit zwei Gemeinschaftsgärten in Greater Christchurch, Neuseeland, auseinandergesetzt, um außerdem ein Verständnis für die Wechselbeziehungen zwischen der Organisationsleitung, dem Management und der sozialen, ökologischen, kulturellen und wirtschaftlichen Wirksamkeit von Gemeinschaftsgärten auf der Ebene der Gemeinschaft zu schaffen. Die gründliche Untersuchung von verschiedenen Führungs- und Managementkonzepte und Gruppendynamiken unterstreichen die Wichtigkeit einer strategischen Organisation solcher örtlich-kommunalen Initiativen. Die erzielten Ergebnisse zeigen auf, dass die Leitung und das Management in vielerlei Hinsicht die Wechselbeziehungen innerhalb der Gemeinschaft beeinflussen. Eine wirkungsvolle Leitung, die entsprechend den Ansprüchen der individuellen Gemeinschaft nachkommt, ist wesentlich für die nachhaltige Gestaltung eines Gemeinschaftsgartens, sodass dieser für die Benutzer und weitere soziale und physische Stadtkreise relevant ist und bleibt.

Schlagworte: Stadtlandwirtschaft, Gemeinschaftsgarten, Organisationsleitung, Management, Gruppendynamik, nachhaltige Stadtentwicklung, Neuseeland

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1. Introduction

Almost half of the world's population and 85% of New Zealanders call cities and towns their home. Urban areas appear hence to be crucial for sustainable management and development of human and natural resources, whose availability is limited in urban areas. In an increasingly globalising world, local management of natural resources as well as issues of involvement and empowerment of local communities have thus gained of importance.

Contemporary understanding of 'natural resource management and ecological engineering' is inseparably linked with patterns of human dimensions and social development. Within a broad field of applications, community gardens stand as examples for an innovative (agricultural) idea to contribute to a better social and environmental neighbourhood. As local approaches, they carry the potential to enhance the quality, especially in human-built environments in towns, and cities, in multiple ways: Primarily, community gardens offer opportunities for local natural resource management (food production, recycling, renewable energy generation, etc.) and environmental restoration. It also helps to develop communal economic activities, environmental awareness-building processes, individual creativity and neighbourhood's beautification. They are places for community development where people can go, interact and learn; they can create work and support; people can meet friends, deeply breath in or just have a break from rushing life (Watson, 2006).

This discussion paper is about urban gardening projects, with its focus on their management and their cultural contexts of unique small groups, the leadership constructs (seeking for change) as well as the socially and environmentally sustainable development in a wider social context. Underlying dreams, visions and realistic goals of project initiators, the way which community gardens have been established, managed and led, differ in the two investigated initiatives in the area of Greater Christchurch, New Zealand². It determines why leadership is necessary; which role a group plays in a community; what are the interrelations (and differences) of leadership, management and a community garden entity; and overall what real *effectiveness* means in a community garden.

2. Background information

The term '**community garden**' dates back to at least World War I (Lawson, 2005: 3), when it was seen as a practical form of urban agriculture. When I refer to the term 'community garden' in this paper, I mean the following: A community garden is a place in the city that provides space and resources to dwellers. They share land, water and sunlight with the purpose of cultivating vegetables, fruit, herbs and flowers. A

² hereafter referred to as Christchurch

community garden can provide individuals with their own plots, sharing in the garden's overall management (Lawson, 2005), or let people grow food in a communally organised project, reaching a higher level of democratic participation and supports the reinvigoration of grassroots politics (Pauling, 2001). As gardeners grow, they save amongst all household food expenses while they get more independent from bought food (Williamson, 2000, in Pauling, 2001) A garden project can also bridge the gap of human beings and nature that urban life often entails; reconnect and enclose the feeling with earth and the natural environment; provide a setting for communicating and share of traditional skills and knowledge. It can also facilitate educational, cultural, social (community) and/or relaxation activities for learning life skills, depending on the user group. They might be located on institutional grounds, public or private land. However, it takes many people to nurture a garden; committing individuals and the support of the wider community: Participation is generally voluntary. Headleaders, financial contributors and land donators are typically not directly involved in garden activities (Lawson, 2005). At the same time, it is most common to have few major coordinators holding the on-site activity network for developing the open space, the community spirit and own competence (Watson, 2006).

On a **global history**, urban community gardens as a form of urban agriculture have helped people around the globe to supply themselves with fresh vegetables, especially during economic depressions (Lawson, 2005). People, mostly the poor, then had the opportunity to cultivate a piece of land, starting in the eighteenth century in England and also during WW I, WW II. The interest of the industrialised world³ in community gardening returned only in 1960 during the environmental and cultural movement as a reaction to the political economy, and also as a helpful response to poverty, unemployment and for education purposes (Williamson, 2002). Nevertheless community gardening has been discouraged outside of emergency periods. On-going urban development, housing sprawl and individual gardening reinforced the trend toward a decreasing importance of community gardens for food supply. As unique as the histories of establishment of the single gardens were, so were the policies followed by them different: Over the years, the community garden structures reached from 'grow and give' and 'food for everyone (who asks)' (Keel, 1990) to donation-based food supply and 'members only grow and share' (Lawson, 2005), or individually grown and harvested policies.

Communal gardening in New Zealand have been practiced for centuries by Maori, New Zealand's initial *tangata whenua* (engl.: people of the land), where they have used imported plant species and local flora and fauna (Trotman & Spinola, 1994). The colonisation of New Zealand by the Europeans affected the traditional practices of the Maori, as they were often forced to abandon their land to the *pakeha* (engl.: New Zealander of European descent) whose agricultural practices quickly became focused on agriculture as a business (Pauling, 2001). Social, economic and environmental consequences can still be felt today. Nevertheless, a considerable number of community gardens have been established in the recent past, e.g., in Auckland, Nelson, Upper Hutt, Christchurch and Lincoln, aiming for different objectives, mostly for social and educational purposes rather than only for food production (due to cheap food prices and high living standards).

³ So-called developing countries have often continued with urban community gardening until today.

Community gardens in New Zealand are generally small scale, low investment neighbourhood gardening ventures. The gardens commonly use vacant or non-dedicated open spaces, either in a public domain or owned by another organisation such as a church or a public housing body (Auckland City Council, 2008). The gardens vary in their philosophies which underlie their gardening methods, such as organic growing, permaculture or biodynamic gardening (Watson, 2006) as much as they differ in their ways of organisation. Commonly, they all provide services for education, training, charity and the local community. Depending on a community's needs, community gardens in New Zealand are hence sites of unique combination of activities and can provide its users with many life opportunities.

First attempts at **community gardening in the city of Christchurch** were made during the 1970s in the Avon Loop area. But it was only in the late 1980s that the practice began to proliferate in the city. Finally in 1999, community gardens attracted the attention of the Christchurch City Council (CCC) as a new way of addressing social and environmental sustainability in the city. Today, there are at least 13 community gardens in Christchurch, foremost established in favour of active gardeners and the wider community for social interaction; (environmental) education and training; therapy, support and rehabilitation; waste management (composting, recycling and reuse); community development; providing food to people in need; health and well-being. The multiple purposes of community gardening benefit not only active gardeners but also the wider community (Watson, 2006).

Community gardeners are faced with some challenges, such as the amount of ongoing work input, which a community garden requires during a garden year, an increased demand of dedicated helpers during the high season (too much work, not enough volunteers), some cases of vandalism, patterns of land tenure security, financial difficulties (no stability, reliance on public funding) and receiving unsatisfied support of public policy. That is why more support by the Government is desired throughout all community gardens which were surveyed by Watson (2006).

A number of **public councils**, such as the Christchurch City Council (CCC), have seen community gardening as a tool for increasing the city's sustainability and are starting to recognise and support the gardens in a substantial way: Some gardens are provided with public funding and environmental grants or resources like water, expertise and facilities (e.g., rent free land, water etc.). Co-operations exist between individual community garden projects and the Department of Corrections, Work and Income New Zealand (WINZ), the Accident Compensation Corporation (ACC), the Ministry of Social Development, the Ministry for the Environment (MfE), Local Councils and District Health Boards, the Lotteries Grant Board and the Lions Foundation as well as charitable organisations such as local churches or surrounding communities.

For **establishing new community gardens** in parks or other open spaces, the city of Christchurch does not have any particular legislative or policy program as compared to other cities in New Zealand like Auckland City or Waitakere. Nevertheless, given guidelines require to assess following for the CCC: Firstly, a wider community support for the proposal; secondly, that the project will not be a financial burden to either the community or the council; and thirdly, that all aspects of the project such as health and safety issues,

maintenance and aesthetics are covered. Obtaining long-term permission for community gardens is a relatively new idea.

3. What is ‘community’ at all?

Fifty years ago, **ninety-four definitions** were identified by Hillery (1955) who concluded that ‘beyond the concept that people are involved in community, there is no complete agreement as to the nature of community’ (Keller, 1998). In own words, a **community** can be understood as a form of social organisation, which is essential from both an ecological justice perspective (holism, sustainability, diversity, balance) and a social justice perspective (equity, empowerment, overcoming of structural disadvantages, freedom to define needs and to meet them, and so forth). That can then be seen as a natural consequence of the premises of each. According to Ife (2002), the following five characteristics are further related to ‘community’: the human scale (interactions), identity and belonging (member of the community), obligations (rights and responsibilities), *Gemeinschaft* (opposite of a mass society), culture (unique characteristics of a particular community).

Three further options for defining community are suggested (Hyde & Chavis, 2007):

- A community ... simply in a geographic area, a territory, or locale;
- ... with its essence the social interactions that occur within geographic boundaries;
- ... as a locality-based social unit.

Crucial is the overlap of ‘friendship’ and ‘community’ because a community can be ‘that entity to which one belongs, greater than kinship but more immediately than the abstraction we call “society”’. It is the arena in which people acquire their most fundamental and most substantial experience of social life outside the confines of the home’ (Cnaan & Breyman, 2007). A community of practice can be defined by conditions of mutual engagement of its members, a joint enterprise, and in time, a shared repertoire of routines (Etienne Wenger, 1998). The intentional community is a group of people who have either chosen to live together with a common purpose or just to work cooperatively to create a lifestyle that reflects their shared core values (Kozny, 1996). A community can be seen as a ‘big small group’ (Reisch & Guyet, 2007) with its smallest unit that is a group (Keller, 1998).

The **role of a group in the community** is to be the smallest unit within a community. Functioning groups are essential for any community and its health. The most common definition of a group involves two elements:

- a small number of interacting individuals in interdependent role relations, and
- a set of values or norms that regulate behaviour of (self-)defined members in matters of concern to the group.

The existence of a group requires that people are joined together by common issues or concerns, that they share a common goal, influence each other, and overall, that they communicate and interact with each other (Johnson & Johnson, 1991; Keller, 1998; Harris, 2008). Roles and norms exist within a group, no matter

which organisation, society or culture it is. We are all affected by them, even though we may believe in free will and self-determination. Learning the rules of social contact is a basic condition of social life and social survival. While roles differentiate responsibilities of people, norms integrate members' efforts into an unified whole (Johnson & Johnson, 1991). A cohesive group is characterised by trust, dependability, cooperation, respect, openness among members; and the ability to work together as a team (Nattawut, 2004). Small groups, institutions and a society are often established with the goal of being democratic and egalitarian and to maintain effective communication (Harris, 2008).

4. Leadership in community gardens

Among the over 850 definitions of leadership, leadership can be understood e.g., as a concept that has a chameleon's ability to take on a new appearance with every new occasion (Napier & Gershenfeld, 2004) or as a role in addition to the characteristic of having influence over people (Manz & Sims, 2001).

4.1 Six main theoretical views on leadership which are relevant in the context of community gardens (and appear most often in the literature):

- **Leadership as power or trait theories** focuses on action, getting things done or making things happen that which would not occur without the intervention of leadership. 'Power' can be gained through reference, legitimacy, expertise, rewarding, or coercion.
- **Leadership as behaviour or style theories** considers leadership qualities as intimately linked to personalities and traits. The focus is also on training and education, experience and practice. The five areas of qualities for effective leadership personality are: sergeancy, agreeableness, emotional stability, conscientiousness, and intellect.
- **Leadership as influence or organisational theories** suggest that leaders' and members' roles are clearly defined in bureaucratically/hierarchical structures. Except in revolutions, they ensure some degree of efficiency and predictability through control, order, and discipline what might otherwise be chaos.
- **Situational theories or contingency theorists** assume that there is no one best way, style, or behaviour for leaders; that virtually anyone can become a more effective leader with certain skills and knowledge. Different leadership situations require different leadership styles; 'good' leaders are described in terms of how a leader adapts to the needs of a situation.
- **Visionary leadership or leadership as providing directive** is currently the most popular view (Manz & Sims, 2001) but often seen more as 'management' because of its focus on identifying future needs idealistically, mobilising resources and bringing hope to reach projected goals. Such leaders commonly cooperate with effective managers who handle day-to-day operations while leaders focus still on the bigger picture towards realising the vision.
- **Ethical assessment** is the view of leadership that defines leaders as inducing followers to act for certain goals which represent the values and motivation (the wants and needs, aspirations and expectations, moral) of both leaders and followers. Such leaders are driven by a conscious awareness for the public good and a desire to serve the interests of their constituencies (Napier & Gershenfeld, 2004). Typically, their first task

is to raise the group's consciousness, and therefore, raise both followers and themselves to higher levels of performance and achievements.

4.2 Four leadership constructs

The following four leadership constructs are the most relevant to the context of this study. In our daily lives, however, real, effective leadership involves the integration of most of the theoretical types of leadership mentioned previously.

- **Traditional leadership** can be of transactional or transformational nature, and relies upon an exchange within the leader–follower relationship. A transformational leader is viewed as a higher order construct relative to a transactional leader: *Transactional leadership* focuses on the business of getting things done by clarifying roles, expectations, standards of work, performance measurement and offering rewards. A *transformational leader*, however, possesses personal abilities that allow to recognise the potential motives of followers, the need for change in order to satisfy higher needs and engaging the full person of the follower. This leadership can create a vision to guide and execute that change effectively with having following: (1) an absorptive capacity for being open for new and willing to learn, (2) an ability to become increasingly adaptive in order to respond quickly and (3) managerial wisdom and intellect. The group is ideally influenced by individual considerations, and thus kept inspired, intellectually stimulated and motivated as the members believe in certain attitudes, values and behaviours. Trust, respect and consequently greater commitment increases.

- **Culture-based leadership** is a culturally specific construct and embedded in the context. A 'good' leadership aims to improve the organisation's culture. The better a leader is able to represent group beliefs, values and norms, the more likely is the leader able to influence his or her group's culture. Seven influential components are commonly acknowledged: (1) the goals/purpose of the organisation; (2) the composition of its people; (3) the organisation's core processes; (4) the state/condition of the organisation; (5) time; (6) the organisation's structure and, finally, (7) its culture and climate (Jackson & Parry, 2008). Some researchers, however, have expressed doubts about the real influence that leaders can and should exert on forming a culture as opposed to letting change happen by itself.

- **Dispersed (distributed) leadership** is characterised by flatter, more organically oriented structures and opposes traditional leadership as a theoretical and practical response to widespread empowering strategies. The leaders' task becomes that of helping followers to develop their own self-leadership skills to increasingly contribute to the organisation. Followers are encouraged to be initiative, self-responsible, self-confident, self-goal-setting, positive opportunity thinking, to solve problems by themselves and overall to use their abilities to lead themselves and others by consequently liberating leadership. 'Whichever way we articulate it, quite simply, it is all about the other people you work and interact with.' (Jackson & Perry, 2008) Rather than giving orders, the sharing and appropriate allocation of power, information and knowledge is of central importance to recognise the culturally relevant needs. At the same time, 'deep

structures' of an organisation based on a long history may prevent its management from sharing power, even if it is the intention to do so. In any case, dispersed leadership can operate through strategies on different levels: the interpersonal, the team, the organisation and the personal one.

- **Group-centred leadership** understands the must of the group to share power and responsibility for its effectiveness. The group is responsible for achieving a comfortable environment and particular decisions that include the participation of all, and is hence the product of all. The leader is a servant, motivator and helper of the group for this achievement. Thus, maintenance functions are considered as important as task-oriented functions. The general question is about how the collective entity demonstrates leadership, and not how individuals behave. Feelings, emotions, and conflicts are legitimate facts, and particular situations demand serious attention. As groups cannot do without a leader, group-centred leadership reduces the pressure on the formal leader to perform all the leadership.

4.3 Differences between management and leadership

Both management and leadership are important but there is partly profound difference between them: **To manage** means to bring about, to accomplish, to have charge of or responsibility for, to conduct; in the context of a community garden, it means to manage to fulfil the task of organising land, labour and capital. **To lead** is influencing people/a project, guiding in a direction, an action, to an opinion. The distinction between leadership and management is crucial, yet the line can often not be clearly drawn because fundamental leadership foci in most community organisations are, synonymously with 'managing', on getting things done and hence, overlap in wide areas. It appears that the less hierarchical and flatter an organisation (of a community garden) is structured, the more management overlaps with leadership so that they both can complement each other.

However, a popular expression tells that '**leaders are people who do the right things and managers are people who do things right**'. Leaders are thus interested in the right things: the direction, vision, goals, objectives, intentions, purposes, and effectiveness; managers are interested in (the short run of) doing things right: efficiency, the how-to, the day-to-day business (Bennis, 1997). An ineffective or insensitive behaviour of leaders can result in failure; a manager who does not self-assess oneself and is not emotional self-aware and self-confident is still more likely to accomplish tasks successfully as far as goals and the visions are clearly set. Fostering a vision as a leader might result in 'higher-order outcomes' (Burns, 1978, in Bennis, 1999), such as providing quality service, meeting certain value-based standards or providing measurable member satisfaction. A traditional manager on the contrary can disregard the individuality of the group and its members without being necessarily unsuccessful.

The difference between management and leadership can also be illustrated by *the self*: **Self-management** includes emotional self-control, transparency, adaptability, achievement, and to show initiative and optimism which can lead to higher competence and confidence given by other people (Manz & Sims, 2001). On the other hand, **self-leadership** strategies include the regard of self-set goals, the

management of cues, rehearsal, self-observation, self-rewards and self-correcting feedback. In any case, the gender of leader/manager can influence the performance of a group.

5. Research issues and methodology

The starting point for this research were a few simple observations and a straightforward question: Change is likely to be most easily achieved in a small neighbourhood. The good will of any community gardener can be appreciated for its contribution in a community project. However, to keep a community project running and relevant, the physical garden site, the budget, personal intellects and the whole community itself require intensive maintenance. So then, how can one and/or a group manage and lead development in a community garden most effectively? As I actively participated in the community gardens for more than two months, I could find out more about this topic.

Besides the study of literature, the practical part of this research project was accomplished by looking through the lens of management, leadership and small group dynamics in two community gardens in Christchurch, New Zealand. The combination of **action research** and partial **grounded theory** allowed approaching and understanding the phenomena of leadership and the dynamic processes of small groups in the two non-profit community organisations at times.

The **methodical procedure** combined informative conversations, participation and observations of the social interactions that occurred. In a consequence, I collected and organised relatively large amounts of data⁴ in order to create a valid and 'objective' base for the final analysis. I analysed all my field notes piece by piece and organised them into categories, which are known as *profile codes*: Who said/did what? In a further step, called the *axial coding phase*, I tried to find relationships between these categories and to identify **thematic codes**. They reflected several more abstract but still descriptive matters of both case studies.

Thematic analysis of general matters: project evolution, socio-physical environment, organisational structures, management bodies, funding bodies, project goals, current activities, vision statements, project rationales towards sustainability; social cohesion, rules, norms, expectations, organisational communication, harvesting policies, decision-making processes.

Thematic analysis of leading and participating: historical evolution of community leadership constructs, current leadership bodies, actions and influences, tasks, self-awareness, leadership-small group relations, issues and challenges, importance of leadership;

Thematic analysis of community garden groups: individual and small group aims of community gardeners and volunteers, contributed personal skills, and further aspects on challenges and difficulties concerning the management structures, facilitating people, financial matters and public policy relations.

⁴ Contextual statements, descriptions of situation-specific progressions of conversations, general new information as well as the process of approaching contact and my subjective perceptions.

In a final step, the thematic codes were conceptualised. By conducting abstract findings, I as the researcher, was able to end up with key principals and some emergent grounded theory approaches of leadership and small groups in settings of community gardens; not only in Christchurch but also applicable for other community garden projects in which an effective operation is desired.

6. Two case studies

Two community gardens in Christchurch, New Zealand, were chosen for this research study:

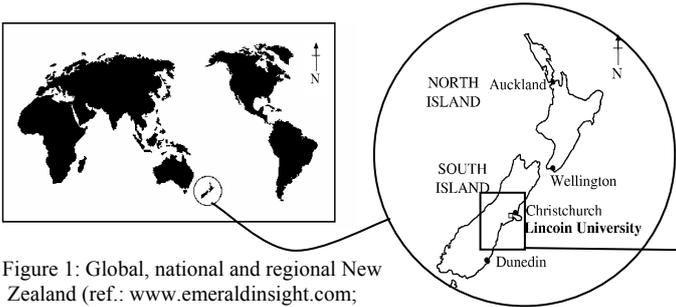


Figure 1: Global, national and regional New Zealand (ref.: www.emeraldinsight.com; www.localcouncils.govt.nz/Canterbury_rev3; 2009)



Figure 2: Catchment areas of the two case studies in the city of Christchurch and suburban neighbourhood (based on the map of the Christchurch Community gardens Association): (1) Linwood Resource Centre, (2) Lyttelton Community Garden

(1) Linwood Resource Centre (LRC) – Te Whare Taonga O Nga Iwi Katoa/Community house&garden

(2) Lyttelton Community Garden (LCG) (as project vehicle of the Project Lyttelton (PL))



Figure 3: At the entrances of (1) Linwood Resource Centre(LRC) – Te Whare Taonga O Nga Iwi Katoa, perspective from the street (above); (2) Lyttelton Community Garden (LCG) with view over harbour basin of Lyttelton (below)

Both the **Linwood Resource Centre (LRC)** and the **Lyttelton Community Garden (LCG)** projects are part of charitable, non-profit trust organisations. Independently from each other, both community gardens were initiated in Christchurch⁵ around the same time between 1998 and 1999 on vacant land. While case study 1 (LRC) is situated relatively close to the city centre, case study 2 (LCG) is located in Lyttelton on the

⁵ Current population: 340,000 inhabitants.

other side of the Port Hills in the harbour basin. Each of the communal production sites are provided by the Christchurch City Council (CCC) and have minimum sizes of 1000m². They both provide a range of social services and resources supplies from which the organisations, volunteers and the wider community can benefit. Gardeners follow organic gardening practices and grow (rare) varieties of vegetables, fruits, berries, herbs and flowers in communal plots. The LRC additionally provides individual plots.

During the fieldwork of more than two months from July to the end of September 2008, I actively participated in gardening activities in the two chosen community gardens in Greater Christchurch, New Zealand, to gain an understanding of the informal ‘ways of doing things’.⁶ Every individual who was actively involved and contributed in a physically or socially productive manner was a potential research participant. All **community gardeners and volunteers**, who I met as a researcher at least twice on-site in the community gardens, were all active in a physical or social manner. They include formal and informal project facilitators, staff, volunteers and visitors. In case study 1, the community developer and external staff are excluded from this group.⁷ In contrast, in case study 2, the formal LCG coordinator and the PL chairperson are part of the community group since they assess themselves as being equal as all other volunteer gardeners. The table aside gives a profile of the involved people in each group.⁸

	Case study 1 LRC <i>small group</i>	Case study 2 LCG <i>small group</i>
female community gardeners	15	13
male community gardeners	7	4
Independent volunteers	21	17
Dependent volunteers	-	1
Paid garden and house workers	1	-
Non-locals	2	-
On-site min. 2 days / week	10	min. 2
On-site 1 day / week	min. 5	n.a.
Average number of people at weekly meetings	min. 8	min. 6
Age span (years)	21 – 73	2 - 75
Time of community gardeners’ involvement:		
< 6 months	7	3
6 – 12 months	7	5
1 – < 3 years	2	-
< 3 – 6 years	3	9
> 6 years	2	-
Gardeners who have children	11	9
Gardeners with occupation	8	10
Retirees, home parents	6	min. 5
Total number of active participants	min. 22	min. 18

Table 1: Involved participants in case studies 1 (LRC) and case study 2 (LCG)

The **organisational structures** and **leading bodies** differ considerably in part of the two case studies:

The Linwood Resource Centre (LRC) is a trust and operates in favour of sustainable community development with a focus on socially disadvantaged people for community empowerment and betterment. It currently unites productive and recreational garden sites with a community house including offices and rooms for gatherings. The LRC is directed by an ‘intentional leadership’: The overall leader as responsible project facilitator and visionary was fully accountable for the utilisation of resources and time of others. She as the ‘formal’ facilitator was pushed automatically into the position of a leader, since management overlapped with leadership throughout the processes.

⁶ My attendance was limited to certain days during the week.

⁷ In reality, the facilitator is, of course, part of these groups. However, they take special positions and are regarded individually in this work - as part of management and leadership.

⁸ The validity of the data is limited to the time frame of the fieldwork.

In case study 2, the Lyttelton Community Garden (LCG) ran under the umbrella of Project Lyttelton (PL), a values-based community organisation.⁹ The LCG includes productive garden sites, the community resource building (as the PL headquarters) and other socio-recreational places. In contrast to case study 1, leadership here emerged out of a need of the group in a process of rising group size and awareness. In the absence of a ‘formal’ management the overall ‘formal’ leadership was generally held by the chairperson of the umbrella organisation PL. Although a ‘formal’ LCG coordinator was announced, the actual leadership activities were taken over by the group and there was no official ‘head’ of the group.

7. Results and discussion

7.1 Leadership and management in the two community gardens

Management of a community garden is understood (in the literature) as fulfilling the task of organising land, labour and capital. The two case studies differ in some of their views of the role of management due to different organisational visions, goals, philosophies and demographic compilation.

Leadership deals with people and other resources, they had to recognise, reflect about and articulate their positions, on different organisational levels and in relation to other participants. LS in the two projects was taken on by different people in different constellations for certain tasks and responsibilities. Some leaders were ‘formal’ leaders due to their ‘formal’ responsibilities of managing and facilitating; others held informal positions within a leadership construct. The group and personal philosophies in each project underlie the ways in which (active and passive) leaders involved themselves in the process. Management and leadership are not mutually exclusive at all but they overlap frequently instead.

Complying for both case studies, as the group members became more familiar with each other and continued to work together over time, the members identified who they thought can best lead their particular groups toward the completion of specific tasks: They needed leading coordinators or coordinating leaders. However, relationships were not achieved through force but in most cases based on voluntarism, embedded in processes of learning from experiences and failures and from leadership that was (truly) distributed within teams. As mentioned, in case study 1, the facilitator of the project carried overall responsibility for organising resources, while some other members took on leading roles on a different level. Therefore, the facilitator led them and gave directions to the projects. In contrast, the overall leader in case study 2 stayed in the background to allow others space to manage the community garden details, so that the LCG could build up a leadership construct which was independently from the umbrella organisation. It can be stated that several leaders emerged in each case study. Following, a brief overview is given of tasks and responsibilities.

⁹ Project Lyttelton has initiated a range of complementary projects which are linked with each other by a loose organisational structure. The LCG as one project networks especially with the Lyttelton farmers market, a Time Bank, Lyttelton News, Grow Lyttelton etc.

7.2 Case study 1: (Dispersed) leadership approaching team leadership

In the Linwood Resource Centre (LRC), the leader was a part-time, paid project facilitator. As such, she was supported by the garden project overseer and the garden group.¹⁰ To counteract the passiveness of gardeners, the project facilitator, as community developer made a point to be and slip into the background of the project. Out of these circumstances, the community garden group sometimes also looked to an ‘informal’ leader and ab initio loyal volunteer, for guidance and supports. Another volunteer was the leader of practical applications (finances, chairperson of the trust board), another loyal volunteer was a further, informal (and therefore, invisible) main contact person for the general group of gardening volunteers.

Community developer		Garden project overseer’s tasks	LRC community
Office work, facilitating resources	Social work and facilitating people	Covering the practical part in garden sites	Collaboration
Ensure short-term community / project development, achieving long-term independency from leader	Educating and advising in terms of financial matters	Developing site, constructing, maintaining the productive and recreational sites	Creating new ideas and communicating them to the facilitator
(Re-)applying for public funding	Visiting funders’ meetings	Creating and prioritising to-do tasks	Supporting each other
Encourage participation, group d-m	Resolving conflicts	Allocating tasks to gardeners	Working as a team
Visioning, directing toward community development/team work	Keeping transparency by passing on information to the LRC community	Putting the gardener group’s money on a bank account	Supporting projects with own resources sometimes
Spread vision, generating new ideas	Expressing appreciation	Encouraging teamwork	Sharing skills and knowledge
Setting goals (individual needs)	Organising house, external bookings	Educating people at weekly Garden Talk	Encouraging people to work together
organising available resources, extra money, accounting	Creating roles and reminding participants of their responsibilities	Roughly documenting gardening happenings	Welcoming and introducing newcomers
keeping record of progresses and projects	Welcoming and introducing newcomers	Keeping record of gardening year and harvest	Keeping the house and the garden clean
Report writing for accountability		Facilitating people with tasks and tools	Allocating tasks (if needed)

Table 2: Responsibilities for tasks at Linwood Resource Centre (LRC)

7.3 Case study 2: Dispersed leadership and group-centred leadership

One active gardener was perceived by the other community gardeners as the overall leader of Project Lyttelton (PL). The formal PL leader as chairperson was supported by the umbrella organisation’s management body and other PL project groups. Within the community organisation, the Lyttelton Community Garden (LCG) group organised itself without being actively influenced by the overall leader. This process of team building led to complementary labour division (on-site coordination, administration, finances, network, PR, etc.). The group emerged over time from its initial leaderless working manner to a group with an appointed ‘formal’ garden coordinator as the need for self-organisation occurred (shortly before the start of the fieldwork). In the end, leadership was in group-centred and shared amongst people.

¹⁰ The garden project overseer is the second person, the practical manager (and informal leader) of the community garden at the LRC.

LCG coordinator	Group	Specific tasks
Co-coordination	Collaboration	Labour division
Informing the trust board with written reports	Allocating tasks to newcomers	PL chairperson Educating and reminding of PL values (flat organisational structure, time value, etc.) Visioning, directing, articulating big vision Keep transparency, inform the community If needed, seeking for more space to grow Negotiating with funders
Going to trust board meetings	Adding tasks on to-do list	
Representing the LCG on the trust board	Reminding each other of PL values	
Keep the LCG going, take it to a further step	Promoting the LCG and PL, attracting people	
Planning and mapping garden sites	Informing the community	
Creating and updating to-do task list	Sharing the garden, skills, decision-making	PL administrator Regulating the financial PL situation Applying for public funding Educating in terms of applying for funding
Facilitating successful harvest	Set PL values into action	
Listening to and asking the community		
Maintaining transparency	Working as a team	Co-coordinators Cooking soup, preparing lunch Organising composting workshops Organising open days Promoting composting at farmers markets Watering Networking in the community

Table 3: Responsibilities for tasks at Lyttelton Community Garden (LCG)

7.4 Leadership - follower relationships: Common observations

What remains to highlight is that leaders in both community gardens attempted deliberately to reduce their own power and to make group members (namely volunteers, trust board members, and staff) as responsible community members as possible in the particular settings. This process appeared very challenging in both case studies since primarily the leaders were firmly entangled in management tasks and responsibly organising resources. The characteristics and performance of the community gardens are most significantly the result of the skills of their leadership in the following areas: (1) appropriate resource management, (2) acquiring public funding, (3) community leadership in practice and empowerment of people, (4) putting visions into actions, (5) maintaining and stimulating group dynamics, and all equally but different (6) application, education and sharing of horticultural knowledge and (7) project development on a community level.

Followership perspectives are essential for any leadership, whether both constructs are clearly distinct or overlapping, but will here not be further specified. It still shall be briefly stated that, in fact, the act of ‘following’ the involved leaders appeared indeed to be vital to the analysis of leadership and with it to better understanding of how leading and following personalities correlated in processes. Also external forces and endless internal factors are considerably influential in determining organisational performances. This leads to the recognition that leadership should not be overestimated nor conceptualised within set boundaries, and this applies also to the leader personality itself. But if nothing else, the study acknowledges that the concept of leadership is a permanent phenomenon and social construct in all parts of our human being. In this specific context, leadership and followership can not be strictly separated but are present in all parts and levels of the community garden organisations because ‘followers’ contribute to particular leadership constructs in community gardens. Those groups and interdependencies are relevant to the success or failure of projects.

Overall, people in both community gardens were more likely to take on responsibility when (1) they were encouraged to do so, (2) others took on as well, (3) when tasks satisfied personal needs and interests, (4) the

level of responsibility appeared manageable, (5) organisational structures were relatively low, and (6) they could identify themselves with the project.

8. Effectiveness in community gardens

Both leadership and management are part of a whole organisational phenomenon in a community garden organisation. Effectiveness, therefore, is the result of compiling authentic leadership for change with effective management, while individual needs of participants are considered. Therefore, developing effective leaders is not just good advice for creating a successful organisation, it is a vital prerequisite, especially in the fast-changing, globalising environment that organisations face today, locally and globally. The effectiveness of leadership in this context embraces more than leadership behaviours and activities has a personal and spiritual touch. Whether intentionally or not, leadership articulates a meaning to a garden community that appear to affect their lives even outside the community gardens. This can cause that the group's identity satisfies the community gardeners' needs beyond gardening.

If leaders take on certain responsibilities, that is combining leadership with management, not so much for the projects' present state and contingency but rather to 'get things done', they can lead effectively to a long-term success of a community garden. The leadership in case study 1 built up effectiveness with a clear focus on social parameters while not all leaders were task-oriented in terms of producing on-site to achieve successful community development. Leadership in case study 2 did not compromise on either social or task-oriented processes, but instead emphasised the interdependency of the two. Collective visioning and taking action as a group appeared to be as important.

'What is best'? Clearly, it is not only about 'good' and 'bad' leadership behaviour in terms of achieving effective performance of a community garden project. Besides physical outcomes, such as food, it is also about non-materialistic aspects, such as social benefits, project identity, member motivation, creating opportunities for contributions and developing personalities. It appeared to be just as important, that effective leader personalities partly integrate 'their' projects into their personal lives, pass on their knowledge, skills (e.g., horticultural, management, social/community development, communicational) and qualities (e.g., confidence, integrity, consistence, self-awareness, an ability to keep focused) as well as their experiences, and that they are interconnected with a social, local and global way of thinking. They show courage and emotions, sometimes more and sometimes less, most of all, they show their passion. While dealing with people and other resources, they recognise, reflect about and articulate their positions, on different organisational levels and in relation to other participants. But for all that, aware or not, 'real' effectiveness and authentic leadership is not suited for every situation. Open communication and transparency as well as team work were vital for an inclusive organisation to function well and being available for the community.

Attempt at a definition: ‘Effective’ leadership

What predominates in the literature is the recognition that effective leadership can be taught. A leadership construct’s success can depend on selecting and intervening with a behavioural style fitting to the moment and atmosphere, educating a group and always being sensitive, flexible, discerned, and adaptive; to influence without (direct) authority, to work with a cross-functional team, to understand a rapidly changing, complex system and to be willing to take a risk on people; to self-manage, to self-lead, to reflect, to be aware, to have self-understanding, etc. (Napier & Gershenfeld, 2004; Manz & Sims, 2001; Parks, 2005; Patton & Downs, 2003). The effectiveness of leadership is furthermore dependent on group individuals, the community and organisation on the moral, the willingness for cooperation and for contributing efforts to the leadership process.

In conclusion of this study, ‘effective’ leadership has to be distinctively defined in terms of the accomplishment of tasks, social development and the balance between those. With regard to the two case studies, effective leadership in community gardens can be interpreted as a construct that aims to empower people on different levels by passing appropriate responsibilities and individually considered tasks onto community gardeners. This behaviour enhances the participants’ sense of ownership for the communal garden and consequently can lead to increased personal commitment and (qualitative) productivity. In this process, it can be suggested that expectations of leaders, members and among each other (norms, rules, working ethics,...) have to be identified and supportively implemented. Effective leadership with an interest in personal growth and development of members is then able to understand and communicate the purpose and needs of the group, to set goals and to assess the way to achieve them as a team, so that relationships can establish.

Equally important is it as an effective leader to reflect own actions, to ask oneself and others questions and to listen actively as leaders shall remain open for suggestions and new approaches, and to take these seriously. Once final decisions are made, either alone or in a group, leaders are supposed to promote news as well as dreams and the big vision for motivating others in an inclusive way. The more people from the community are involved in (re-)creating the current vision, the more they can identify themselves with the project and see a reason to further contribute their time and energy. It is hence especially important to encourage collective visioning processes as well as to remind each other of visions, values and interests.

9. Grounded theory

The analysis grounds its discussion on merits of ‘effective’ leadership and management and related outcomes as results of a detailed grounded theory study.

9.1 Why is it important to have leadership in a community garden?

From this study, we learnt about the importance of effective leadership, visionary leaders and leaders as strategic thinkers and pragmatic organisers in community gardens. Having a leader is not inevitable but is often helpful or emerges out of a need to give direction to a project and its people; especially when it is

about getting things done and reacting rapidly to any situation. Somebody has to tell participants about current activities and to organise tasks and people on a daily or weekly basis. At the same time, effective leadership shows appreciation to the volunteer work and brings hope to a small group, which is vital in any community project. Leaders hence allow others to feel useful, while they are further taught about how to really share land and resources communally. For that, leadership is interested to carry on norms and set rules to enforce an organisation's specific values, and especially visionary leadership that holds the broader vision(s) for its projects and continuously provides its people with a set of values.

In the end, leaders are here to represent 'their' community garden, its ideas and optimally a strong community group. Overall, leadership supports the management in the garden and vice versa. If there is need for having someone with ultimate responsibility and accountability, leadership will automatically descend to management. Moreover, If one person always carries a heavy workload, that person tends to get frustrated.

9.2 How are leadership, management and the community garden entity interrelated?

Leadership helps, supports and serves a community to build a vision and strategy to direct a project toward its vision. For it, leadership personalities, their behaviour, skills and domestic situations are crucial. The study found further that roles of leadership in community garden projects touch multiple branches what allows leader personalities to develop beyond what is a 'conventional' career: They challenge own skills in terms of management (tasks-based structures), personal leadership capacities (group-based orientation) and /or horticultural production in particular. The more comprehensive the set of skills is the less dependent is a leader on others. In a consequence, independent leadership personalities with high-functioning skills are more likely to make autonomous decisions. Manager/facilitator with admirable skills will be further recognised by others as a leader even after only a short time in the group. Management-focused leadership puts efforts into moving more efficiently toward set goals rather than on an actual process. If more people are involved in matters of management, the process of finding group consensus seems to take longer; but once it is achieved, more people with same goals can move faster toward realising visions and goals from the ground up.

If a community garden wants or needs more public funding, more time has to be spent on preparing more funding applications. These can mean that some on-site productivity (deliverables) has to be sacrificed for some time of office work instead. To receive more public funding means also to commit the fulfilment of new goals to community gardeners and to increase the report writing. At the same time, an increased budget brings also opportunities to reach a wider community and to realise goals faster, for example, by getting support from paid staff or hired tools. Expectations toward participants (e.g., in terms of working ethics, harvesting policy, use of resources) are important to express and can often be traced back to the financial situation of the community garden: The study supports that expectations towards participants increase the more an organisation relies on public funding and the higher the amounts are. Also time constraints are closely correlated with financial matters and are often limiting factors for garden projects. Explicit

appreciation of 'time' loosens the time constraint factor and therefore the monetary pressure on individuals and the group.

Operating with little public funding and/or as a complementary team (team work, labour division) enables a community garden group to concentrate on the process, moving towards a vision rather than focusing predominantly on set outcomes. Still, setting short-term goals helps to keep a project going. An increase of the self-funding section brings higher independence from public funds and new goals and activities. The amount of obligatory paper work decreases automatically. At the same time, people from the community gardens develop a sense of ownership and pride with the generation of a little income, for whose utilisation they can freely decide.

As discussed previously and supported by the data, traditional leadership aligns more closely and pragmatically with the management and focuses on outcomes. In contrast, group-centred leadership concerns itself with the process as much as with final deliverables. If leadership and management are not particularly distinct from each other, the project's leadership can appear pragmatically (rather than idealistically) which in a consequence influences the interrelationships, a group's dynamic and finally the culture of a community garden entity. In other words, the (physical) separation of a visionary leader from the management body favours vital visioning, Otherwise, processes of visioning tend to get compromised by pragmatic thinking which hinders holistic thinking 'out of the box' that is important in the supporting cooperation between management and leadership.

Increasing complexities of organisational structures make it improbable for a single leader to reach all people in the organisation to a satisfactory extent. Hence, in any case, transparency is vital for effective performance of an organisation at all levels. Otherwise, people, and especially volunteers, lose the focus, personal interest and a sense of commitment. The study indicates that the more complex an organisation is the more difficult is it to keep organisational transparency on all levels, especially if communication was centred among only a few individuals. The potential for misunderstanding and also the time needed for clarification must therefore be considered, especially with an increasing level of institutionalisation and relatively higher complexity. Quality communication, however, leads to team work, increased productivity (in the optimal case) and induces change.

9.3 Leadership affects small group dynamics

Leadership personalities with their particular characteristics, skills and motivations are reflected by the way of how a community garden operates as an entity. The way in which people are led influences how community gardeners interact with each other (and create group identity). Effective leaders have some incentives to actively communicate 'leadership' to a community garden group: (1) issues of ownership of and belonging to a small group (in a community garden), (2) for the provision of a set of values and visions, (3) to give direction toward visions, (4) for verbal communication (What is leadership? Who am I? How do we work?), (5) within processes of rewarding, and (6) to keep/highlight the inclusiveness and transparency.

Small group dynamics vary with their level and type of dependency on leadership. A leader in a community garden receives most acceptance from the group if s/he is involved as one of the common group members, that is, as an active gardener (common identity). If a leader feels high personal ownership for the garden project, in comparison to the other members of the community, s/he holds a high level of control. This can hinder the development of confidence and hence foster a dependency of people on the leader. Likewise, frequent input of new ideas and predominating implementation of leader's ideas results in discouraged passiveness and can be even contra-productive; and in a consequence, nothing happens at all. However, in the absence of a formal leader, groups (that is minimum two people) start often to self-organise, and most commonly seek for a new leader in an emergent processes over time.

Absolute democracy was not possible. But generally observed, the more people are intellectually capable, self-aware and showed responsible behaviour, the more group-centred can an organisational body be, while disadvantaged people who struggle with their lives, live on the edge of society or were mentally or physically impaired tend to seek guidance. At the same time, this means that whether people want to be led or to lead depends to a great extent on behaviours and perceptions of others, both from leaders and followers. A community gardener's choice for a role is frequently influenced by their personalities grounded in former experiences. Clearly, people who like to lead and to work independently show more initiative but are likely to develop critical relationships with other strong leaders. Opposing, a 'want-to-be-led' person feels rather uncomfortable in an environment in which active contribution to group leadership is expected.

Interestingly, this study indicates that the more a project was led in a group-centred manner, the more female participants assembled for gardening and socialising activities. Yet, that is not a generalisable explanation for this observation by any means. What was observed was that men, who came to community gardens to work, seemed to prefer obeying to obey to and following especially female leaders. But if needed, they could also act independently.

10. Challenges: The ideal community garden does not exist!?

A community garden project as (part of) autonomous (radical, green) community organisations has the potential to stand for the utilisation of communal land, empowerment, complementary lifestyle and independency. It needs realistic goal setting to avoid disappointments, but romanticised dreaming is still allowed and keeps the vision up-dated. The final effectiveness of any process depends mainly on the context, the committing people, their needs, values, motivations, tasks, timeframes, visions and goals, the organisational structure as well as on a transparent communication. For that, the uniqueness of each garden project created by the circumstances shall be appreciated: the productivity, appearance of garden sites, the diversity of personalities, ages, social backgrounds, ethnicities, aims, philosophies, skills, knowledge. It is the common goodwill of people, whether leading and/or participating, that needs to be highlighted first and foremost! Over time, a group's identity and social cohesion can develop as people combine communal gardening, group work, sharing a vision and regular (creative) socialising gatherings. This can lead to a high personal commitment and productivity. For that, people really need a driving motivation, and as such

initiatives are funded by people outside of a core group, there should be calm and cool-headed circumstances. By the way, the practice of voluntarism can bring a paradigm shift of thinking, acting and believing... The participation can encourage a gardener to self-identify with the project as one develops own visions and ideas, brings in new people, builds relationships, cultivates land and puts in work. It is most often of advantage if participants enter the community who are self-reliant, loyal and show initiative for especially tasks like planning additional (part-)projects, financial services, communicational tasks, understanding of effectiveness etc. In the end, it does not matter in particular, which activities one does. It is rather about quality and not quantity (depending on the group's expectation)! But the more diverse an offer of activities is the more different, interested people are likely to be attracted. At least it is important that sections of land and organisational matters are freely available for being developed, individually cultivated and for applying newly learnt skills. Workshops are great opportunities for education and attracting a wider community (especially during wintertime). Generally, the more people participate the higher is the potential for physical but also mental, intellectual and spiritual development of any community garden project, its people, the groups and the community as a whole.

In the absence of autonomous hierarchy, relative simple organisational structures with low complexity make it easier for people to engage in activities, to be appropriately aligned to tasks, to gain a sense of belonging, to control the codes of conducts, to express their own needs and moreover to explore and contribute their personal passion and creativity. In the very end, a garden project's success depends on the effectiveness, complementarity and sustainability of leadership and management: Different sections of a project need different levels of attention at different times. The main challenge is to suit a community project best to the purpose of leaders, groups, a community, the organisation, and overall, to individuals.

Increasing organisational complexity is likely to result in dependency on single individuals. Likewise, having large amounts of public funding leads to dependency on sponsors. Dependency risks that a project is forced into directions that turns its focus away from its initial vision and fundamental purpose. For that it is important to stuck to following **key principals**:

- Creating an appropriate organisational structure
- Open communication on all organisational levels to keep transparency, inclusiveness, sustainability
- Being pragmatic about financials: goal setting, controlled utilisation of €, monitoring, reporting to sponsors
- Maintaining team ethos: team building, teamwork, group identity, individual consideration, freedom, celebrating
- Getting politically active if necessary
- Maintaining social cohesion: emotional and advisory support in conflict situations, shared lunch, meetings
- Having faith in small changes: Never think that you cannot change anything!

11. Summary

The resurgence of community gardens is a recent response to current mainstream society and the on-going process of urbanisation. The role of community gardening and food security programs has not least gained importance because many de-industrialised countries face problems of unemployment, homelessness, environmental destruction, ethnic separation and food insecurity. The conducted research focused on two community garden projects in Christchurch, New Zealand. The two case studies were characterised by a range of diverse activities, in which the community could participate, their community itself, and with it the particular leadership constructs and management performances. As a result of the research process it was finally possible to highlight the crucial but important role of leadership in democratically-led community garden projects which aim for empowerment and betterment on a local community level.

The study underlines that 'real' effectiveness of a leader correlates with the context and culture of every community garden. The study also shows that it is important to establish each community garden in a way that makes it appropriate and attractive for its users. While focusing on a central leading figure can result in fast change and productivity, this might not be the case in a long-term perspective. In any case, leadership and followership are two parts of one phenomenon. The dance between leading and following as well as the balance between leadership and management ; determines effectiveness and success, contributing to the benefit of the local community and to sustainable urban development. Hence, only if the needs of the community are met, can the projects gain relevancy as such. Dispersed leadership can be seen as a theoretical and practical response to the widespread use of empowerment strategies. Both community garden organisations focus intensively on the followers, who can use their abilities to lead themselves and others by liberating leadership. It was about a collective entity, and not so much what individuals do. Group awareness resulted in an emergence of a leadership that developed according to the needs of the group.

In summary, it can be gathered from the study that, in all cases, leadership actively exerts influence on a community garden's entity, and affects always the group of community gardeners. In the end, leadership appears to hold the ultimate power to attract and therefore to determine the composition of people, activities and their underlying visions in a community garden. However, leadership cannot exist and influence without followership, as much as leadership cannot be shared without the will of the community it serves.

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