

**FEELING AT HOME WITH THE UNFAMILIAR: MOTIVATING
PEOPLE THROUGH VISCERAL ENGAGEMENTS WITH FOOD**

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DEDICATION

To my little,
for reminding me of my own motivations when I had forgotten.

ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

Feeling at Home with the Unfamiliar: Motivating People Through
Visceral Engagements with Food

by

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Using North Philadelphia as a case study, my thesis analyzes the capacity of nonprofit organizations to generate civic participation through a place-based politics that highlights the importance of emotional, affective and visceral engagements with food. Through qualitative methods, I analyze an urban gardening project established by the African American United Fund (AAUF), a nonprofit organization in North Central Philadelphia. The capacity of this organization to motivate African Americans around food and gardening using a place-based politics of home is of particular interest. The central questions of my thesis revolve around the kind of politics such projects cultivate and why this matters to the future of an inclusive, diverse and integrated food movement. I used several methods to conduct this study, including ethnographic fieldwork, participant observation and archival research. To analyze this data, I developed a theory of internalized access to argue that people's bodily motivations to become involved with food movements are individually experienced and socially produced. I found that the AAUF's urban gardening project generates civic participation through a place-based politics that addresses such emotional, affective and visceral relationships to food, providing opportunities for African Americans to cultivate different racialized class subjectivities. The intellectual merit of my thesis lies in its effort to advance work on food movements within critical and social geography. Furthermore, the broader impacts of the study include its capacity to generate insights that will help nonprofits provoke structural changes in the food system through an inclusive civic participatory body.

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INTRODUCTION

When I moved to Philadelphia in 2008, I worked for several nonprofit organizations that aimed to transform the food system by improving access to local, sustainable and organic food. I then identified as a “foodie” who felt personally fulfilled in my duty to bring “good” food to others. Of course, things changed drastically when I realized that many people, especially among low-income and racialized groups, were uninterested in our projects and at times blatantly opposed to them/to our methods. This was true even of food access projects that were essentially giving away money in the form of coupons and vouchers for fresh produce. I didn’t understand, our intentions were good and our projects seemed to address what was presumably the biggest barriers to food access: income and physical location. If people had limited resources for purchasing healthy food then why did they choose not to participate in these projects?

Using North Philadelphia as a case study, my thesis analyzes the capacity of nonprofit organizations to generate civic participation through a place-based politics that highlights the importance of emotional, affective and visceral engagements with food. Through qualitative methods, I analyze an urban gardening project established by the African American United Fund (AAUF), a nonprofit organization in North Central Philadelphia. The capacity of this organization to motivate African Americans around food and gardening is of particular interest. As an embodied and visceral experience shaped by societal constraints and discursive practices, people’s motivations are at once material, emotional and imagined. Furthermore, organizations must understand what motivates people to become involved with

certain foods and food practices if they wish to provoke structural changes in the food system through civic participation. Throughout my thesis, I argue that people's motivations cleave along lines of gender, race, class and other differences, suggesting an opportunity to engage with societal processes at the level of individuated bodies. The capacity of the AAUF to generate civic participation hinges on their place-based approach to urban gardening, which provides opportunities for African Americans to cultivate new racialized subjectivities around food. Unlike the bulk of the literature on food movements, which assumes racial and economic homogeneity by advocating color-blind and universalist approaches, an analysis of the AAUF's urban gardening project highlights a challenge to societal inequalities through the food system. Therefore, this research project contribute to the literature by demonstrating that food movements are shaped by numerous and diverse factors, eluding unitary depictions and critiques. Working through a geographic framework, I analyze the capacities and limitations of the AAUF's urban gardening project, providing insights that help nonprofits generate structural changes in the food system through civic participation.

The AAUF is a community-based organization located in a low-income African American neighborhood in North Central Philadelphia. The AAUF works to increase access to social and human services, awareness of criminal justice issues and health issues, as well as to promote cultural development and provide youth leadership training. In 2010, the AAUF established an urban garden as part of their *Urban Garden Initiative*, which aims to improve wellbeing and quality of life among African Americans through increased access to fresh produce, nutritional education, job training opportunities and recreational space. Their garden serves as a meeting place where local residents engage in gardening and attend events, such

as youth talent shows and farmers markets. Furthermore, the formerly incarcerated and the unemployed learn valuable skills in the garden, helping them start small landscaping businesses. Such grassroots place-based initiatives are complemented by local policy-oriented campaigns such as the *X-offenders for community empowerment*, an initiative aimed at institutionalizing laws that prohibit employers from discriminating against the formerly incarcerated.

I became involved with the AAUF as a volunteer while an undergraduate student at Temple University. As both a Women's Studies major and gardener who worked for numerous nonprofits establishing urban gardens with children and youth in North Philadelphia, I found the design of the AAUF's garden as a domestic space intriguing. To learn more about the gardening project, I became a volunteer, developed a lasting relationship with the executive director, and expanded on my experience as a Master's student in the Geography Department at San Diego State University through my thesis research. Through this research, I found that the garden's design is part of a place-based politics fostering feelings of familiarity and belonging that motivate residents to become involved with urban gardening through visceral engagements with food. Their strategy differs from most food access projects focusing solely on economic incentives and emphasizing market-based solutions to address uneven access to healthy food. My thesis explores how the construction of the garden is related to the objectives of the AAUF to improve the psychological, emotional and physical health among African Americans and to those of an increasingly popular food movement. It asks: **(1) how is the garden constructed as a homeplace? (2) how does the garden's design speak to the racialized experiences of African Americans along lines of gender, class, age and other**

social differences? (3) what kind of food politics do these entanglements cultivate? (4) why does this matter to the future of food movements?

In the first chapter, I review three bodies of literature dealing with food movements, nonprofit organizations and home, emphasizing the construction of gardens as domestic space. After outlining their capacities and limitations, I develop a conceptual framework for understanding the place-based politics that nonprofit organizations such as the AAUF use to generate civic participation at multiple scales.

The second chapter outlines the methodological approach I used to collect and analyze data. Within this chapter, the first subsection discusses the use of (auto)ethnographic methods to generate an understanding of people's motivations to garden. Subsequently, the second subsection gauges the limitations of ethnography, exemplifying the somewhat indescribable experience of organizing a panel discussion. In this subsection, I explain how my approach to research fieldwork intersects with the values and objectives of participatory action research (PAR). Lastly, I explain my use of archival research to construct a historical analysis of Philadelphia's food landscape.

In the third chapter, I work through an episodic analysis highlighting key processes shaping access to food throughout Philadelphia's history. My analysis of historical moments, captured in discrete vignettes from multiple platforms, show how slavery, segregation, urban renewal, race riots, and mass incarceration shape access to food resources and sustain the racial bifurcation of local food movements. In the final chapter, I analyze people's

motivations to become involved with the AAUF's urban gardening project, and gardening more generally, through close readings of interviews. I pay particular attention to the design of the organization's urban garden and its role in generating civic participation by encouraging feelings of familiarity, belonging and nurture that motivate African Americans to garden. At the end of the chapter, I gauge the capacities and limitations of their approach and suggest that it is not enough to simply understand people's motivations; they must also be interrogated to cultivate structural change in the food system.

The intellectual merit of this research lies in its effort to advance work on food movements within critical and social geography, by adopting a geographic approach that conceptualizes the garden as a place that is economically, socially and emotionally constructed over time in ways that enable a certain politics today. I define place using Massey's concept of "throwntogetherness," or diverse elements that cross categories, such as natural and social, and come together to produce a particular 'here and now' (Massey 2005). This conceptualization of place furthers an understanding of the diverse processes that shape the garden. Among these processes, are discursive practices constructing the urban garden as a homeplace. I synthesize African American thought and feminist geography to advance an understanding of 'home' as a fleeting and momentary encounter that is material, emotional and imagined (Massey 2005). Within such encounters are latent opportunities for people who are marginalized through historical processes of oppression and exploitation to cultivate new and liberating ways of feeling, thinking and acting (hooks 1990). An analytical framework that examines the particularities of place is significant because it reveals how food

movements materialize through local processes that affect people in geographically contingent ways.

The broader impacts of studying people's motivations to become involved with food movements are many. First, a focus on motivation provides opportunities for nonprofits to evaluate the efficacy of food security projects. In doing so, my thesis provides insights helping nonprofits cultivate structural changes in the food system through civic participation. Furthermore, implied throughout my work is the suggestion that nonprofits work *with*, rather than for, residents in low-income neighborhoods. Through collaborative efforts, the decision-making power of African Americans and other racialized groups will increase, such that social justice can be enacted through food.

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In this chapter, I review three bodies of literature dealing with critiques of food movements, nonprofit organizations and the relationship between state and civil society, as well as the scholarship on home as a site for an oppositional politics ripe with political contradictions. In the first section, I review research within social and critical geography on contemporary food movements advocating for local, sustainable and organic food. In the second section, I review research on nonprofit organizations, paying particular attention to scholarship that advances feminist perspectives on welfare geographies. In the final section, I link research within African American thought and feminist geography on home with particular attention to literature theorizing gardens as domestic space. These diverse bodies of scholarship further an understanding of the societal constraints limiting the capacity of nonprofit organizations to generate civic participation around food. These limitations inevitably shape the composition and texture of contemporary food movements in multiple and contradictory ways. With this in mind, my reading of the literature on home suggests some ways that nonprofits might motivate people to become involved with food movements through an emotional approach that acknowledges social differences and inequalities. In the fourth chapter, I analyze the AAUF's urban gardening project to provide an example of how such an approach might work. After outlining both the capacities and limitations of the existing literature, I develop a theoretical framework to help nonprofit organizations generate civic participation around food where food movements are/can be more inclusive and collaborative.

FOOD MOVEMENTS: A DUALISM OF CELEBRATION AND REJECTION

A multiplicity of food movements advocating for local, sustainable and organic food and agriculture have emerged in the U.S. over the past twenty-five years (Alkon and Agyeman 2011). Despite their differences, scholars have used the term alternative food movements (AFM) to refer to them collectively, suggesting that together they offer an “alternative” to our “broken” food system. Yet, it is not always clear which aspect of the food system these movements are proposing to challenge. Is it the system’s capitalist roots, its industrial approach, its lack of transparency or its enormous environmental cost? The bulk of the literature typically emphasizes the power of consumer choice to reduce environmental externalities and stimulate economic development when purchasing locally produced, sustainable and organic food. However, there is a growing body of scholarship within critical and social geography that is critical of the racial and economic homogeneity of AFM, as well as its focus on individual choice and ‘expert knowledge.’ Much of this literature elucidates how the reproduction of whiteness is enmeshed with the cultural beliefs, values and practices that drive these movements (Guthman and Dupuis 2006; Slocum 2006; Slocum 2007; Slocum 2008; Hayes-Conroy and Hayes-Conroy 2008; Hayes-Conroy and Martin 2010; Slocum 2010). These critiques emerged in response to the overwhelming faith that scholars and activists place in the universal potential of market-based solutions to eliminate the uneven costs and benefits of industrialized agriculture. For instance, some scholars highlight how market-based solutions define participation in food movements based on consumer choices that many low-income and racialized groups cannot afford to make (Guthman 2004; Guthman 2008; Alkon and Agyeman 2011). These scholars elucidate how such solutions are exclusive to white upper-middle class people, and offer fewer benefits to low-income and

racialized groups. Many have even questioned the extent to which local, organic and sustainable agriculture can truly become an alternative to capitalist industrialized agriculture without being co-opted (Guthman 2004; Alkon and Agyeman 2011; Wilson 2013.)

Increasingly, scholars within critical and social geography have worked through theories of embodiment, affect and emotion to analyze social reproduction through the production and consumption of food (Hayes-Conroy and Hayes-Conroy 2008; Slocum 2008; Hayes-Conroy and Martin 2010; Hayes-Conroy and Hayes-Conroy 2013). For example, Heynen, Kaika and Swyngedouw (2006) work through an urban political ecological framework to argue that human bodies are produced through socio-metabolic processes that link their biological existence to external processes through which food is produced, accessed and consumed. According to them, food security projects aiming to improve access to healthy food perpetuate regulatory fictions that obscure the visceral dimensions of hunger as an individually felt as well as socially produced phenomenon. Furthermore, these fictions are problematic because they depoliticize the experience of hunger, effectively limiting the capacity of food movements to address broader processes that shape our individuated bodily experiences and engagements. Working through a visceral approach, Hayes-Conroy and Hayes-Conroy (2013) develop a multiscalar framework for thinking about food-body relationships called the Political Ecology of the Body framework (PEB). They use this framework to understand and analyze people's motivations to eat 'healthy' food and become involved with 'alternative' food practices. Ultimately, they argue that the motivation to eat 'healthy' food is a matter of affective relation shaped by "a rhizome of structural and haphazard forces" that are at once social and natural. As such, people's motivations register

at the gut-level when they feel drawn toward relatable/familiar cultural beliefs, values and practices to which they can relate. Also, the authors claim that people's capacity to become motivated by alternative food practices is a matter of "internalized access," or their affective capacity to feel a certain level of comfort for what they are eating. Furthermore, these feelings are shaped by prior histories and genealogies that precede and shape our individuated experiences with food.

Additionally, a multitude of scholars have turned their attention to structural constraints that limit physical access to healthy food in low-income neighborhoods (Heynen et al 2006; Kwate 2008; Guthman 2008). For instance, Kwate (2008) points out that many researchers consider environmental factors, such as fast food density in urban neighborhoods, when explaining disproportionate rates of obesity among African Americans. Yet, few have advanced explanatory frameworks that elucidate how these environments were produced. Addressing this gap, Kwate argues that racial segregation in the U.S. created a residential landscape that proved profitable for fast food corporations because they were able to access an exploitable population. Through her research, Kwate demonstrates how the effects of racial segregation on population, physical infrastructure, economic circumstances and societal processes are cited as historical factors making African American neighborhoods a particularly vulnerable target for fast food corporations. In the midst of such exploitation and oppression, Heynen (2009) argues that bodily survival is one of the most radical forms of resistance that African Americans can enact. Turning his attention to the Black Panther Party (BPP), he discusses how their Free Breakfast for Children Program worked through a set of spatial practices that ensured the social reproduction of inner-city communities by addressing

racial and economic inequality at multiple scales. Heynen acknowledges a strength of the BPP was its challenge to the contradictions of capitalism or capital fairness, namely that so many should go hungry amidst such opportunity and prosperity. The BPP addressed this contradiction on both a material and ideological level, by feeding children so they could survive and gain the strength required to confront and transform the obstacles they faced.

While some scholars deal with the practices of food movements, others are primarily concerned with the language politics that underpins the literature on alternative food. Scholars of AFM are criticized for employing language that inadvertently reinforces the same cultural beliefs, values and practices they aim to dismantle. For instance, one scholar questions the very concept of “alternative” in AFM, arguing that the use of the alternative/conventional binary to describe food movements obscures a wide range of networks and communities that engage in food practices (Wilson 2013). Instead, Wilson argues for a more nuanced approach that avoids overly general and simplified language to draw distinctions between different food practices. Others focus on the ways in which the alternative/conventional binary encourages a “dualism of uncritical celebration or complete rejection” (Follet 2009; Wilson 2013).

Two responses have emerged from these critiques. One offers more detailed definitions of “alternative food” (Maye, Holloway and Kneafsey 2007; Follet 2009; Maye, Holloway and Andree et al 2010). Another avoids the concept of “alternative” altogether, emphasizing the particular constellations of social, ecological and political economic processes through which food movements materialize (Jarosz 2008). For instance, Holloway et al (2007) suggest a

series of analytical fields that highlight the various processes through which food movements emerge and function. These fields include: site of food production, food production methods; supply chain, arena of exchange, producer-consumer interaction, motivations for participation, and constitution of individual and group identities (Holloway et al 2007).

Within this approach, they suggest that scholars pay less attention to labeling and categorizing food movements and more attention to the assemblages that comprise them.

From a geographic perspective, their work offers an opportunity to interrogate the politics of local food. In recent years, the politics of AFM are primarily centered on “buying local” without much attention to the implications of a localized food system or a clear understanding of what constitutes local food (Joassart-Marcelli and Bosco 2014). More attention to the series of Holloway et al.’s analytical fields might generate a better understanding of the actual practices and effects of “buy local” campaigns refer. Furthermore, their suggestion may be applied to the binary of alternative/conventional as much as it may be applied to the grouping of food movements under categories such as food justice, food security and food sovereignty. While these categories offer useful ways of thinking about the departures and convergences between food movements, they can inadvertently obscure the place-based constellations through which local efforts materialize, including who the local actors and beneficiaries are (Born and Purcell 2006; Joassart-Marcelli and Bosco 2014).

In the next section, I review scholarship on nonprofit organizations within critical and social geography. The work of nonprofits is relevant to food movements because they form a node in the complex network of assemblages through which they materialize. Furthermore, a better understanding of these assemblages allows me to contextualize the capacity of nonprofit

organizations to generate civic participation around food within the structural constraints they must confront.

NONPROFIT ORGANIZATIONS AND THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN STATE AND CIVIL SOCIETY

In order to critically analyze the capacities and limitations of food movements, it is productive to engage with the practices of nonprofit organizations, and specifically with their relationship to state institutions. The bulk of the literature on nonprofit organizations is motivated by concerns over the dismantling of the welfare state. Implicit in these discussions is a set of questions about the role of state institutions and civil society in the distribution and allocation of public goods. However, exactly what constitutes these seemingly distinct entities has been a source of much debate. In this section, I review scholarship on nonprofit organizations in order to generate a deeper understanding of the complex factors that shape food movements, including the capacity of organizations to generate civic participation around food.

Some scholars argue that the transfer of responsibility for social services from state institutions to nonprofit organizations gives rise to a “shadow state,” wherein the state maintains its regulatory functions over the social body without providing basic needs for its citizens (Wolch 1990; Trudeau 2011). However, working through a relational view of the shadow state, Trudeau (2008) emphasizes that many different types of interactions between state institutions and nonprofit agencies are possible. Furthermore, these interactions materialize at multiple scales and are embedded in place. Such interactions do not always herald the advent of neoliberal forms of governance shifting responsibilities for social

services from the welfare state onto communities and ultimately individuals. This relational view of the “shadow state” advances a more nuanced understanding of the interactions between state institutions and nonprofit agencies.

Working through the “shadow state,” some argue that nonprofit organizations often act as compliments, rather than substitutes for government services to the extent that they would not be able to function without public funding. Through a case study of nonprofit organizations in Southern California, Joassart-Marcelli and Wolch (2003) found that the nonprofit sector, rather than providing services to the poorest areas, tends to target middle-class neighborhoods where they are more likely to elicit volunteers, private donations and public support. In another study, Joassart-Marcelli (2012) demonstrates that the majority of nonprofit organizations focus on amenities in middle-class neighborhoods. Furthermore, she argues that in serving the poor, especially racial and ethnic groups, nonprofit organizations rarely contextualize their beliefs and practices within structural processes, including the ‘hallowing out’ of the state (Jessop 1994). As a result, they overlook their complacency in the production of social hierarchies and inequalities. Still, some scholars argue that increased reliance on nonprofit organizations for social services sometimes suggests an opportunity for communities to shape and transform social regulation and integration on their own terms (Fraser et al 2003; Sites 2003; DeFilippis et al 2006; Fuller et al 2008; Ilcan 2009; Milbourne 2010; DeFilippis 2010).

Within scholarship on nonprofit organizations there is an implicit set of theoretical questions regarding the state’s responsibilities and functions. Following the “cultural turn,” there has

been considerable interest in the ways in which the discursive power of the state reverberates through the social body where identities are produced. For instance, Mountz (2010) notes that too many theories of the state fail to account for its embodiment, inadvertently reifying its mythical quality as an entity outside of people's control. Furthermore, she repeatedly criticized political geography for its lack of engagement with actual practices of state institutions (2003; 2010). By conceptualizing the state as something "out there," many scholars reproduce the binary between state and civil society, promoting what Mitchell (1991) cites as "the structural effect," a logic that undermines the agency of people and groups to change their political realities. By working through the concept of the embodied state, these scholars elucidate how state institutions occupy a diverse spectrum of geographic locations and scales, existing within the fractured fault lines of daily life as much as the policies it implements (Gupta 1995; Mountz 2003; 2010). This conceptualization promotes a rethinking of the state according to the practices that constitute government institutions, including the daily practices of civil servants.

Working hand-in-hand with embodied theories of the state and as a fundamental part of welfare geography, feminist theories of social justice provide a framework to analyze social relationships of trust, care and reciprocity within nonprofit organizations. Many scholars argue that liberal political theory and rights-bearing discourses, though commonly used to develop theories of social justice, ultimately reify powerful strands of conservative ideology and obscure the personal relationships connecting people and groups (Staheli and Brown 2003). According to some feminist scholars, welfare geographers who critique a diminution of rights often ignore the relational nature of bodies and care work, and furthermore fail to

identify conflicts between their ideals and people's actual needs and practices (Mountz 2010; Pratt 2012). Instead, others through a relational ethics of care that starts from the social relationships constituting political subjectivities (Staeheli and Brown 2003). A definition of social justice beginning with actual relationships is arguably more inclusive of people systemically marginalized through the very rights-bearing discourses supposedly prescribing freedom and equality. Unlike liberal political theory, a feminist conceptualization of social justice also considers how social relationships structuring the private sphere become political through kinship, personal ties and emotional connections (Staeheli and Brown 2003).

With regard to social movement theory, feminists have critiqued Western thought more generally for ignoring and denying the role of emotions in social and political life (Hochschild 1983; Jaggar 1989; Calhoun 2001). Their work inspired critiques of models used to understand social protest and action, including the rational-choice model which restricted motivation for participation in such activities to (ir)rational thought and decision-making processes (Olson 1965; Flam 1990; Ferree 1992). According to Massumi (2002), the problem with such models is that they rely on dualisms that contrast rationality and emotion, body and mind, as well as individual and social. Instead, he recognizes such processes as parallel and interactive. Working through a similar framework, Jasper (2011) argues that emotions are present in every phase and every aspect of protest and social movements, especially when they serve as motivational factors sparking "collective effervescence" (Collins 1975). Scholars argue that many different kinds of emotions, affect, feelings and sensations motivate political action. For instance, Traini (2009) highlights the importance of "affective loyalties" or attachments/aversions such as love, liking, respect, admiration, trust and their opposing

counterparts, while Jasper (2011) acknowledges the role that biological “urges,” such as hunger, play in protest movements. Furthermore, scholars have written extensively about the ways in which women are socialized to perform “emotional labor” that involves “channeling, transforming, legitimizing and managing one’s own and others’ emotions and expressions of emotions in order to cultivate and nurture... social movements” (Granovetter 1985). Using a case study of The Madres de Plaza de Mayo, a community of mothers and human rights activists in Argentina, Bosco (2004, 2006, 2007) elucidates how women and mothers perform emotional labor to sustain their social movements through open, embedded and cohesive social and spatial networks. Thus, emotions, affect and feeling are said to play a central role in motivating social and political action.

In the next section, I expand on the potential importance of the private sphere for nonprofit organizations by reviewing the literature on home within both African American thought and feminist geography. Ultimately, I argue that an affective/emotional approach working through a politics of place helps nonprofit organizations generate social and political action as a form of civic participation. In the fourth chapter, I provide a case study of the AAUF’s urban gardening project, arguing the construction of the urban garden as a domestic space encourages feelings of belonging, comfort and nurture that motivate African Americans to become involved with food movements. Furthermore, within both African American thought and feminist geography, scholarship on gardens as domestic space allows me to contextualize the garden’s design within social relations of gender, race and class.

THE MULTIPLE AND CONTRADICTIONARY MEANINGS OF HOME

Nonprofit organizations, as hybrids of state and civil society promoting social justice through the redistribution of resources, would benefit from heightened attention to the places where personal and emotional ties are cultivated when considered through a feminist lens. Through an ethics of care emphasizing social relationships, there is a potential for nonprofit organizations to promote inclusive visions of justice and equality, recognizing the importance of people's everyday embodied experiences. In this section, I will review the literature on home within both African American thought and within feminist geography. The multiple meanings invoked by the concept of "home," whether as family, household, native country, or neighborhood, point to diverse, intersecting and multiscale ideas about social relations and place (Hill Collins 1998). I will shift between these scales of "home" to cover a broad range of ideas, highlighting the capacities and limitations of the existing literature on home and gardens as domestic space.

HOME AS A SITE OF OPPOSITIONAL POLITICS IN AFRICAN AMERICAN THOUGHT

The home is a physical and symbolic place of considerable interest in African American thought. Omi and Winant (1994) trace this interest through understandings of home within Pan-Africanism and the Internal Colonialism paradigm. These frameworks contextualize the importance of home to people of African descent within colonial processes of exploitation and oppression that led to their displacement. For instance, according to followers of Pan-Africanism, Africa is a symbolic homeland that exists not only as a physical location, but also in the diasporic lives of previous inhabitants who have been displaced through colonization. In order to reclaim a symbolic homeland from colonial forces, many

advocate for economic development separate from the mainstream economy which privileges white upper-middle class people at the expense of racialized groups (Garvey 1986; Gilroy 2010) Likewise, the Internal Colonialism paradigm synthesizes various aspects of racial oppression, such as economic, cultural and political, to explain how nation-building projects were predicated on the subjugation of racialized groups. These scholars argue that societal structures that privilege whites came into being through colonization and were concealed in a fantasy of the white forefather who “built this land” (Gilroy 1993; Ahmed 2004). Overtime, such societal structures were institutionalized and continue to exploit the colonized, or those whose presence in a particular nation was the result of forced entry, to the benefit of groups who assumed control over “home” territories (Anzaldúa 1987; Villa 2000; Lugones 2007). Therefore, according to the paradigm, race is implicated in ongoing processes of colonization that structure the very fabric of society, making it necessary to break from the mainstream political economy to achieve racial liberation and empowerment. In both paradigms, the territorial dimensions of racism are explained through ongoing processes of colonization and displacement from a homeland. As a result, people of African descent have become diasporic groups, subjugated in part through their severed ties to a physical and symbolic home.

Black feminists asserted the importance of home to African Americans, challenging the universalist assumptions of radical feminists who came before them. For instance, according to radical feminists such as Friedan (1963), the home was the locus of women’s oppression where domestic work, such as cleaning, cooking and child rearing, did not help women achieve self-actualization, but made them deeply unhappy and unfulfilled. Black feminists acknowledged these critiques reflected the experience of some women, namely white upper-

middle class housewives. However, they argued these critiques of home did not necessarily resonate with the experiences of black women in *their* homes or working low-wage jobs in the public sphere. As such, these feminists argued women's experiences are shaped by race, class and other social differences that radical feminists failed to consider. To support their claims, black feminists argued that the home was a restorative and empowering place where black women could recuperate from the oppression and exploitation they endured in the public sphere. For example, hooks (2010) defines "homeplace" in the following way:

[A place where] Black women resisted by making homes where all black people could strive to be subjects, not objects... affirmed... despite poverty, hardship and deprivation, where we could restore to ourselves the dignity denied us on the outside, in the public world (Belonging 2010).

Throughout her work, hooks (1990; 2009) argues that the wage work black women performed in the public sphere was often more oppressive than the domestic work they performed for themselves and their families. Within this context, the home was regarded as a therapeutic place, where black women had more freedom and could develop self-worth. Furthermore, this conceptualization of home is integral to Walker's (1983) personal account of her mother's life. According to Walker, the talents of black women like her mother remain unappreciated because they are viewed as "the mule of the world," without creative faculties and fit only for menial labor. As women of color internalize this dehumanizing self-image, they are made to feel emotionless and struggle with self-worth. Yet, despite the exploitative work that Walker's mother performed as a sharecropper, she maintained a joy for gardening at home. According to Walker, the domestic food production her mother practiced is a testament to the "muzzled and often mutilated, but vibrant, creative spirit that the black woman has inherited, and that pops out in wild and unlikely places." For Walker, the home is

a place where black women could retreat from the hardships of society and cultivate cultures of creativity and nurture that are denied to them in the public sphere.

In a similar vein, Klindienst (2006) draws from detailed ethnographies to argue that gardening provides a way for racialized groups to create and preserve cultures in danger of being lost. In the process, gardens become “restorative urban ecologies,” where disenfranchised, landless populations educate the wealthiest and most privileged members of society about sustainability, preservation and endurance. Through their gardening activities, Klindienst argues that racialized groups create and preserve affirmative cultural images of themselves and claim a portion of American soil as their home. These scholars argue that gardens, and more broadly domestic spaces, are therapeutic places where an oppositional politics may be cultivated through emotional bonds of self-care denied to African Americans in other areas of society. However, hooks (2009) notes that for African Americans, gardening and domestic food production can trigger traumatic historical memories of slavery. Therefore, in order to enjoy gardening, many African Americans must overcome racial stigmas associated with “working the land.” Within this context, hooks argues that cultures of land stewardship are among the most radical forms of resistance enacted by African Americans because they provide an opportunity to transform the denigrating identities imposed on them by a white supremacist society.

However, despite its importance, the home is a place brimming with ideological contradictions, especially with regard to gender and sexuality. For instance, Hill Collins (1998) notes that often the ideal home is imagined as a place for a traditional family unit that

is comprised of a mother, father and biological children. This representation often presumes the mother stays at home to nurture children and perform domestic work in the private sphere, while the father earns income. According to her, those who idealize traditional family life often view the home as a safe haven that provides a retreat from the complications of public life. While seemingly innocent, these ideals justify countless forms of violence against people who do not adhere to heteropatriarchial norms surrounding family and gender roles. Therefore, while Afrocentric groups, for example, yearn for a homeland to dismantle hierarchies, they often rely on unexamined assumptions about gender and sexuality that sustain social inequality. These are dangerous assumptions to ignore: as Ferguson (2003) clearly states, norms surrounding the home and family are central to racial and economic inequality. Drawing from theories of racial difference in canonical sociology, Ferguson analyses how discourses of sexuality are inscribed into justifications for racial exclusion. These discourses are historically mobilized to deem African Americans unsuitable for participation in the political economy because of their presumed failure to adhere to the heterosexual family model. Therefore, following Ferguson, in order to unravel social hierarchies and understand how gender and sexuality are used to justify racial exclusion, it is necessary to synthesize feminist, queer and critical race theories, intersections that are currently under-theorized in the literature.

In the following subsection, I review literature on home within feminist geography, much of which intersects with Hill Collin's (1998) and Ferguson's (2003) critiques.

FEMINIST GEOGRAPHY AND THE POLITICS OF DOMESTICITY

The field of feminist geography provides a wealth of critical scholarship on home as a material and affective space that is shaped by everyday practices, lived experiences and social relations. While some agree with scholars of African American thought that the home can at times be a place where an oppositional politics may be cultivated, they are hesitant to rely on romanticized conceptualizations that obscure uneven power relations (Massey 1994; Duncan and Lambert 2004). For instance, Massey (1994) cautions against essentialism, arguing that some representations of home reflect a desire to return to a timeless place sheltered from the complications of an increasingly global world. According to her, this representation fails to account for the openness and fluidity of place, which extends outward to seemingly disparate places and actors. Working through an open and fluid conceptualization of home, Massey argues: “we can’t go ‘back’ home... and in the same sense... go back to nature. It too is moving on” (Massey 2005). Even though a romanticized home is meant to provide shelter from an oppressive public sphere, Massey’s argument suggests that relations constituting home extend beyond the private sphere and connect to fluid societal processes that are traditionally associated with the public.

Many scholars argue that the process of experiencing home, or a sense of being at home, is a selective and differential process that sustains social hierarchies and inequalities. For instance, Kaika (2004) argues that home is a place that relies on the efficient functioning of desired human and natural elements to the exclusion of others. Working through a political ecological framework, she explains that the home has been conceptualized through a western

bourgeois lens as a site of privacy, autonomy, and safety that is isolated from unwanted social elements, such as homelessness, and natural elements, including dirt and pollution. Likewise, Honig (1994) argues: “the dream of home is dangerous. It leads the subject to project its internal differences onto external Others and then rage against them for standing in the way of its dream.” These scholars attest to forms of social exclusion that are enacted through attempts to preserve the assumed purity, privacy and safety that home supposedly provides.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF GARDENS AS DOMESTIC SPACE

The bulk of the literature on gardens as domestic spaces within feminist geography focuses extensively on developing nations, elucidating how through reproductive labor gardens are cultivated into material and symbolic homes. For instance, in "From Forest Gardens to Tree Farms: Women, men, and timber in Zambrana-Chacuey, Dominican Republic," Rocheleau et al. (1996) analyze how uneven power relations shaped agricultural landscapes in the Dominican Republic along lines of gender, race and class. Their findings suggest that underlying assumptions about gender influence not only the kind of work that women performed, but also the physical design of the places where they worked and lived. While men worked on “farms” that produced income-generating cash crops, women worked in “patio gardens” near their homes, where they grew food for household consumption. The different spaces and labor that men and women performed reflect traditional gender roles, wherein women stay at home to do reproductive work and men engage in profit-generating activities in the public sphere. As such, the patio gardens where women worked represented symbolic extensions of their homes. Similarly, Christie (2008) focuses primarily on kitchen

gardens in central Mexico as gendered spaces where identities are constantly negotiated and traditions are continually redefined. Analyzing the sense of place that women experience in the kitchen gardens, Christie elucidates how social networks of trust, reciprocity and collaboration emerge through collective cooking activities. Throughout the article, she emphasizes no clear boundary exists between the public and private spheres, as the kitchen gardens are communal domestic spaces located outdoors.

In the next section, I analyze the capacities and limitations of research on food movements, nonprofits and home to generate a better understanding of the place-based nature of community food justice initiatives. Furthermore, I develop a theoretical framework that addresses their limitations while providing insights that will help nonprofit organizations generate civic participation around food through an affective/emotional place-based politics.

GAPS IN THE LITERATURE

Literature within critical and social geography criticizing AFM for their racial and economic homogeneity provides a welcome divergence from scholarship overstating the potential of market-based solutions to transform the food system. However, by emphasizing how normative categories of race and class are reified through food movements, the literature has a tendency to suggest that ‘alternative’ food practices are essentially white and elitist (Guthman and Dupuis 2006; Hayes-Conroy and Hayes-Conroy 2008; Slocum 2008; Hayes-Conroy and Martin 2010; Jarosz 2011). With regard to the literature on race and class, scholars critique how AFM are defined exclusively by the cultural values, beliefs and practices of white upper-middle class people (Slocum 2006; Slocum 2006; Slocum 2008;

Hayes-Conroy 2008; Slocum 2010). Yet, few scholars ask how food practices might unsettle existing identities and cultivate new subjectivities (Probyn 2000). Such gaps obscure the experiences of people along multiple and overlapping lines of social difference, while undermining the transformative power of food to provoke new ways of being, thinking and acting that might further a politically progressive politics. Without proposing solutions or directions for future growth, critiques of AFM risk suppressing powerful social movements that have yet to realize their full potential.

From the perspective of Freire and Horton (Bell et al 1990), “organizations are the stuff of social movements,” where an engagement with the research on nonprofit organizations helps scholars of AFM contextualize the limitations of food movements and provide affirmative critiques. This body of scholarship provides a useful starting point for thinking about a multitude of processes that shape food movements, including the transfer of public services (including EBT or food stamps) to the nonprofit sector. By failing to address these issues, scholars of AFM risk reifying neoliberal forms of governance shifting responsibilities for social services from the welfare state onto nonprofit organizations, communities and ultimately individuals. However, scholars must be careful to avoid the “structural effect,” a term that refers to theories of the state and civil society that obscure the power of bodies and daily care work to create subjectivities and transform political realities (Mitchell 1999). A dedicated engagement with feminist theories of social justice starting from social relationships, rather than abstract ideals, will help scholars advance research on the how personal and emotional ties are cultivated through food (Staeheli and Brown 2003). Furthermore, through a consideration of the social and natural relationships that connect

actors and places, scholars can engage with the research on nonprofit organizations to generate a more nuanced framework for analyzing the limitations of food movements, while offering solutions for future growth and transformation.

Scholarship on home provides insights that will help nonprofit organizations generate civic participation through a relational ethics of care starting with personal relationships and providing opportunities for the cultivation of new political subjectivities. The home is often imagined as a place of comfort, familiarity and belonging, where people who have been marginalized through historical processes of exploitation and oppression can seek restoration and renewal. Through a discourse on home as a site of belonging and nurture, nonprofits can motivate racialized groups confronting racial stigmas associated with domestic food production. In turn, these groups may become involved with urban gardening and other food provisioning services that might at first seem intimidating and unfamiliar. Furthermore, through feelings of comfort, familiarity and belonging, new political subjectivities may be cultivated along lines of race and class through gardening. Through a case study of the AAUF's urban gardening initiative, I provide an example of how an emotional/affective place-based politics surrounding home works. Since much research on gardens as domestic space focuses on rural communities in the global south, my thesis addresses gaps in the literature by providing a case study of an organization in an urban, US community.

Despite their potential usefulness to nonprofit organizations, discourses of home can also be used to perpetuate and sustain social exclusion. Many scholars warn against the deleterious affects of romanticized discourses that promote heteropatriarchal ideals surrounding family

and domesticity (Hill Collins 1998; Massey 1998; Ferguson 2004; Kaika 2004). Furthermore, as Kaika (2004) reminds us, these ideals have justified the exclusion of undesired social and natural elements, establishing a false sense of security and retreat from an increasingly global world. Such scholarship suggests that a place-based politics of home is as likely to create divisiveness where the potential for inclusion and collaboration exists. In order to avoid such traps, a critical engagement with the structural processes shaping people's emotional and affective experience of home must be generated. It is not enough to simply know that people feel a sense of familiarity, comfort and belonging in an ideal home, one must ask how and why they are made to feel this way and more importantly, to what end.

In the following section, I develop a theoretical framework that addresses the gaps in the literature on food movements, nonprofits and home, while providing a useful lens to help nonprofits generate civic participation.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

I employ the concept of "internalized access" to understand people's motivations (or lack thereof) to become involved with urban gardening. Furthermore, I contextualize their motivations within the structural constraints that nonprofit organizations confront and the discursive practices they adopt to generate civic participation. Hayes-Conroy and Hayes-Conroy (2013) define internalized access as a person's "articulated bodily capacit[ies] to feel a certain level of comfort, excitement, affection, pride and so on, for what [they are] eating" (Hayes-Conroy 2013). Since emotions are individually experienced, yet socially produced, a theory of internalized access is multiscalar and draws attention to ongoing histories and societal structures that shape people's orientations toward and away from foods and food

practices. For instance, how people feel about urban gardening depends in part on historical processes influencing their capacity to relate the cultural beliefs, values and practices that inform such projects. These historical processes become “internalized” and “surface on the skin” through emotional orientations toward and away from objects, people, places and practices (Ahmed 2011). For example, histories of slavery in the US are histories of racialized others exploited for their labor power to cultivate cash crops such as tobacco and cotton. Such histories can shape the desire of people along lines of race and class to practice farming and gardening. Furthermore, the stigma associated with farming and gardening for some African Americans contrasts with the romanticized spatial imaginaries of agrarianism that inform contemporary food movements. As a result, these movements tend to cement their racial homogeneity by espousing cultural beliefs, values and practices that do not resonate across race and class difference. In the third chapter, I examine the historical processes that shaped Philadelphia’s food landscape overtime, emphasizing how uneven access to resources influence people’s relationship to food in multiple and contradictory ways along lines of race and class. This analysis provides insights that I use to contextualize people’s motivations to garden within broader historical processes shaping their bodily orientations towards and away from certain places, foods and food practices. Furthermore, a better understanding of people’s orientations, feelings, desires and motivations is a fruitful starting point for generating civic participation, and will help nonprofits cultivate structural changes in the food system.

From a geographic perspective, people’s relationship to place is an important factor that both reflects and shapes their motivations to become involved with urban gardening. For instance,

through my work establishing urban gardens with youth in low-income African American neighborhoods, I have witnessed the ambiguous feelings that arise for African Americans in urban gardens. For example, sometimes the youth I worked with expressed their feeling of “being worked like slaves” in the gardens where I taught (despite the fact that their participation was voluntary), because they associated growing food with the oppression and exploitation of slavery. Their statements allude to the conflicting feelings and sense of self they experienced in the garden as a place. On the one hand, the students enjoyed their work in the voluntary program as evidenced by their weekly attendance and general sense of joy and camaraderie they shared with their peers. On the other hand, they internalized representations of blackness that equated gardening with the exploitation and oppression of slavery. Thus, their experience of the garden as a place was unsettling and ambiguous. Furthermore, their experience of place was fluid, shifting and deeply emotional as they navigated the extremes of great joy, fulfillment, pride, humiliation, shame, and boredom. To better understand their emotional experience of place, I turn to Fanon (1952) who describes the visceral dimensions of racial alienation as experienced by people of African descent within a white colonial context, which is relevant to African Americans.

Throughout his book, *Black skin, white masks: The experiences of a black man in a white world*, Fanon (1952) describes the visceral dimensions of racial alienation through corporeal metaphors. These metaphors emphasize the fleshy intensities of alienation; how it is lived, felt and experienced, underscoring the carnal immediacy of emotional and psychological liberation. While these metaphors are woven throughout the text, they are most poignant in the chapter entitled, “The lived experience of the black man.” In this chapter, the self is

located within the temporal and spatial construction of the body. For Fanon, black people exist within an atmosphere of certain uncertainty, where their bodily image is mediated through a third person awareness that negates their very humanity. Within this context, dark skin is regarded as a bodily curse that must be regulated and managed through the white gaze, or how whites perceive black bodies and black skin. This process of alienation is described as Fanon recalls the anxiety he feels on the train, where whites refuse to sit next to him. When he notices that he is the only black man on the train and the only person with unoccupied seats next to him, he begins to see himself through the eyes of white passengers, who simultaneously isolate and racialize him through their contempt for his skin and what it supposedly signifies. As he becomes submerged in the gaze of others, he notes that he was no longer enjoying himself, feeling “transported... on that particular day far, very far, from [him]self, and gave [him]self up as an object.” The feeling of being subhuman and detached, from one’s body-self reflects an alienation that happens through a third person awareness of the corporeal. Through this awareness, black body-selves are “overdetermined from the outside” becoming slaves not only to the idea that others have of them, but also to their own appearances. Furthermore, this enslavement becomes fixed when black people remain stuck in a third person awareness of themselves as subhuman. Fanon’s continual references to amputation describe this alienation as taking something essentially human violently away from black people; what is left is a paralyzing and eviscerated silence.

The work of African American scholars on double consciousness offers a particularly useful framework for analyzing the shift between a first person and a third person awareness of oneself as a place-based experience that surfaces on the skin. Du Bois (1903), in his earliest

articulation of “double-consciousness,” explains the concept simply as a “twoness...two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.” For Du Bois this splitting occurs for black Americans who see themselves in two ways: as a black American who sees themselves as *they* see themselves and as a black American viewed “through the revelation of the other [White] world.” In this paradigm, sight and recognition are crucial to understanding double-consciousness, or the ability to see oneself through not only one’s own eyes, but through the eyes of others. Many scholars have critically engaged “double-consciousness,” often expanding on how such splitting occurs. For instance, Gilroy (1993) focuses on the conflict within selves, while highlighting the productive tension in this conflict for cultivating different kinds of blackness, or “the different ways” this tension “projects or spatializes the contrasting conceptions of race, nation, culture, and community.” Gilroy’s focus then, is on double-consciousness as a means to cultivate new subjectivities by seeing one’s race in a positive light. Furthermore, as Gilroy suggests, self-cultivation materializes through space and place. Jackson (2005) expands on the significance of place when he argues that race has interiority; not only is it imposed from the outside, but also felt and experienced from the inside. This interiority is socially constructed, and used to produce and sustain racialized frameworks for determining community belonging through place. Oftentimes, as Jackson notes, these frameworks work to the detriment of racialized groups, and serve as informal means of policing public space by provoking feelings of racial inferiority, awkwardness and shame, where African Americans feel uncomfortable in “white” spaces. Furthermore, as hooks (2009) notes, this is especially true of agrarian spaces, which for many African Americans resonate with the historical trauma of slavery, sharecropping and the Jim Crow

south. Through historically-imposed representations of blackness that equate agrarian spaces with racial exploitation and oppression, African Americans often perceive themselves through a third-person awareness or “through the revelation of the [White] world” (DuBois 1903). This way of looking at oneself is devoid of agency and positive self-image, prompting African Americans to orient themselves away from certain people, places and forms of labor. However, the process of overcoming these oppressive representations and developing a first-person awareness or recognition of oneself is also a motivating factor that influences many African Americans to become involved with gardening. Therefore, as Gilroy (1993) suggests, double consciousness is a double-edged sword, and the internal struggles, conflicts and tensions that arise as a result provide fertile ground for the cultivation of “different ways” or different subjectivities through place.

The alienation described by Fanon (1952), and the “warring” described by DuBois (1903), happen when a third person awareness of the body mediated through the white gaze becomes internalized as a self-image. The role of the white gaze in this process provides some insight into the feelings of African American youth with whom I worked to construct and maintain urban gardens. On occasions when they felt “worked like slaves,” they associated growing food with the oppression and exploitation of slavery. Through a first person awareness, students remained involved in the program because they enjoyed gardening, but through a third person awareness, students associated growing food with ongoing processes of colonization that stem back to slavery in the U.S. Furthermore, as the instructor of the class who delegated tasks, my light complexion may have provoked a feeling of being watched or looked at through the white gaze, simulating a colonial moment in which whites enslaved

people of African descent to work on plantations and sustain agricultural economies. The presence of my gaze may partially explain why students shifted between first and third person awareness, at times finding it difficult to fully enjoy themselves and their work.

My experience provides insights into people's motivations (or lack thereof) to participate in food movements, especially where they intersect with agrarian spatial imaginaries that invoke colonial legacies. As black and African American scholars suggest, the lived experiences of marginalized people are shaped in part by historical processes that cleave along lines of race, class and other social differences becoming internalized and surfacing on the skin. Furthermore, they materialize through people's bodily orientations toward and away from certain people, places and objects to which they do or do not relate. This resonates with a definition of "internalized access" as a person's articulated bodily capacity to feel a sense of excitement, joy and pleasure for what they are eating (Hayes-Conroy and Hayes-Conroy 2013). By focusing not only on physical access to food retailers, but also internalized access to the cultural ideals, values and practices of food movements, nonprofits will uncover insights that help generate civic participation across and through difference. Through such collaborative efforts, nonprofits will improve service delivery to the poorest, while addressing structural inequalities that materialize through people's individuated bodies (Joassart 2012). One way to motivate people to become involved with food movements is to work through a place-based politics that lends a sense of familiarity, belonging and nurture to spaces that might otherwise have negative connotations for racialized groups. The work of black and African American scholars on home as a site of oppositional politics for the cultivation of different racialized class subjectivities suggests such an opportunity. Similarly,

a feminist definition of justice starting with social relationships suggests that domestic spaces constituted in part by personal ties of trust, care and reciprocity are political because they provide opportunities for the cultivation of political subjectivities at the micro-level (Staeheli and Brown 2003). Working through a place-based politics of home that encourages civic participation across difference enables communities to shape and transform social regulation and integration on their own terms through nonprofit activity (Fraser et al 2003; Sites 2003; DeFilippis et al 2006; Fuller et al 2008; Ican 2009; Defilippis 2010; Milbourne 2010).

Following the suggestions of Holloway et al (2007), my thesis will avoid categorizing food movements as inherently alternative or conventional. Instead, my thesis demonstrates how local efforts developed in response to numerous social, ecological and political economic constraints and opportunities. By avoiding the term “alternative,” my thesis aims to disintegrate implicit divisions between AFM and environmental justice. For instance, when scholars use the term “alternative” to reference food movements, they are often citing the cultural beliefs, values and practices of white and upper-middle class people who advocate market-based solutions. This term is seldom used to describe the efforts by people who have been marginalized through historical processes of exploitation and oppression around food, despite the fact that they may be equally characterized as alternatives to conventional agriculture. By rejecting the label “alternative,” this research avoids using language that perpetuates divisiveness between AFM and environmental justice. At the end of chapter three, I document how this divisiveness has resulted in the racial bifurcation of food movements in Philadelphia, thus upholding longstanding patterns of racial segregation, exclusion and marginalization in the social landscape. Within the series of analytical fields put forth by

Holloway et al, my project is interested primarily in the last two fields: motivations for participation, and constitution of individual and group identities. The latter contributes to the literature as it deals with the transformative processes through which normative categories of identity are both challenged and reproduced.

METHODOLOGY

Numerous feminist and poststructuralist scholars have documented the emotional dimensions of ethnographic fieldwork, viewing such research as an intersubjective process that reveals as much about the researcher as it does about research participants. According to these scholars, the researcher's revelations are deeply personal, often forcing them to relive traumatic experiences and reflect on the ways in which engrained feelings, beliefs and desires materialize throughout the research process. Drawing from the work of feminist scholars, I offer an autoethnography of my familial experiences with domestic violence, drug addiction and childhood abuse, elucidating how these experiences shaped my desire to do research on the home as a utopian space that facilitates feelings of comfort, belonging and nurture. In some ways, my research project represents an effort to honor a latent promise made to myself in childhood, namely that I would escape the fear, pain and suffering I felt in the intimacy of my home and one day feel safe. In the first section of this chapter, I will explore how these desires, although problematic and wrought with complications, shaped my research project and ultimately affected its outcome. Furthermore, through interviews with participants, I discuss how ethnographic research can become a dialogical process that places the researcher and research participants in conversation with one another. Then, drawing from my experience organizing a panel discussion and engaging in participant observation, I consider the limitations of representation in research. In this section, I pay particular attention to the emotional and affective dimensions of research fieldwork and its transformative capacities. Lastly, I discuss my use of archival sources and discourse analysis. I argue that these sources

provide useful tools for contextualizing my research findings within historical processes that have shaped Philadelphia's food landscape overtime.

THE PLACES THAT SCARE ME: DOING (AUTO)ETHNOGRAPHIC FIELDWORK

"I think many adults (and I am among them) are trying, in our work, to keep faith with vividly remembered promises made to ourselves in childhood: promises to make invisible possibilities and desires visible; to make the tacit things explicit..."

--Eve Sedgwick
Tendencies

Several years ago I had a nightmare where I was meandering through a maze with the sensation that something menacing lurked beneath its surfaces. As I walked through the maze with trepidation, dark ominous clouds tumbled into the horizon and I began to hear primal, sub-human screaming, like a cornered animal in fits of panic, fighting for its life. As I turned toward the sounds, I found myself being subsumed by waste, including piles of garbage, molding food and dirt. I made a run for it, frantically trudging my way through the mess that consumed me. I am still running.

I don't have many memories of my early childhood (an issue I hope to explore in detail at another time), yet what I do remember suggests that I had a deeply unsatisfactory experience. Before going any further, I should disclose that my parents were quite young when I was born, my father was twenty and my mother was eighteen. Furthermore, both grappled with histories of violence and abuse—including domestic and sexual, and experienced debilitating poverty throughout their lives. My father is a Mexican immigrant who came from a background of severe poverty, relocated to the United States as an undocumented migrant, where he married my mother at an early age, became a resident and opened a fast food

restaurant. My mother also experienced poverty throughout her life as a white woman who grew up in a trailer park as the single child of an alcoholic father. As young parents who struggled with financial problems, depression, PTSD and as I recently learned, addiction to alcohol and narcotics (on my father's side), my parents struggled to create a nurturing environment where their children could pursue opportunities that weren't available to them. Yet, despite their best efforts, our home was an incredibly unhealthy and emotionally volatile place. Throughout my childhood and adolescence, I lived in constant shame and fear, especially when my father returned from nights of binging on drugs and alcohol. I dreaded the inevitable danger of being struck, belittled, punished, and left alone. Because of these dangers, my home was an unsafe and uninviting place of fear for me throughout my life.

One day, I was about sixteen or seventeen, my fears turned into anger as I became fed up with my home life and decided to take an active role in changing the way my family lived. The house was always filthy and littered with dirty clothes and dishes, and as a result infested with all sorts of vermin, especially mice. My parents had become so accustomed to the mess, and so emotionally and psychologically disengaged, that they would simply buy more clothes or order take out for days on end to avoid cleaning. Living like this throughout my childhood, my diet consisted mostly of fast food; it was common to go a week without fresh produce. There were sporadic times when I would try to manage the mess myself, especially if I wanted to invite a friend over and felt ashamed of my home, my family and our lifestyle. Yet, on this particular day I was relentless in my commitment: I would not live like this ever again.

I made the unwise decision of starting with the kitchen, sinking my hands into moldy sink water to wrangle dishes that hadn't been washed in several days, and scrubbing the slimy leftover food that was encrusted onto pots and pans. It took me hours. The momentary sense of relief I felt was abruptly shaken when I proceeded to put away the pots and pans. When I opened the cabinet doors and peered into the storage space, a strong smell offended my senses. My eyes and nose were burning with something caustic. Upon close inspection I noticed small raisin-like mounds littering the pots and pans, and to my complete horror, I realized that the cabinets, and thus all of our dishes, were covered in mouse urine and feces.

My mind was racing. My heart was pounding with rage. Have we been eating from these dishes? Do my parents know about this? How can they *not* know?! The smell is enough of an indication! Why haven't they done anything about it? Why would they do this to my sister and I? Just clean the fucking dishes! My utter disgust, outrage at the neglect, and fear that I was not safe and secure in my own home took the helm as I shoveled pots, pans, dishes and silverware from our cabinets by the dozen and spent the better part of the day obsessively scrubbing them with the strongest disinfectant I could find. I don't recall feeling anything but my own fear and anger, even as my hands dried and cracked and bled profusely from chemical exposure. Later in the day, after I began cleaning other rooms in my fervor, my mother offered some well deserved thanks: "This is why I don't want you to clean," she commented with disappointment, "you don't do it the way I like."

Drawing from a multitude of poststructuralist scholars, Ahmed (2006) argues that orientation is a matter of how we reside in space, "who" or "what" we inhabit them with and how we

turn toward those people and objects. Furthermore, although some of our orientations do not register on a conscious level, we feel the “pull” of them none-the-less as we are inexplicably drawn toward or away from certain people, places and objects. She argues that these orientations, while felt and experienced in the present, are dependent on past histories that shape the way we move in relation to others. Ahmed’s concept of orientation provides a fruitful lens for understanding my interest in the home as a site where an oppositional politics may be cultivated through feelings of familiarity, belonging and nurture.

In many ways, my academic work says just as much about my positionality as it does about the lives of the research participants who became involved. How ridiculous would it be then, to write a thesis about what motivates people without examining my own motivations? For the purpose of this research project, self-reflexivity offers a form of disclosure that allows me to critically examine my motivations for doing research on food, home and identity. It helps me to see that, through my research, I am fulfilling a promise I made to myself as a child, namely that I would escape the violence, danger and insecurity I felt in my home through a utopian domestic space that was different from my own. Correspondingly, I believe that my orientation toward certain representations of home and away from others is not random or coincidental. It was no coincidence that as an undergraduate I became interested in an urban garden that was designed as a home, where bonds of caring, reciprocity and trust could be created and sustained among African Americans. In this instance, the fear, anger, desire and glimmering hope I carried with me throughout childhood and into adulthood surfaced on the skin as I became indescribably and quite viscerally drawn to this particular project. I was drawn to this place because I could relate- maybe not as a similarly raced person- but as

someone who experienced multiple and overlapping oppressions in the intimate space of my home and yearned for something better. Through my research, I was running from the mess that haunted me in my waking and sleeping life, struggling to find a safe haven where I could escape danger and feel safe.

Yet, simply disclosing my personal motivations for doing research fieldwork is not enough if, as Katz (1994) argues, the 'the field' is constituted by uneven power relations that materialize at multiple scales. Since my personal history offers merely one point of view, it is helpful to contextualize any biographical information within broader historical processes that have shaped my individual experiences. In order to do this, some critical distance from my perceptions, feelings and experiences is productive.

Over the years, as I have engaged with critical scholarship on home within feminist geography, I have learned that the promises I am attempting to fulfill through my research are not innocent. Many feminist scholars are critical of representations of domestic life that depict the home as a safe haven offering order, privacy and security from the dangers and uncertainty of an increasingly globalized world (Massey 1994; Kaika 2004). These scholars point out that unproblematic conceptualizations of home free from conflict and harm perpetuate masculinist myths that obscure uneven power relations around gender. One scholar even argues that the western bourgeois home is actually a process of "cleaning" or excluding undesirable social and natural elements, prompting profound questions about my attempts to erase the messiness that permeated my own home (Kaika 2004). Even so, when I am painfully honest with myself, I find that despite my yearnings for such an idealized home,

my experiences attest to the very material existence of uneven power relations in home places. In other words, my experiences suggest that the home is intimately linked to exploitative and oppressive processes that are presumed to be public, and from which it arguably provides shelter. For instance, how can I understand my father's drug addiction without acknowledging the colonial and transnational processes that bring those drugs to certain people, especially those who yearn to escape an exploitative reality that was largely determined for them by processes in which they have little say? Furthermore, how can I truly understand my mother's emotional disengagement without considering her trauma from having been sexually abused in a culture that is forced to consume images of women as infantile sex objects? The answer is simply, I can't.

Too often depictions of home perpetuate regulatory fictions that hide unwanted and undesirable elements, including poverty, oppression and exploitation, but they are still there, lurking under the rug and in the nooks and crannies, right beneath the surface. The process of hiding these elements represents a sort of social housekeeping that encourages us to ignore the ways in which the public world all around us is lived in our skins, and experienced in the most intimate places. Still, I can't help but think that my desire for an idealized home takes on a slightly different meaning because I've never had the privilege of this illusion. In my case, and more broadly, the desire for an idealized home can take the form of what Heynen (2006) calls "outraged utopianism," or the refusal "to settle for the brutality of contemporary sociospatial circumstances" by mobilizing the possibility of utopian alternatives. My refusal to settle for the circumstances that made my home a dangerous place constantly informs my yearning for a utopian home. And while I have to consistently remind myself of the problems

and contradictions that this yearning presents, I also feel strangely attached to it, knowing that at this point in my life I still need it to cope and function in my everyday life. Yet, maybe one day I won't anymore—and what a day that will be! Because at some point, it is necessary to turn towards the encroaching messiness and stare it square in the eye, seeing it exactly for what it is. Then, having the foresight, to move through and beyond it. My experience as a researcher has been exactly this: a tumultuous process of orienting myself toward and away (confronting and running) from the places that scare me.

This research project is not simply a reflection of my self, but a constellation of narratives pulled together from seemingly disparate people and places to tell a particular kind of story about home, identity and food. This echoes England's (1994) argument that qualitative research is a dialogical and intersubjective process that is constituted by both the researcher and the research participants. Working through a similar framework, many scholars valorize participatory action research (PAR) as a means of generating research methods and results that benefit both the researcher and research participants through collaborative efforts (Kindon et al 2007). Through such efforts PAR aims to generate political inquiry that seeks to understand social life while also attempting to change inequalities and promote social justice. Furthermore, Cahill (2007) argues that instead of seeking to get information/data about emotions “out of” participants, PAR often generates new emotions (and subjectivities) among participants that can affect change. Of course, scholars define social justice (and by extension what is ethical) in a variety of ways. For instance, Herman and Mattingly (1999) work through a relational and procedural conceptualization of ethics that views social justice as something that must be *activated*—that is acted, felt, performed, and continually

negotiated. In a similar vein, Kitchin (1999) equates social justice with the immediate benefits that research offers to participants, especially where they intersect with the struggle to obtain and secure human rights. Lastly, Heynen (2006) argues that socially just geographic research must be rooted in the everyday material struggle for bodily survival. These scholars emphasize that researchers must become personally involved with political struggles by cultivating feelings of trust and reciprocity with participants that further collaborative efforts, inclusive decision-making processes and mutual understanding.

In many ways, my methodological framework resonates with many of the values put forth by PAR, especially where they involve reciprocity, collaborative decision-making processes and immediate benefits to research participants. As such, I view this research project as a reciprocal process that is beneficial to the people and groups who participated in interviews, informal conversations and events where I engaged in participant observation. Throughout my research fieldwork, I remained in close contact with Aissia Richardson, my key informant and the executive director of the AAUF, to update her on my progress and brainstorm about how my research project could provide some immediate benefits to her organization. In the end, the relationship I developed with Aissia proved beneficial not only to the AAUF, but also to my project. Aissia often describes the AAUF as a “connector” that helps community members take full advantage of the resources offered by their institutions through referrals, education and grassroots initiatives. Throughout the research process I found that this was true not only of the organization, but also of Aissia as a research participant who was an esteemed member of the community. As a trusted figure, she helped

me secure interviews with gardeners, urban designers, youth counselors, and former Black Panthers involved with urban gardening and food-provisioning services.

For the purpose of my thesis, which aims to shed light on people's motivations to become involved with urban gardening through a case study of design of the AAUF's urban garden, I focus on interviews with five key figures. These individuals come from a wide range of backgrounds, including a former intern and Americorps volunteer who was involved with the establishment of the garden, a youth counselor who teaches cooking classes in the garden, one of the urban planners who designed the space, the organization's executive director and a former Black Panther involved with urban gardening in North Philadelphia. The interviews were semi-structured and informal, and I focused my questions on four main themes: the organizational structure of the AAUF, the design of their urban garden, the factors that motivated interviewees to become involved with the project, and their perception of the processes that produce uneven access to healthy food. During my interview with the former Black Panther, I asked questions about his involvement with the Black Panther Party (BPP) and urban gardening, as well as his views on food access in North Philadelphia. Through the interviews, I was hoping to learn more about what motivated people to become involved with urban gardening, and the constraints that nonprofits faced in generating civic participation. Additionally, I had an opportunity to speak with and hear from community members during an educational event I organized with the AAUF where I engaged in participant observation. In the next section, I reflect on my experience organizing this event, and (paradoxically) discuss the limitations of reflexivity and other forms of representation to convey the experience of doing research.

THE EMOTIONAL AND AFFECTIVE DIMENSIONS OF RESEARCH FIELDWORK

My ability to account for the ways in which my positionality affects the research process is limited. As Gibson-Graham (1994) argue, the self is “a unique ensemble of contradictory and shifting subjectivities” largely incoherent and unknowable. Furthermore, Rose describes this incoherence as “decentered sites of difference” that cannot be revealed in their entirety through reflexivity. This presents a dilemma: as a writer I am expected to “write myself” and others into existence through narratives, storylines and well-crafted ideas. Yet, so much of my experience with research fieldwork staggers on the edge of indescribable (Goodall 2000). For instance, how do I adequately describe the emotional connections and friendships I made through interviews? Or how can I represent the awkward and uncomfortable differences around race and class that I had to navigate when interacting with research participants?¹ How do I write about the sheer exhaustion I felt waking up on a Saturday morning to garden at dawn? In his early work, Deleuze (1987) argues that qualitative methods cannot be analyzed or represented through texts or language, because they are fundamentally about affective encounters with difference. This is an idea that registers at the gut-level for me. Intuitively I know/feel that affect, or a sense of push/tug/movement/thrust in the world, is an important part of doing research (Aitken 2010, Thrift 2004). The affective dimensions of research become pronounced through encounters with difference, including social differences such as gender, sexuality, race, class, and age. Yet, in my research, these encounters also include working with non-human difference, or the ecological reality that non-human things have abundant say in the world of gardening.

¹ For instance, when interviewing one participant who was African American, he suggested that I could “make him my slave” because I had more knowledge than he did, and I could exercise this power to influence his thinking. It would take another project altogether to only touch on the dynamics at play in this particular interaction.

For instance, the fact that many vacant lots could provide ample space for gardening but are not cultivated because they offer too little sun, pose unexpected difficulties and complications that inevitably influenced the course of my research. The process of navigating these unexpected encounters is intensely emotional. They are often met with frustration, disappointment, surprise, anticipation, joy and satisfaction; emotions that texture my experience of doing research. Furthermore, working through the concept of “throwntogetherness,” Massey (2005) argues that people and places are comprised of social and natural relations that form a particular “here-and-now” that is fluid, messy, and mediated through multiple ways of knowing. While unnerving, the “teetering foundations” on which fieldwork rest enable something new to arise—new insights, connections, feelings and relations. This “newness” provides opportunities to unsettle old ways of thinking, feeling and acting that normalize societal inequalities, especially those that work through dualistic understandings of me and you, self and other, researcher and research subject. According to Aitken (2010), these dualisms effectively dehumanize, domesticate and tame the haphazard forces that constitute people and places. Unfortunately, this is true of much research that is rooted in scientific empiricism, which espouses generalizable data that advance familiar representations of “the way things are” without touching on the messiness of subjectivity and emotion. This too is a process of domesticating people and places. In contrast, research that espouses what Aitken (2010) calls “post-critical qualitative methods,” accounts for the chaotic, disorganized and affective dimensions of people and places. In doing so, it engages in a crisis of representation that simultaneously questions what is presumably normal and makes room for new ways of meeting difference. These meeting places have a tendency to derail the presumed trajectory of research in exciting and unexpected ways.

My experience organizing a panel discussion on food access in Philadelphia resonates with the idea that qualitative fieldwork is a process of encountering difference in affective and emotional ways. The organization of a panel discussion was a joint decision between Aissia and I to develop a mutually beneficial research method that provided a direct benefit to nonprofits and the communities they served. As a researcher, the panel discussion provided me an opportunity to engage in participant observation and learn from community members involved with food access. For the AAUF, the discussion functioned as a brainstorming session where community leaders, academics and policy makers could reflect on their work and carve out new directions for the development of urban gardens and other food access projects. Lastly, the panel discussion also provided an educational opportunity where people with different backgrounds and interests could come together, discuss local food issues and learn from one another. The access to community members was particularly valuable for me because, although I had years of experience working with urban gardening projects in North Philadelphia, I did much of the fieldwork for my thesis from afar. The panel discussion provided an opportunity for me to hear about people's motivations to become involved with urban gardening and food access in a somewhat brief and condensed format.

To organize the discussion I worked for months compiling the perfect panel of policy makers, academics and community leaders who would bring different perspectives to the table. As the facilitator, I also worked diligently on a list of questions that would present an opportunity for each panelist to talk about their work and discuss their area of expertise. On the day of the discussion, I was surprised and delighted to see how many people attended the event. The room was packed—we ran out of chairs and people struggled to listen from a line that was

meandering out the door. Among the people in attendance were undergrad/grad students, professors, Black Nationalists, politicians, lawyers, youth who are involved with urban gardening and farming, chefs, teachers, and Civil Rights leaders. I planned the event as an opportunity for people from diverse backgrounds to share their perspectives and experiences with food access, especially at the end of the panel discussion during the Q&A session. However, several minutes into the discussion, I looked around the room and noticed that people were bursting with energy. I could see it in their body language: lots of finger and foot tapping, fidgeting, exaggerated facial expressions, even some raised hands. As I was noticing these cues, someone from the audience yelled “can we ask questions now?” and somehow, despite the fact that I had worked so diligently on my list of questions and envisioned the event going very differently, I decided to relinquish these expectations and let the discussion turn into its own crazy, unpredictable, and wild thing. Once the floor was open to questions and comments, the response was overwhelming and the room erupted into a buzz of voices and emotions. Some people expressed anger at being denied resources that other neighborhoods enjoyed, while others were keen to express their hope that urban gardening could provide an alternative, and yet others were quick to “blame the victim” by vehemently opposing poor eating habits in low-income neighborhoods. Instead of following the format of a panel discussion, the event turned into a symposium, where people expressed and shared their feelings, perspectives, desires and aspirations. The sheer energy, enthusiasm and impact these moments had on my research project are somewhat indescribable. By working through post-critical qualitative methods, and highlighting the fluid, messy and affective dimensions of those people and places, I am attempting to hold some of the feeling long enough to communicate its parts. However, I also recognize that the emotional

experiences that textured the “here-and-now” of my research project are shaped by the “there-and-then” (i.e. past histories and genealogies) materializing in the present (Massey 2005). In the next section, I will discuss the use of archival research and discourse analysis to contextualize my research within broader historical processes that have shaped Philadelphia’s food landscape overtime.

ARCHIVAL RESEARCH: LOOKING BACK TO LOOK FORWARD

In the third chapter, I use archival sources to construct a historical narrative about Philadelphia’s food landscape, paying particular attention to the racial bifurcation of contemporary food movements, and their tendency to “drown out” historical processes that produce uneven access to healthy food. The sources I used include Temple University’s digitized archives detailing the oral history of the Civil Rights movement in Philadelphia, historical maps provided by a doctoral student at the University of Pennsylvania, historical and contemporary newspaper articles, historical photographs of African American neighborhoods in Philadelphia, contemporary digital articles from GRID Magazine, a local publication on sustainability, and blog posts written by Aissia on the AAUF’s and Environmental Protection Agency’s (EPA) websites.² As one might notice, my definition of “archive” is quite broad. Since I am concerned with the relationship between Philadelphia’s past and present food landscapes, even contemporary sources are archives that provide a glimpse into the present as a historical moment connected to previous ones.

² See appendix for more information.

The task of assembling archival fragments to construct a narrative, or making a “home for documents... in bringing them together under one roof,” (Mills 2013) presented a difficult challenge. In part, this is due to the fact that archives are partial, incomplete, disordered and fleeting fragments of time and space making them slippery and elusive. Furthermore, these qualities made it especially difficult to draw connections between the “there-and-then” they represented and the “here-and-now” I experienced as a gardener and researcher (Massey 2005). Furthermore, as Mills (2013) reminds us, archives “always have a *creator* and these makers of memory need to be considered carefully.” Her argument suggests the historical “facts” that archives provide are always filtered through the perspectives of people and groups who produce and perpetuate particular kinds of knowledge and representations. Therefore, like research in general, archives convey as much about the people and groups who documented them as they do about the event reported. Depending on the source and the person conveying the information, I analyze representations of identity and place in a variety of ways. For instance, newspaper articles from the 1950s, when most journalists were white men, tend to convey a great deal about the social attitudes that justified racial segregation and exclusion. On the other hand, interviews with community leaders who witnessed the North Philadelphia race riots in 1964 offer different accounts than local newspapers, and by extension different representations of identity and place. These differences highlight how such representations are linked to material processes that are produced, sustained and challenged in part through social attitudes that are historically constituted. Throughout my research, I struggled to find a balance between the actual processes that shaped people’s material lives and the social attitudes and perceptions that helped create, sustain and

sometimes challenge them. This struggle is largely unresolved, and the persisting shortcomings and limitations that permeate the third chapter attest to these ongoing tensions.

I struggled the most with the third chapter of my thesis, which attempts to piece together a history of segregation in Philadelphia and its impact on today's racially bifurcated food movement. I found it difficult to balance the need for structure and organization in my writing, with the messiness of history and place. However, Lorimer and Philo (2009) suggests that researchers be suspicious of order in archives, especially when they are used in their "neatness and completeness" to construct an orderly past. Further, Philo argues this order tends to hide the contradictory stories and ongoing/incomplete processes that pose challenges to dominant interpretations of time. From a geographic perspective, constructing orderly historical narratives is also a process of "taming people and places," by imposing a false order on otherwise fluid and messy sociospatial circumstances. As such, Mills (2013) argues that embracing the fragmentary and disordered nature of archival research can convey the "incomplete nature of lives, states, institutions and everyday geographies." With this in mind, the aforementioned shortcomings of the third chapter might simultaneously be viewed as strengths, in that they highlight the messy, incomplete and chaotic dimensions of Philadelphia's food landscape, leaving room for alternative interpretations.

HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF PHILADELPHIA'S FOOD LANDSCAPE

In this chapter, I work through an episodic analysis highlighting key processes shaping access to food throughout Philadelphia's history. My analysis of historical moments, captured in discrete vignettes from multiple platforms, demonstrates how slavery, segregation, urban renewal, race riots, and mass incarceration shape access to food resources and sustain the racial bifurcation of local food movements. This analysis is useful to my research project for two reasons. First, it generates a nuanced understanding of North Philadelphia's history and geography within regional and national contexts by focusing on historical moments and processes often absent in dominant narratives. Lesser-known and even less-discussed histories of African Americans and food in Philadelphia provide a grounded historical context for the AAUF's urban gardening project. Second, this historical and place-based focus is especially pertinent for nonprofit organizations in African American neighborhoods working with food access; as one panelist argued: "We have to learn the history of black Philadelphia. If we don't know it we don't know what to do with the knowledge, and repeat the same mistakes." Given the small space and attention devoted to African American historical narratives, it is perhaps more pressing than ever to archive and become familiar with the efforts of black families, communities and nonprofit organizations challenging structural inequalities operating through the food system. As I will demonstrate, the dominant narratives of contemporary food movements in Philadelphia advocating for local, organic and sustainable food have a tendency to perpetuate long-held regulatory fictions while also obscuring the ongoing efforts of African Americans around food. As the panelist suggests, contemporary food movements must reflect particular historical knowledge

and understanding. Unfortunately, these dominant narratives exist within equally dominant narrative and ideological frames, perpetuated through racialized and classed beliefs and practices, since early colonial moments. Thus, my historical “archive” is a constellation of seemingly disparate and disconnected moments. Yet these particular moments of Philadelphia’s history, when witnessed together, illuminate the peculiar operations and tensions of racialized regulatory fictions in our contemporary moment. Under this light, dominant narratives reflect and sustain the racial bifurcation of the food movement, such that white and African American organizations are consistently separated despite the similar goals they share. I argue for an integrative framework if food movements are to overcome this historical bifurcation and ultimately enact structural changes in the food system.

SLAVERY

For the United States, the institution of slavery was integral to the development of colonies into a nation-state, both as a political-economic and an ideological project. From a political economic perspective, slavery provided a source of inexpensive labor enabling capital expansion and thus the fiscal independence necessary for national independence. To justify slavery, forms of juridical racism in the U.S. legalized the enslavement of Native Americans and people of African descent and institutionalized these racist practices in other sectors in order to facilitate large-scale economic expansion throughout the colonies (not only in the South). Furthermore, the juridical racism institutionalized during slavery later provided the “ready-made rationale” for “everyday racism” after Emancipation (Essed 2001). However, slavery’s justification cannot be reduced to a condition of labor; other forms of justification were necessary to uphold the peculiar institution, or in many cases, shroud the

institution, through myth and narrative. As such, slavery was justified as an ideological project that often told the story where the labor of others was concealed in a fantasy of the white forefather who “built this land” (Ahmed 2004). Through an agrarian imaginary that emphasized the ideals of hard work, self-sufficiency, and independence, whites produced a myth remaining central to our national identity: rural agricultural life was essentially the domain of white cowboys, farmers and frontiersmen cultivating the land and fulfilling their manifest destiny. Through this myth, the landscape was naturalized as the rightful home of whites, while solidifying the outsider status of racialized groups. Whites required the enslavement of racialized groups for agricultural labor though the material necessity for slave-labor also carried ideological contradictions. To sustain both the material necessity that whites derived from slavery, while preserving the myth of the white forefather, an oppositional set of racial representations were employed (and readily available since the earliest European-Colonial incursions). While whites were depicted as civilized, hardworking and self-sufficient, blacks were depicted as unruly, dangerous, primitive and unfit to provide for themselves. In short, African Americans became the antithesis of (white) American values. Attesting to the residual power of this historical moment, outlines of this racist bifurcation are present in familiar and new forms today. Through the spatial containment of slaves on plantations, whites were able to identify an enemy who represented an ideological threat to an implicitly white nation state. As such, slavery played a fundamental role in nation-building projects because it conferred an “enemy status” onto African Americans, casting their national identity as essentially anti-American (Patterson 1985).

Further ensuring their exploitation, survival activities to obtain basic needs were routinely criminalized on plantations, guaranteeing that slaves acquiesce to whites. With regard to food, slaves were often prohibited from growing their own food and were provided meals that were insufficient to support their labor. Furthermore, when slaves disobeyed orders, or failed to complete their assigned tasks, they were punished through the withholding of food. In this way, food was used as a “negotiating chip to maintain dominance and coercion” (Heynen 2009). From an ideological perspective, it also alienated slaves from ecological processes required to survive. Within this context, hooks (2009) argues that connections slaves maintained with nature were among the most radical forms of resistance they enacted. The cultures of resistance, stewardship and connection that emerged through the relationships African Americans maintained with nature, in order to survive, are a constant reminder that whiteness is not the most powerful determinant of social life, despite the greatest efforts of whites to instill such beliefs.

SEGREGATION

After emancipation, when freed slaves migrated from the rural south to the urban north, the agricultural knowledge African Americans acquired through cultures of resistance and stewardship proved essential to their survival. As white residents in northern cities struggled to live with racial difference for the first time, many chose to preserve the racial homogeneity of their neighborhoods by relocating to the suburban fringe. The exodus of whites from urban to suburban neighborhoods was facilitated by the rise in service-sector employment, improvement in infrastructure of mass-transportation and the construction of highways (Jackson 2005; Nightingale 2012; Bauman 1987, 1990). Furthermore, the racial

and economic segregation of the metropolitan landscape was institutionalized through practices such as redlining and mortgage appraisal processes which ensured racialized groups could not secure the legal precedent and financial resources to live with whites. Tax and housing policies were also instrumental. Subsidized housing has historically been concentrated, keeping low-income and minority residents in less desirable urban neighborhoods. At the same time, whites able to secure mortgages for suburban properties received government incentives to “flee.” Primarily taking the form of tax benefits, these incentives fueled the exodus of more affluent and primarily white residents from urban areas. Through such practices, concerted efforts by both private and state apparatuses segregated and contained African Americans to urban neighborhoods (Massey et al 1994. Nicolaidis and Weise 2006; Kwate 2007; McKee 2008).

Once isolated to urban neighborhoods, African Americans became systematically impoverished through disinvestment, which constrained access to food in multiple ways. Not surprisingly, the local processes that shaped the food landscape in Philadelphia at the time parallel regional and national trends. As grocery stores relocated to the suburbs, where they received higher profits by catering to white middle-class consumers, access to food retailers became limited in urban neighborhoods (Jackson 2005; Nicolaidis and Weise 2006; Nightingale 2012). This constrained African Americans’ ability to obtain food and other resources, especially in North, West and South Philadelphia, ghettoized neighborhoods constructed through processes of racial segregation, like the methods outlined above. Slavery’s project of racist bifurcation both haunts and materializes through this moment. In contrast to suburban neighborhoods where white residents lived in single family homes,

enjoyed convenient access to resources and decent public education, poor African Americans lived in row homes converted into apartment buildings, struggled to obtain basic resources and received substandard education. As a result of white flight and unfair lending practices, many row homes in Philadelphia remained vacant for long periods of time. Some local entrepreneurs seized the opportunity to buy row homes cheaply, demolish them and construct apartment buildings (Bauman 1987, 1990; Hunter 2014). Often, these buildings were run down, overcrowded, unhygienic and lacked amenities such as gas or electric stoves; these local entrepreneurs were now slum lords (Oral Histories Collection, Baxter 2011). As a result, cooking was a chore that sometimes took upwards of several hours, representing yet another obstacle to feeding people and families. Later, the enduring affects of racial segregation and concentrated poverty would prove profitable for fast food corporations. The concentration of fast and “junk” food retailers in urban neighborhoods exasperated health disparities among racialized groups (Kwate 2007).

Within this context of poverty and racial inequality, families and communities adopted survival strategies to feed their families requiring a tremendous amount of informal labor. For instance, in households that lacked adequate resources, daily tasks such as cooking, preparing food and washing dishes became arduous chores. It also required families to shop at second-hand stores, creatively develop recipes for inexpensive food, devise strategies to keep themselves warm and provide adequate education for their children (Levenstein 2012). These strategies and tactics also existed in a larger scale where the survival of African American families and communities benefited from mutual assistance groups in Philadelphia. Many of these groups can be traced back to the 19th century when free blacks pooled their

resources to provide social services, including healthcare, historically denied to African Americans by white institutions. These groups had extensive networks, often affiliated with black churches and other religious institutions that emphasized the ideals of self-help and self-reliance within the context of a collective economic base. In Philadelphia alone, dozens of mutual assistance groups were formed throughout the 1800s to help people obtain “the necessities of life” (National Gazette 1831). Through the ongoing efforts of mutual assistance groups into the 20th century, African American families pooled resources to provide food as well as other necessities within their communities.

To obtain food many African Americans in Philadelphia also drew from their skills as farmers and sharecroppers to construct squatter towns and practice domestic food production (Miller et al., 1988). Furthermore, some families and communities established urban gardens in small lots and backyards. Unlike gardens in wealthier white neighborhoods used mostly for recreational purposes, those in poor African American neighborhoods served multiple ends, but were distinct in terms of their use for survival over aesthetic purposes (Vitiello and Nairn 2008). Moreover, many African Americans were employed as farm workers, often traveling several hours to agricultural centers in New Jersey and Maryland to work. Despite the long, expensive and unreliable commute agricultural workers faced, farm jobs were still desirable, if only for the access to inexpensive produce they provided. The direct access that agricultural workers had to fresh produce meant they didn’t have to buy food or bargain with vendors when they could not afford necessities (Oral Histories Collection, Baxter 2011). As a historical interview with one community leader who lived in Philadelphia at the time suggests, agricultural workers’ access to food was an important part of “trying to survive

with what they had... when welfare was nothing.” This excerpt suggests that domestic food production was a means of survival and self-determination that helped African Americans work outside of government institutions historically neglecting basic needs for survival.

URBAN RENEWAL

As the city’s infrastructure shifted to service suburban whites, domestic food production became increasingly regulated and criminalized. This happened in part through zoning laws accommodating urban renewal projects servicing white upper-middle class populations, and once again, at the expense of African Americans. For instance, the construction of a food distribution center in Southeast Philadelphia during the 1950s provides an example of how urban renewal projects sustained a racist bifurcation within the food system. The Philadelphia Industrial Development Corporation (PIDC), a quasi-public development authority that implemented urban renewal projects to ensure the viability of local industrial jobs, constructed the plans for the distribution center (McKee 2008). The location of the center was selected based on its proximity to expressways, the international airport and railway systems, and also because it housed a substantial squatter settlement, where poor African Americans and European immigrants raised poultry and livestock for subsistence purposes (appendix photograph two). As a squatter settlement, the space was particularly vulnerable to redevelopment, since these places and the people that inhabited them were perceived as unhygienic, culturally backwards and socially undesirable; another case of a racially-justified ideological position upholding white economic interests. In a local newspaper article from 1957, the site is described as being employed largely as a “city dump” in dire need of redevelopment (New York Times 1957, see appendix). These depictions

functioned through deficit perspectives that naturalized urban renewal projects as investments that benefited city residents. However, such narratives *required* obscuring, devaluing and displacing “other” city residents, as well. Through urban renewal projects, lending practices and zoning laws that prohibited domestic food production in cities, squatter towns in Philadelphia were rendered illegal. The food distribution center stands as merely one example of how the survival strategies African Americans practiced were criminalized through dehumanizing historical narratives to accommodate white upper-middle class populations (Bauman 1987; Elgie 2006; Rosenthal 2008; Donofrio 2014).

THE 1964 UPRISINGS ON CECIL B. MOORE

Throughout the 1960s, the tensions between blacks and whites escalated into a series of race riots, protests and social movements triggered by widespread dissatisfaction around racial inequality. The Uprisings of 1964 in North Philadelphia, primarily framed as a riot, were among the first such moments in the tumultuous decade to receive national attention. Although people’s motivations to riot are frequently discussed in terms of political struggles to secure rights, my interpretation of first hand accounts and historical documents suggests that hunger and other forms of visceral deprivation served as triggers motivating rioters. While these triggers are interconnected, they are also distinct in many respects. For instance, unlike rights bearing discourses that cite abstract ideals, including freedom and equality, as primary motivations for social movements, a visceral perspective highlights the role of bodily feelings and sensations. A focus on the visceral motivations leading to the violent expression of the riots advances an understanding of the agency of physical matter—in this case the biophysical processes that make stomachs churn. This focus moves away from a

more traditional view of social movements as conscious efforts to secure rights, and toward a view that acknowledges the haphazard forces that exceed any one person or group's intentions. It also suggests that social movements are not simply motivated by ideas, but also by bodily feelings and sensations, including but not limited to hunger (Jasper 1998; Mansbridge and Morris 2001; Bosco 2007). Yet, other feelings and sensations existing in such a moment include shared feelings of camaraderie, outrage, anger, and hope, to name a few. This means that, at least for some, the activities that took place during the riots, including looting, were not primarily motivated by conscious efforts to secure rights, but by the immediate bodily need to survive; a need that was threatened by centuries of oppression and exploitation. Throughout the 1960s-70s a network of nonprofits, community-based organizations and grassroots organizations mobilized to address the needs that triggered the riots in multiple and often contradictory ways. A better understanding of these dynamics is pertinent to the larger research project because it helps me contextualize the work of the AAUF, namely their urban gardening project, as an outgrowth of the Civil Rights and Black Power movements.

The riots took place on 28 August 1964, when an African American man and woman who were arguing in their car were approached by patrolmen Robert Wells and John Hoff for blocking an intersection. After the woman refused to cooperate with the patrolmen and remove her car from the intersection, she was dragged by the wrists and allegedly beaten before being detained (Maurantonio 2012). In response to her treatment, a passerby punched one of the patrolman and several others began throwing bricks. Soon, rumors began to circulate an innocent pregnant woman was assaulted by police (Lyons 2010). Within the hour

these rumors spread to nearby residents and four square miles of North Philadelphia erupted into two days of retaliation against police as well as the vandalization and looting of white-owned businesses. During the first day and a half of the riot, Police were prohibited from using their weapons and interfering with the riots. However, after 10:30 pm on the second day, they were permitted to shoot at rioters after it was reported that several people were spotted with firearms. Furthermore, a curfew was placed on North Philadelphia that, if broken, was punishable by up to two years in prison. As the tensions between rioters and police escalated, community leaders rushed to the scene to quell the violence and encourage people to return to their homes. Among the notable figures that were present was Cecil B. Moore, president of the NAACP. Later, Moore was the source of controversy for suggesting that both blacks and whites were at fault for the riot (Lyons 2010). Yet, other community leaders expressed their empathy for rioters, arguing that they had no other recourse but to riot under such conditions. However, many further argued that the violence perpetuated within the community was unjustified because it did not pose a challenge to the societal structures that were responsible for racial inequality (Oral Histories Collection, Baxter 2011).

The race riot was perceived and depicted in numerous ways, all of which had unintended consequences. The vast majority of local newspapers depicted the riot from a security perspective, emphasizing the failure of local police to control lawless “black hoodlums” who were simply “acting out” through irrational acts of violence and petty theft (Maurantonio 2012). The language here illustrates oppressive intersections between age and race: the grievances and self-worth of African Americans were delegitimized through infantilization. Furthermore, by emphasizing the rioter’s as irrational, media coverage placed them outside

the scope of any social movement and effectively depoliticized their actions. The coverage also hinged on depictions of police paralysis, or the inability of police to control a dangerous populace (Maurantonio 2012). Jointly, these narratives reinforced the need for punitive measures against African American lawlessness, and were eventually appropriated by a growing conservative movement opposing “liberal permissiveness” in politics. Yet, another interview of a local community leader who worked with youth in the 1950s-60s reveals a radically different story. According to this leader, for “young people on [the] firing line,” the riots provided a new sense of purpose that united them around a common cause for social equity and inspired them to “fight for what was theirs, rightfully.” As a result of this new sense of purpose, crime among African American youth decreased in North Philadelphia and young people became increasingly involved with social movements (Oral Histories Collection, Baxter 2011). This account of the riot’s aftermath provides a welcome contrast to depictions that heightened fears of crime and violence in African American neighborhoods and emphasize only the destructive effects. It also centralizes the motivations behind a presumed irrational phenomenon by pointing to people’s feelings of dissatisfaction surrounding their being denied basic rights and necessities.³

While rights discourses provide one narrative frame for understanding the race riots that reverberated throughout the nation, some first hand accounts reveal a different (but interconnected) set of motivations behind them. In one interview, a community member who was present for the riots was particularly struck by the looting of a local food market, stating that every single food item was stolen aside from “slices of bread that broke loose from a...

³ Here, the use of “riots” is emblematic of this irrationality, while the term “uprisings” attend to people’s numerous expressions of dissatisfaction because of this denial of basic rights.

full loaf of bread!” (Oral Histories Collection, Driver 2011). The looting of others items, such as shoes was but a passing reference in the interview, while the looting of food was described as particularly voracious. The interviewee also stated that rioters looted appliance stores by the truck full and sold the items on the street the next day for income. In another interview, a community member expressed his outrage at the police brutality against people who were stealing food and other necessities during the riot:

“You know, [the police] figured if they can, they can beat you into submission or just—and naturally they had a job, which is right, to stop the stealing. But you don’t brutalize people. You don’t brutalize people for taking a piece of wood or food! (Oral Histories Collection 2011)”

While the interviewee acknowledges that the job of the policemen was to prevent looting, he is notably outraged by the brutality inflicted on people who seized the opportunity to feed and keep themselves warm. While the Uprisings of 1964 are cited by numerous liberal thinkers as a political act predicated on abstract ideals and rights, these first hand accounts point to perhaps the most political act of all: survival. This and other Uprisings around the nation (by numerous marginalized ethnic and racial groups) stemmed from the anger, outrage and frustration African Americans felt regarding their denial of rights. At the same time, they also materialized through the visceral experience of hunger and deprivation, embodied sensations no less political than rights discourses used to frame them.

To address community needs, a wide range of solutions were crafted by nonprofits, community-based organizations and grassroots organizations associated with various social movements. Many of these organizations focused on food access, devising creative strategies to feed people in African American neighborhoods, while stimulating the local economy and addressing racial inequalities. In the aftermath of the Uprisings, local white owned businesses

attempted to assuage fears of mob violence by supporting community-based organizations. This provided a unique opportunity for liberal groups such as the Progress Movement led by Rev. Leon Sullivan, a Baptist minister and Civil Rights leader who used the church to establish a community-owned economic base. Sullivan synthesized long-standing philosophies of self-help within African American thought with American ideals and values surrounding independence and self-sufficiency to obtain public and private funding and support for his projects. While Sullivan insisted that African Americans had to become “self-dependent” and “partners” with whites to control the economic system, he also recognized that African Americans had experienced years of dispossession that prevented them from accomplishing this objective. Sullivan viewed the problems African Americans faced as a direct outcome of ongoing processes of racial exclusion from previous decades, including segregation. In his autobiography, Sullivan (1969) argued that:

“The aim is to keep some of the money at home instead of seeing it all flow out, week after week, into the suburbs, making the wealthy wealthier from the earnings of black folks. This does not mean the creation of a black economy of black nationalization. The realities of economic development in a world going to the moon preclude such intentions, however much we might hope that it could be done.”

On the basis that African Americans required public and private funding to become self-sufficient, he and others were able to draw from widely held beliefs, values and practices to demand public and private support for community projects on the basis that it would “[help] people help themselves” (McKee 2008; OIC Site). Sullivan’s language situates his economic objectives for a local community within the larger scale of suburban flight, while also acknowledging the dominant interest of federal policies (and monies) on another “white flight,” space colonization, a subject though celebrated by white America was mourned by a

black America seeing this as yet another example of a Federal government disinterested in particular communities of color.

Sullivan's Progress Movement provided funding for organizations such as the Opportunities Industrialized Center (OIC) of America, to provide job-training opportunities for de-skilled African Americans who disproportionately held low-paying jobs. However, Sullivan later realized that "it was not enough merely to *get* jobs. We had to *create* jobs," arguing that even with improved skills, African Americans relied on the historical benevolence of white employers (McKee 2008). In an effort to establish more "black-owned, black-developed and black-managed shopping center in the nation," the Progress Movement pooled their resources and took out loans to purchase a lot near Temple University in North Philadelphia. The purpose of the plaza was two-fold: to provide employment opportunities as well as commercial resources and services to African Americans. However, despite this revolutionary vision, the plaza was delimited by two factors: lending practices and gentrification. In order to take out a loan, the bank required that the movement secure large chain stores to serve as anchors for the plaza; one anchor store was from the A&P chain, the first supermarket in North Philadelphia. Although African Americans did not own the store, the chain agreed to designate a certain number of managerial jobs for local residents. It also undoubtedly provided a wider range of foods in a lower cost range than small grocers. However, these resources came at a price, threatening locally owned businesses and grocers, inadvertently compromising the economic base the movement desired. Furthermore, due to its close proximity to the Temple Urban Renewal Area, 35 percent of the plaza's clientele consisted of white upper-middle class students, faculty and professors (McKee 2008).

Therefore, the establishment of the Progress Plaza inadvertently facilitated gentrification by servicing (and thereby attracting) white consumers. Soon after the construction of the Progress Plaza, the Zion Investment Association (ZIA), another community-based organization affiliated with the Progress Movement, launched a chain of convenience stores known as “Our Markets” that offered affordable foods to poor urban neighborhoods previously “deserted by other stores” (Garland 1971; McKee 2008). In addition to the commercial services these stores provided, they also provided jobs for African Americans. After the first stores were established in North Philadelphia in 1970, the construction of additional sites was underway. Despite the rapid growth of Our Markets, the chain was ultimately unsuccessful due to high rates of employee turnover and aggressive competition by supermarkets that could undersell their prices, such as A&P at Progress Plaza. As a result, the stores were closed only three years after initial construction. Later, leaders of ZIA blamed their lack of expertise on their own failures, but neglected to situate them within the broader political economy wherein African Americans had unequal access to resources, including lending opportunities, purchasing power and of course, the substantial fiscal, capital and cultural backing of established chains.

While social movements such as the Progress Movement sought to replicate elements of the existing political economy to improve access to food and other resources in African American neighborhoods, others aimed to dismantle the dominant political economy altogether. One such group includes the Black Panther Party (BPP), which began as a single group in West Oakland and eventually developed into a diffuse network of local chapters that implemented community-based “survival programs” (Heynen 2009). At a national level, the

BPP played an important role in articulating, responding to and challenging the political economic processes threatening the survival of African Americans. While militant sub-groups within the organization practiced extreme acts of resistance towards government, the vast majority of Panthers were concerned with the health and wellbeing of African Americans as historical neglect by government institutions. This was not just ideology: the public health programs established by the BPP in Philadelphia include urban gardens and a free breakfast program for children. The gardens provided an inexpensive source of food that was and continues to be framed as a form of “self-reliance” and sovereignty from the unhealthy practices of industrialized agriculture and fast food. They also provided a way to “gain economic power and political power... through the land” and break the stigma that many African Americans associate with farming, namely racist stigma equated with slavery (Clozel 2013, see appendix). Furthermore, the local BPP worked with community leaders and private businesses to establish a free breakfast program for children. In a recent article, Eldridge Cleaver, a former leader of the BPP explained that the breakfast program was a tool for liberation since “children who go to school hungry have been organized into their poverty.” According to Cleaver, the strength of the breakfast program lay in its capacity to liberate children from constraints preventing them from obtaining an education and a good quality of life. These constraints are built into societal structures founded on centuries of racially-justified oppression and exploitation.

Capitalist systems of economy are (sometimes) acknowledged for inherent contradictions supporting the extremely-unequal distribution of resources and acquisition of wealth. With regards to food, this contradiction means many should go hungry in the face of such material

abundance, and is often cited as proof that the (capitalist) political economy is structured for the benefit of some and the deprivation of others. Within this context, former chairperson of the BPP Elaine Brown explained:

Because we are so used to the capitalist construct, it doesn't occur to us that we have a human right to eat; because if you don't eat you will die, it's not complicated. So, if there is a price tag to eating, then there is a price on your head... It's not just a question of, am I dealing with hunger, because I could set up a thousand charities that will feed a bunch of people. The question is, do I as a human being in this society, or in this life, have a right to eat. And does this society have any duty at least with children to make sure that we eat... because it isn't whether the Black Panther Party feeds you or not, or if anyone else will feed you. 'Cause that is a hit and miss idea. The question is: are we prepared to make that commitment, at least, to our children that we will not put a price on their lives by denying them food unless their parents have the money to pay for it (Heynen 2009).

Brown's emphasis on the right to eat elucidates how the visceral experience of being hungry motivating the 1964 Uprising and other forms of protest in the 1960s-70s was sometimes framed through rights discourses. However, these discourses differed from those that explain the political turmoil of the time as stemming from abstract (yet important) notions of equality and fairness because they accounted for and drew from people's every day bodily experiences. The way that Brown frames the breakfast program also says something about the objectives that motivated many Black Panthers. While the Progress Movement worked largely within the existing political economy to ensure that all African Americans had access to jobs and a living wage to buy food and other resources, the BPP attempted to transform the political economy such that access to necessities was not predicated on an individual's income or ability to work, but a right that was guaranteed by society. By emphasizing that a price tag should not be placed on survival, the BPP's free breakfast program not only provided food to meet the immediate needs of children, but the organization also engaged in a form of consciousness raising working at multiple scales, from the body to the market and government (local through federal) institutions. However, despite their differences, both the

Progress Movement and the BPP drew from longstanding traditions in African American thought to advocate for self-reliance in African American neighborhoods through separate economic development as a solution to problems brought by racial exclusion, oppression and exploitation.

While both the Progress Movement and the BPP advocated for self-reliance in the face of government neglect, others attempted to transform government institutions from the inside by demanding their share of public services. For example, uneven access to welfare represented a form of government neglect that impacted the ability of African Americans to feed themselves and their families. Such uneven access was grounded in historical moments of racist practice. More specifically, during the 1950s-60s, government policy towards poverty and popularly-held beliefs regarding poverty intersected with representations of blackness historically sedimented during slavery. Jointly, policy-makers and pundits depended on these representations to argue that poverty in urban neighborhoods resulted from poor parenting as children were socialized into bad morals, a lazy work ethic and deviant behaviors (Lewis 1959). These ideas gained widespread currency in the northeast, where African American women were denied access to public services on the premise that they were poor by fault of choice and cultural habit. They had a particularly deleterious affect on the access of African American women who were depicted as “immoral and promiscuous ‘breeders’ with no aspirations beyond the dependence of the state” (Levenstein 2012). As a result of such beliefs, African American women were subjected to excessive scrutiny and required to pass invasive assessments to receive welfare, including home visits where civil servants rummaged through their personal belongings and asked questions about their sex lives. In many ways and

through multiple scales, historical and modern racist beliefs about both African Americans and poverty prohibited Black Americans' ability to take advantage of welfare and feed their families.

In Philadelphia and cities throughout the northeast, African American women sought resources for their families through public services historically denied to them. As Levenstein (2012) notes, the hard work that African American women performed by standing in long lines, sitting in lobbies, refusing to leave welfare offices, and jumping through bureaucratic hoops to receive public services and feed their children has traditionally been excluded from the scholarship on Civil Rights simply because they did not develop a formal political platform or engage in collective protest. In many ways, black women's struggles to claim public services existed in tension with the social movements of the 1960s-70s, especially with (male) activists who distanced themselves from women who could "discredit" their efforts. Both whites and blacks resorted to the historical dehumanization of black women through tropes of hypersexuality and promiscuity, ultimately condemning African American women's access to the state. Levenstein (2009) cites the following description of "the typical" welfare recipient by the *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin* in 1961 to elucidate how strongly such stereotypes were rooted in the imaginations of city residents:

“ [she is a] drunken wench [who] ... may be a mother only biologically.... The fathers of her assorted children may be missing primarily because she never is sure who they are. Her pathetic children may stay with her only because she needs them to keep the ... relief checks coming in. They may even die of neglect or malnutrition because the money intended for their care is entrusted to the trollop who happened to beget them.”

Throughout the 1970s, the widely held belief that African American women were less deserving of public services because of their supposed sexual promiscuity and bad mothering

was amplified by neoconservative attacks in the 1980s against “welfare queens,” who were said to live lavishly on the backs of tax payers (And of course, this was language already employed in the infamous 1965 Moynihan Report, “The Negro Family: The Case for National Action.” The stereotype of the welfare queen has always been inflected by food, usually through the idea that welfare queens eat better than those who presumably do not rely on the state. This is evident in the common belief that welfare queens are “getting fat” off public services, while their children suffer hunger and malnutrition (Ferguson 2004). These stereotypes continue to have very material consequences on African American families, and efforts of women in particular to overcome these obstacles to feed their families represents a form of survival and political protest that continues today.

MASS INCARCERATION

Despite the incredible gains of nonprofits, community-based organizations and grassroots organizations in North Philadelphia during the 1960s-70s, their efforts were dismantled overtime as a result of structural constraints and government intervention. With regard to the latter, a former Black Panther in Philadelphia stated with fervor that the work of Black Panthers who were gardening and feeding children was considered “more dangerous to [the state] than thugs and drug dealers!” According to her, the BPP’s politics posed a threat to societal structures, and this threat was more dangerous to the state than the social problems they created as a result, including crime. Furthermore, according to Heynen (2009) the radical potential of the BPP lay in their survival programs, which critiqued capitalist contradictions around food, namely that so many people should go hungry amidst such material abundance. While critiques of capitalism are particularly pronounced in the BPP,

they also reverberate through the efforts of the Progress Movement and African American women who sought public services to address, overcome and rectify socio-economic inequalities that prevented African Americans from eating. These movements represent collective efforts to ensure the survival of African American people, families and communities. The media representations of rioters as “lawless black hoodlums” who “were doing nothing but destroying” served to criminalize the political actions of African Americans. Overtime, this justified various forms of government intervention that led to the eventual incarceration of community leaders and the dismantling of the food-provisioning services they provided. However, in order to prevent the resurgence of political protests that challenged societal structures, it was necessary not only to criminalize survival activities among African Americans but also to obscure the capitalist contradictions that triggered them.

Since the 1980s, the joint processes of welfare retrenchment and mass incarceration work to obscure the structural inequalities producing poverty and hunger. The increasingly punitive character of welfare and penal systems has been cited by Wacquant (2001) as the “social welfare management” of poverty through mass incarceration. According to Wacquant, mass incarceration functions as a mechanism to manage the social divisions and insecurities that arise from the dismantling of public services, including welfare (Bonds 2012). Within this context, the prison operates as a “geographical solution” for absorbing the surplus land, labor and capital that poses a contradiction to the opportunity, abundance and wealth that capitalism presumably provides (Loyd 2012). Furthermore, the passing of punitive crime legislation coalesced into “tough on crime” policies that were designed to incarcerate large numbers of people for longer periods of time. It is widely known that people who are hungry

and deprived of basic necessities are likely to turn to crime as a means of survival. Given that crime fomented in poverty, or as one community member stated, “hungry kids are going to steal to eat,” mass incarceration not only hides poverty, but also disguises it as crime by treating the condition and ignoring the cause. As a result, people marginalized through historical processes of oppression and exploitation, including racialized groups, are incarcerated in greater numbers and comprise the bulk of the prison population. For instance, African American men represent over 40 percent of the prison population, but make up less than 13 percent of the general population (Pager 2007). Furthermore, a recent study by the Justice Policy Institute (2014) demonstrated that in recent decades Philadelphia has had the highest incarceration rate in the nation, holding a percentage of inmates over three times higher than New York City, a city with a much larger population. This is surprising given that other cities around the nation, including Baltimore, Washington D.C. and Detroit, boast higher crime rates (both in total and per/capita crimes). Furthermore, a map of prison admission rates in Philadelphia demonstrates that the vast majority of arrests take place in North Philadelphia, African American neighborhoods that feature some of the highest unemployment rates in the nation (Justice Institute 2014). These trends indicate that incarceration rates are not directly correlated to criminal activity. Yet, even when criminal activity is present, the underlying causes are oftentimes neglected, as are questions about illegality and the severity of sentencing. Therefore, mass incarceration cannot be reduced to simply a concern for public safety. Such a dominant narrative, one of protection from dehumanized “thugs,” serves to quell the social divisions and disorganization that poverty, hunger and deprivation produce, all of which present potent contradictions to capitalism.

The mass incarceration of African American men has negatively impacted the ability of families and communities to obtain food and feed themselves in multiple ways. For instance, in households where men provide financial support, incarceration represents a financial burden. In an instant, families are left without money to buy food, clothing or pay rent (Mountz 2012). Furthermore, once released from prison, formerly-incarcerated black men struggle to obtain employment, making it difficult to support themselves without turning to informal and illegalized means of generating income. Ultimately, the lack of employment opportunities or danger and infrequency of others, negatively impacts the ability of the formerly incarcerated to feed themselves and their families (Loyd 2012). Additionally, in early 2013, senators from *both* sides of the aisle *unanimously* approved amendments to the House Farm Bill making people convicted of violent crimes ineligible for the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP), formerly known as food stamps; previous amendments already targeted narcotics convictions (Resnikoff 2013). Furthermore, the most recent Farm Bill (passed in February 2014) reduced the budget for SNAP benefits by more than \$8 billion. These changes prevent large numbers of African Americans from applying for public food assistance, a new iteration of historic government neglect of racialized groups. Lastly, during the panel discussion one attendee, speaking from personal experience, argued that the unhealthy food inmates are served in prisons proves profitable for food corporations stating that, “oodles of noodles and Cheetos are a delicacy in prison.” In the attendee’s opinion, the formerly incarcerated pass on these food values to their children and unknowingly perpetuate a vicious cycle of corporate profit and greed. This comment alludes to the insidious intersections between economic and cultural exploitation that contributes to

uneven access to healthy food. For many African American families and communities, mass incarcerations represents yet another obstacle to survival.

FOOD MOVEMENTS

The food provisioning activities sustaining African American families and communities in Philadelphia have, overtime, influenced the efforts of institutions such as the AAUF working to establish a local economic based through collaborative efforts to address structural inequalities and provide alternatives avenues of resource access. For instance, in 2010, the AAUF established an urban garden as part of their *Urban Garden Initiative* that aims to improve wellbeing and quality of life among African American people through increased access to fresh produce, nutritional education, job training opportunities and recreational space. The garden serves as a meeting place where local residents engage in food provisioning activities such as gardening, as well as attend events, including youth talent shows and regional farmers markets. Furthermore, the garden is also used as a space where the formerly incarcerated and the unemployed learn valuable skills that help them start small landscaping businesses. These grassroots initiatives are complemented by policy-oriented campaigns such as the *X-offenders for Community Empowerment*, which aims to institutionalize laws that prohibit employers from discriminating against the formerly incarcerated. While these objectives are seemingly disconnected, the AAUF works through an integrated framework that recognizes poverty, mass incarceration, discriminatory employment practices and welfare retrenchment as joint processes producing uneven access to healthy food. Furthermore, the organization's discursive practices are rooted in the historical strategies of African American groups to establish a local economic base providing

assistance to families and communities as an alternative to institutions historically neglecting their needs.

However, the work of the AAUF and nonprofits that do similar work are often not considered as part of Philadelphia's food movement. These exclusions allude to the bifurcation of the food movement into distinct categories based (both explicitly and implicitly) on race and class. To better understand this bifurcation, I will analyze three issues of Grid Magazine, a local print publication focused on sustainability issues in Philadelphia. In these issues, a history of the local food movement is narratively-constructed that inadvertently perpetuates regulatory fictions, effectively obscuring (through omission) the ongoing efforts of African Americans families, communities and organizations to address structural inequality through the food system. I discuss the ramifications of these narrative frames, suggesting that an integrated framework is necessary. Such a frame does not deny race and class tensions, but allows for concerted efforts to envision a food movement through and beyond these oppressive tensions.

In a recent issue of Grid Magazine the "history of the Philadelphia Food Movement"⁴ was explored through the work of several advocates who established businesses and nonprofit organizations supporting the production and consumption of local, organic and sustainable food. The history the magazine constructs starts with the establishment of The White Dog Café, a gourmet restaurant that opened in the early 1980s and served food sourced from local and organic produce. Following in chronological order is the establishment of farmers

⁴ See references and appendix for full list of issues.

markets and local events, including the Brewer's Plate, a festival that brings together the region's chefs, farmers, food artisans, brewers, distillers, and winemakers who provide samples for critics and discerning attendees. The advocates featured in the issue are all white, and upper-middle class. Their businesses and organizations also service predominantly upper-middle class consumers by providing local and organic food that also happens to be quite expensive. The advocates cite similar motivations for becoming involved with the food movement, emphasizing taste and personal preference, as well as consumer responsibility to buy local. In another issue, the magazine featured the founder of White Dog café, describing her as "Philadelphia's founding mother of sustainability."

While on the surface the narrative frames used to tell the story of the local food movement seem quite benign, a closer consideration reveals some of the regulatory fictions contemporary food movements perpetuate. Judith Butler (1990) defines regulatory fictions as "a set of repeated acts within a highly rigid regulatory frame that congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance, of a natural sort of being." In other words, as people repeatedly act in particular ways, and tell themselves stories to make sense of their actions, self-evident truths are produced and sustained. These truths take on a naturalness that becomes common sense, making them difficult to unsettle. The history Grid Magazine constructs is fundamentally racialized and classed, though such operations are not obvious, and certainly not acknowledged. But, as Butler demonstrates, this is the result of regulatory regimes in action. The shadow history Grid Magazine narrates alludes to the inequalities that haunt food movements.

While there is nothing essentially wrong with the story put forth by the magazine, it is the tendency of this narrative to “drown out other stories” that is particularly disturbing (Alkon and Agyeman 2011). For instance, the historical starting point for the food movement is cited as being in the early 1980s, when interest in local, organic and sustainable food among the upper-middle class emerged as a niche market for those who could afford the fare. However, the history of the food movement might best be described as starting centuries prior when slaves defied whites by engaging in food provisioning activities to supplement their rations. Furthermore, perhaps the history of Philadelphia’s local food movement should be traced back to the Great Migration when the skills African Americans learned through sharecropping proved beneficial to migrants who cultivated urban gardens for subsistence purposes. Perhaps it was they who were the “founding mothers/fathers of sustainability” in Philadelphia? Lastly, the efforts of social movements in the 1960s-70s to address societal inequalities through the establishment of grocery stores and free breakfast programs as well as the efforts of families to receive public services is also notably absent from dominant narratives about Philadelphia’s food movement. My interpretation of these historical events suggests that taste, consumer responsibility and personal preference were not the primary motivations behind such efforts. Instead, the struggle to survive amidst racial exclusion, exploitation and oppression proved key factors. These visceral motivations, along with their political contexts, are entirely absent from the narratives constructing the history of Philadelphia’s food movement. This is not simply a case of omission; rather dominant, historically-developed narrative frames available to represent food and African Americans often have no room for such visceral motivations and political contexts.

Moreover, dominant narratives about the food movement also neglect to consider the ways in which societal inequalities produce and reinforce uneven access to healthy food. These inequalities include the racial stigmas around gardening and farming that affect visceral access to healthy food, especially where they are associated with the exploitation and oppression slavery. Hayes-Conroy and Hayes-Conroy (2013) describe visceral access as a person's "articulated bodily capacit[ies] to feel a certain level of comfort, excitement, affection, pride and so on, for what [they are] eating." Their argument suggests people's historically constructed capacities to feel motivated by the cultural ideals, values and practices of food movements should be considered as principle (yet, not sole) indications of access. However, the criminalization of domestic food production through zoning and other regulatory processes has arguably presented an equally difficult obstacle to urban food production. Furthermore, punitive policies targeting racialized groups, including the 2013 House Farm Bill amendment making it impossible for applicants with a criminal record from receiving food stamps, represents yet another attempt to restrict public services to African Americans, who are more likely to become incarcerated. Additionally, the city's segregated residential landscape persists, attesting to the ongoing legacy of government disinvestment and racial exclusion, while attempts to "develop" African American neighborhoods have historically resulted in gentrification. The persistence of segregation in Philadelphia is evident in the food system. For instance, while many African American neighborhoods qualify as USDA identified food deserts, or neighborhoods that lack grocery stores within a one-mile radius, wealthier neighborhoods are touted as foodie destinations, where tourists can purchase local, organic and gourmet food prepared by nationally recognized chefs. Although integral to the uneven distribution of local, organic and sustainable food, an

acknowledgement of these inequalities is absent from the narrative frames and discursive practices of food movements as evidenced by media representations of Philadelphia's own food history.

In a 2011 issue on food justice, Grid Magazine attempted to address the racial and class tensions that inhibit "an integrated sustainability movement here in Philadelphia" by featuring several African American advocates for food justice, including small business owners and urban gardeners/farmers. While the intentions of the editors were admirable, the existence of this special, one-off issue, the "token" issue, ultimately strengthens the racial bifurcation of the food movement. In other words, by segregating Philadelphia's food movement, Grid's representation perpetuated the binary categorization of people and organizations advocating for local, organic and sustainable food. Why is it necessary to create separate publications for white advocates and African American advocates, while excluding the latter from the "official" history of the food movement?

Just like the social and physical landscape of Philadelphia, the narrative frames used to construct the history of food movements are also racially and as I have demonstrated, historically bifurcated. Such narratives obscure the processes that produce and sustain uneven access to food as well as the historical efforts of African Americans to survive, challenge societal inequalities and create alternatives through food. In order to have an integrated food movement, it is necessary to generate narratives that recognize race and class tensions, while highlighting opportunities for collaboration. The point of offering such critiques is not to denigrate or dismiss the work of the nonprofits featured in the magazine, or even to dismiss

GRID magazine. These organizations undoubtedly provide services that benefit countless people and groups, including food access projects that provide economic support for the purchase of healthy food. Instead, my critical focus brings attention to the limited narrative framework within which food movements must seemingly operate. By interrogating this framework, a civic participatory body that operates through and across difference can emerge; one that has the power to cultivate structural changes in the food system. Therefore, through such critiques, I ultimately aim to provide insights that improve the capacity of nonprofit organizations (including those featured) to generate civic participation across race and class difference around food.

RESULTS

The institutional structure of the AAUF reflects the importance of civic participation for effective functioning of nonprofit organizations within the context of welfare retrenchment and the “hallowing out” of the state. In this chapter, I begin by providing a brief summary of the organization’s history, highlighting the importance of individual contributions and volunteer work. Then, I analyze people’s motivations to become involved with the AAUF’s urban gardening project, and gardening more generally, through close readings of interviews. Furthermore, I pay particular attention to the design of the organization’s urban garden and its role in generating civic participation by encouraging feelings of familiarity, belonging and nurture that motivate African Americans to garden. In the final section, I gauge the capacities and limitations of this approach.

HISTORY OF THE AAUF

The AAUF was once part of a national organization called the Black United Fund (BUF), established in the aftermath of the 1960s Uprisings to fund the efforts of Civil Rights and Black Power Movements. In Pennsylvania, the BUF obtained funding through a payroll deduction system that enabled workers to donate a portion of their salaries to the organization. Many considered their incorporation into this system a great victory, because it was the first time employees could donate to an organization that directly benefited African American communities. Furthermore, throughout the 1980s, the BUF provided assistance to African Americans who struggled with the Reagan administration’s cuts to public services. In an interview with Aissia Richardson, the executive director of the AAUF, she emphasized that

the BUF offered “mutual aid and self-help” to African Americans who relied on state support. Through such support, the organization was “looking to transform the welfare system and basically end welfare as it was known” by helping African Americans become less reliant on governmental institutions. Upon change of leadership in 2000, the organization’s name was changed to the AAUF. In 2006 Aissia became acting director and sought out new directions for the organization’s growth and transformation.

The establishment of a garden on the white house lawn by Michelle Obama, as well as the Obama administration’s emphasis on healthy eating, inspired Aissia to start an urban garden in the lot beside their office building. The lot looked like many demolition sites in North Philadelphia: it was covered with weeds and littered with abandoned construction materials, fast food wrappers and other garbage while used for prostitution and drug dealing. The AAUF used “community cleanups,” or city-wide volunteer days to mobilize residents to clean litter in their neighborhoods and ready the space for a garden. The preparation of the space was a collaborative process involving several individuals, organizations and groups. These groups included students from Temple University, City Corps volunteers and adjudicated minors involved with local rehabilitative programs. Furthermore, through personal referrals, a group of designers interested in bringing design processes to community-based projects worked with the AAUF to construct architectural plans for the garden. At the same time, staff, volunteers and board members of the AAUF attended the Pennsylvania Horticultural Society’s (PHS) educational gardening programs. Using one of these architectural plans, the AAUF was selected to receive a grant from PHS. With this and subsequent funds, the lot was cleared of unwanted vegetation, several raised beds and

benches were constructed, crops were planted and a fence was constructed around the space. The garden is frequently described by Aissia as a “meeting space for community,” which hosts film screenings, musical events featuring local artists, farmer’s markets, nutrition classes and job training opportunities for the formerly incarcerated to learn skills that help them start landscaping businesses (Richardson 2013). In keeping with the structure of the original organization, the AAUF continues to source most of its funding from fees for services, including leasing their rental space for events, and individual contributions in the form of monetary donations and volunteer support. This income is supplemented by private grants and an occasional state or federal grant. The structure of the organization makes it so that much of its financial security hinges on civic participation, especially in the form of volunteer labor. In this chapter, I describe how the design of the organization’s urban garden is implicated in their capacity to generate civic participation. Through a focus on people’s motivations to garden, I discuss the capacities and limitations of the urban gardening project and suggest opportunities for future growth and transformation.

THE AAUF GARDEN AS HOMEPLACE

When I first visited the AAUF’s urban garden, Aissia described the space as a “home” consisting of a door (gate), floor (brick pathway), ceiling (tree canopy) and furniture (wooden bench). I was intrigued by this design and became curious about its significance to the community⁵. During an interview, I asked Aissia about the garden’s design and she responded in the following way:

[The urban garden] is something new for this particular neighborhood, in order for people to feel comfortable, in order for people to feel welcome in that space, it needs to feel like

⁵ See chapter two

something they can recognize. People recognize a door, a floor and a ceiling, even if it's symbolic...The good thing is that you can create that without having to actually have those things.... because people feel at home and that's what we want to be able to create.

In another interview, Aissia clarified that although urban gardening has historically been of interest to older African Americans, especially among migrants who relocated to Philadelphia during the Great Migration, subsequent generations have largely been uninterested in gardening. Therefore, for many young and middle-aged residents, gardening is a new, unfamiliar and intimidating activity that limits the organization's capacity to generate and sustain civic participation in North Philadelphia. Within this context, the garden's design is intended to promote a sense of familiarity, comfort and belonging that encourage people to feel welcome in a place that might otherwise be regarded as unfamiliar and intimidating. Furthermore, the capacity of the garden to elicit such feelings enables the organization to generate civic participation through a place-based politics that motivates people through emotional/affective ties to an ideal home. The emphasis on creating a feeling or a sense of being home reflects Massey's argument that place is a momentary encounter that is mediated through our subjective and emotional experience with messy constellations of social and natural elements. Therefore, it is not the physical structure of the garden that makes it a home (although this is an integral component), but the feeling of being at home that the symbolic place presumably promotes.

The sense of home Aissia describes is an ideal or romanticized home feminist geographers critique for promoting a false sense of security, privacy and safe haven from the public world (Hill Collins 1998; Massey 1998; Ferguson 2004; Kaika 2004). Yet, as I will explain in subsequent sections, the design of the urban garden provides an opportunity for African

Americans to engage in cultivating new ways of thinking, feeling and acting by developing a first-person awareness imbuing their work with political significance. Furthermore gardeners cultivating these new subjectivities do so relationally, facilitating multi-scalar connections between their individuated bodies and broader structural processes. Therefore, the design of the AAUF's urban garden as a home is not a retreat from the public world, but a link to the processes of exploitation and oppression rooted in the affective/emotional/visceral dimensions of people and their communities as they relate to food. Therefore, I argue that the design of the AAUF's urban garden reflects what hooks (2009) calls a "homeplace."

[Homeplace is a place where] Black women resisted by making homes where all black people could strive to be subjects, not objects... affirmed... despite poverty, hardship and deprivation, where we could restore to ourselves the dignity denied us on the outside, in the public world.

The homeplace she describes is unlike those criticized by feminist geographers as western, bourgeois and masculinist (Hill Collins 1998; Massey 1998; Ferguson 2004; Kaika 2004). African Americans were denied access to a cultural, familial and national "home" through historic exploitative and oppressive processes leading to their displacement, beginning with their entry to the new world and chattel slavery. Within a diasporic context, the construction of an ideal or romanticized homeplace suggests the sort of "outraged utopianism" Heynen (2006) describes as the refusal "to settle for the brutality of contemporary sociospatial circumstances" by mobilizing the possibility of utopian alternatives. As such, constructing the urban garden as a material and symbolic homeplace is a refusal to submit to the emotional/affective dislocation that accompanies physical displacement.

In this homeplace, African Americans redefine the way they see themselves and their communities while generating a sense of belonging through social ties of trust, reciprocity and care. Moreover, people struggling day-to-day are less likely to “burn out” because of these networks of support, helping people cope with everyday struggles, staying focused and motivated on long-term social justice projects. The ability to cope is an important (but often overlooked) component of social justice movements because as Heynen (2006) reminds us:

“It does no good to get so frustrated and discouraged by wanting to change the world or our local community that we lose the ability to cope, to maneuver through our everyday lives, to stay human ourselves. Sometimes our very existence, physically, mentally, and spiritually revolves around our ability to stay focused on emancipatory social change, but at a pace we can deal with.”

As I will demonstrate in subsequent sections, the urban gardening project provides an opportunity for participants to cultivate structural change in part through therapeutic practices of healing that imbue their work with political significance, while helping them cope with the emotional/affective affects of racism.

The urban garden was also constructed as a homeplace through the performance of domestic work, such as domestic food production and cooking demonstrations, by staff and volunteers. In a casual conversation I had with Aissia, she argued that learning how to cook nutritious food is as important as growing and having access to culturally-appropriate produce. This belief led her to organize Afro-centric nutrition education and cooking classes in the urban garden. The domestic work that was performed in the space represents a form of reproductive labor, or work that serves the purpose of recreating the basic conditions needed for everyday activities, such as eating (Rochealeau et al 1996). In many societies, reproductive labor is largely performed by women in, or within close proximity to, domestic spaces. Furthermore,

in her definition of homeplace, hooks (2009) suggests black women are responsible for the place-making activities that create home. However, given the involvement of staff, volunteers, and interns who are men suggests the construction of this garden as a homeplace is not determined by the (domestic) gender binary. Yet, this does not suggest that the space is free from uneven power relations and participants are unconstrained by gender roles. On the contrary, there were allusions to uneven power relations surrounding gender throughout my interviews with participants.

One striking example of this took place in how community members relied on gendered descriptions of “cooking” and “grilling.” For instance, while both men and women are involved in cooking demonstrations as both instructors and participants, I noticed that women often referred to their activities as “cooking” while the men referred to them as “grilling.” In one interview, Aissia and I were discussing *Garden to Plate*, an educational program that provides opportunities for adjudicated minors (most of whom are African American) to learn gardening and cooking skills. While she referred to their activities as “cooking,” Singleton, the male counselor who supervises the youth, had a tendency to pair any mention of “cooking” with “grilling” by emphasizing that they were using a grill to prepare vegetables. This was evident when I asked Singleton about the activities that the youth performed in the garden and he responded, “we did a lot of watering, picking, but we also often did cooking class out in the garden with the grill. So, making things and just putting them right on the grill they had out back.” From a feminist perspective, the emphasis that is placed on the grill is not simply a matter of clarification, but reflects longstanding gender roles in food preparation. While cooking is assumed to take place in a domestic

setting and is traditionally regarded as women's work, grilling takes place outdoors in the public sphere and is associated with the preparation of "masculine" foods, such as meat (Neuhaus 2003; Sellaeg and Chapman 2008). Although the Garden to Plate group was preparing vegetables and not meat, the implied importance of the grill by Singleton highlights social attitudes around gender and food shaping how this homeplace is used and perceived. These social attitudes, perpetuated through gender regulatory regimes, inevitably shape how people think, act and feel in the garden.

In the remaining sections, I contextualize the design of the urban garden within people's motivations to become involved with gardening more broadly. In these sections, three distinct sets of motivations are analyzed: personal ties between friends and families, developing a first-person awareness that enables participants to see through and beyond racial stereotypes, and the creation of beauty and community. Furthermore, I analyze the capacities and limitations of the urban gardening project, paying particular attention to the constraints that nonprofit organizations such as the AAUF must confront within the context of capitalist and neoliberal forms of governance.

"THE GARDEN IS PERSONALLY ABOUT ME BEING ABLE TO CONNECT WITH MY GRANDPARENTS": FRIENDSHIP, FAMILY AND PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS IN THE GARDEN

In my interviews and during the panel discussion I organized with the AAUF, I found that people's motivations to garden are shaped by their personal experiences as well as their personal connections to friends and family. For instance, during the discussion many panelists explained how their experiences with hunger and malnutrition influenced their

decision to become involved with food access. One panelist, Atiba Ellerby, argued that his high school cafeteria's lack of nutritious food motivated a group of students to start Philadelphia Urban Roots Collective (P.U.R.C.) an urban farmers collective partnering with local institutions to grow produce and provide nutrition education opportunities in African American neighborhoods. His outrage with the lack of nutritious food for young people in public schools shaped his desire to work collaboratively with his peers and address social inequalities through the food system. Furthermore his motivations did not stem from abstract and disembodied ideals regarding justice, but rather from his lived experience with hunger and malnutrition as a high school student. In other words, the ideals informing the collective's work are rooted in visceral experiences and gut-level feelings permeating their everyday lives.

The importance of family ties was also strongly present throughout the panel discussion. For instance, Atiba also cited his experience growing up in a single-parent household where his mother held three jobs and was still unable to afford healthy food as a motivation for becoming involved with urban farming and gardening. Through his work as a farmer, he provides opportunities for families in similar situations to obtain affordable, chemical-free produce. Moreover, another panelist spoke with pride about her father's corner store and discussed how her experience growing up in his workplace inspired her to become involved with a program that subsidizes fresh produce in corner stores throughout the city. The experiences these individuals shared reflect how family life influenced their decision to become involved with urban food production and food access.

The importance of family life was also evident in the design of the AAUF's urban garden and provides some insight into Aissia's personal motivations for starting the urban gardening project. In her blog post, Aissia shared the following story about the establishment of the garden:

After my father had his stroke, he was afraid to leave home. He stopped working, stopped teaching, and stopped exercising. All activities he had previously enjoyed. As a work therapy project, I asked him to help coordinate this new program to educate our family and our community about preventable disease and to connect African American men to traditional health care providers. Sadly, my father lost his battle with heart disease in 2008 and died the day before our first healthy food cooking demonstration took place [in the garden]. As a tribute to him, I vowed to provide access to health care for the poor and in minority communities, to present information about how to maintain health and recognize warning signs of preventable diseases and to work with young men by talking with them early about maintaining their health (Richardson 2013, see appendix).

In her blog post, she reveals that before the garden was even designed as a homeplace, the lot was intended as a semi-public/private sphere where her father could feel comfortable engaging in the activities he enjoyed prior to his stroke. The eventual design of the garden as a homeplace is thus imbued with familial significance for Aissia, and through this personal tragedy, an ethics of care was mobilized that impacted social change on a broader scale. Furthermore, Aissia's lived experience with the loss of her father to preventable disease partially explains the organization's emphasis on the health and wellbeing of African American men (a national interest). The familial ties that motivated Aissia to design the urban garden and implement garden activities were materialized through the construction of the garden as an ideal home, where the relational ethics of care she practiced during the decline of her father's health was operationalized on a neighborhood level. Furthermore, in an interview Aissia stated that she was able to feel connected to subsequent generations in the urban garden.

My grandparents had a back yard [where they grew food] and they came from the South, and they weren't farmers but they grew up on or close to farms and their families also farmed so they brought some of that back with them to Philadelphia...This garden personally is about me being able to connect with my grandparents.

On a personal level, the urban garden enables Aissia to reconnect to her grandparent's and their way of life. As a result, it provides an opportunity for her to participate in the production and preservation of the cultural knowledge they brought with them during the Great Migration. Moreover, the place-based connection that Aissia maintains to her cultural heritage through gardening presents a unique opportunity for bridging the generational gap undermining urban gardening efforts in African American neighborhoods. A central concern for many participants who attended the panel discussion is the lack of transmission of cultural knowledge on gardening. This was evident in one person's lamentation that the gardeners who came to Philadelphia during the Great Migration are "almost gone." The intergenerational connection Aissia sustains through gardening suggests the garden serves as a link between what Massey (2005) calls the "here-and-now" and "there-and-then" constituting place as a emotional encounter. Furthermore, the emphasis placed on family life further reifies the construction of the garden as a homeplace where a relational ethics of care creating strong social bonds of reciprocity, trust and nurture connect friends and create a symbolic "family."

Many research participants cited their personal connections to Aissia and her family as one motivation for becoming involved with the organization's urban gardening project. For instance, when I asked Singleton how he became involved with the AAUF's Garden to Plate program, he mentioned that Aissia was a family friend and as a result knew about the organization for quite some time. Also, Christian Hayden, a City Corps volunteer, became

involved with the AAUF as an intern, mobilizing youth to clean the pre-garden lot. The internship became possible for Christian through the help of a teacher, a relative of the executive director of the AAUF at the time. My own experience doing research fieldwork also elucidates the importance of maintaining a personal relationship with Aissia, as she helped me procure most of the interviews I conducted for this research through referrals. The importance of friendship, familial ties and personal relationships in general suggests that feelings of camaraderie, devotion and solidarity motivated many participants to become involved with the urban gardening project. Furthermore, the design of the urban garden as a homeplace is representative of social relationships creating cohesion that enable people and groups to work collaboratively as a “family.”

The strategic importance of home to the AAUF as a nonprofit organization reflects the work of feminist scholars who view social justice as an embodied ethics of care that starts with social relationships that constitute political subjectivities (Staeheli and Brown 2003). As a symbolic (and ideal) homeplace, the garden serves as a locus for personal and familial relationships of care, trust and reciprocity that create social cohesion, elucidating interdependency and connectedness. The politics that the garden promotes rests with actual relationships that bond people to one another, and to place, through shared feelings such as love, devotion, care, concern, comraderie and joy. As an embodied experience, such a politics is far from abstracted, and is derived from, addresses and transforms people’s emotional, psychological and material needs. Through a relational ethics of care that starts with social relationships constituting political subjectivities, the organization exercises a set of discursive practices that motivates people and generates civic participation. Furthermore, a focus on

everyday relationships, especially those often relegated to the private sphere, is arguably more inclusive of people and groups who have historically been excluded from social movements, including women. However, as I demonstrate in the last section, the benefits that such a politics presumably offers are frequently delimited by subtle forms of social exclusion and marginalization that curtail the transformative capacities of a discourse of ‘home.’

***“IN THE GARDEN I WAS ABLE TO SEE MYSELF”*: A GEOGRAPHIC PERSPECTIVE ON DOUBLE CONSCIOUSNESS**

In order to cultivate new subjectivities, individuals often have to see themselves in different ways. A reoccurring theme throughout my interviews with research participants was their ability to “see themselves” in the garden and through gardening. Furthermore, this ability was cited as a motivational force that informed and encouraged their continual involvement with gardening. Frequently, the ability to recognize or see oneself in the garden was framed in opposition to oppressive racial stigmas, stereotypes and representations surrounding blackness. For instance, Andrew Huggins, a former Black Panther who is involved with urban gardening in North Philadelphia stated:

Andrew: When it comes to gardening the first thing [African Americans] think about is the psychological affect of what happened to their forefathers and foremothers on the garden...So that stigma still has a bearing on their psyche ... for a period of time that stigma had bitten me! Had bitten me! ... but then my attitude started to change because I started to see the necessity of eating and growing your own... and in the garden I was able to see myself and learn more about me.... Did you know that I was blind?

Leticia: Yes, I did.

Andrew: So, you know, it helped me see me.

Andrew’s emphasis on eating as a basic necessity supports the argument I developed in chapter three that bodily survival motivates people to participate in food-provisioning services for themselves and others. I explore this motivation again later, but now focus

specifically on self-recognition as a motivational force influencing the decisions of African Americans to garden. Andrew's response suggests that "seeing oneself" involves the overcoming of racial stigmas and stereotypes, especially where gardening is associated with slavery and thus position African American gardeners as slaves. According to Andrew, the racial stigma associated with gardening simultaneously inhibits and motivates African Americans to become involved with food production. On the one hand, he explains that this stigma prevented him from participating in gardening for quite some time. Yet, upon recognizing "the necessity of eating," he was able to overcome the racial stigma and cultivate a self or subjectivity that wasn't dictated by historical processes largely outside of his control. Furthermore, this process of self-cultivation entails a recognition that was previously unavailable where the removal of blinders, or working through and beyond racial regulatory regimes, Andrew can now "see himself." The process of liberation through self-cultivation became the very motivation that encouraged him to continue gardening. Interestingly, despite the fact that Andrew is physically blind, he uses visual metaphors to describe the benefits of gardening, namely that it helped "me see me." Lastly, his statement implies that he was only able to fully see or recognize himself once he began gardening, but not when he was inhibited by the stigma of slavery. This leads to a pressing question: why is a lack of recognition or lack of "self" associated with oppressive racial stigmas, stereotypes and representations?

For Andrew, the shift between seeing oneself through a third-person awareness (how others see me) and a first-person awareness (how I see myself) is fundamental to his account of self-recognition through place and is a strikingly clear example of "double-consciousness" as

previously discussed. In the garden, Andrew confronted and challenged oppressive stigmas, stereotypes and representations, effectively provoking a shift between a third-person and a first-person awareness, which enabled him to cultivate different ways of feeling, thinking and acting. This self Andrew cultivated (and was subsequently recognized by) in the space exercised more agency and was less inhibited by the emotional and psychological barriers that initially limited his desire to become involved with gardening. The shift between a third-person and first-person recognition can be explained through the lens of double consciousness, namely that African Americans and other systemically marginalized groups experience a “warring” of multiple selves that often leads to the internalization of alienating self-images (DuBois 1903; Fanon 1952). However, as Gilroy (1993) suggests, productive tensions arise through such warring, providing opportunities for different racial subjectivities to emerge and “spatialize.” Furthermore, Jackson (2005) reinforces the importance of place as it relates to the “interiority” of race, which is felt, experienced and lived from the inside through emotional/affective criteria determining community belonging. The shift between a first-person and third-person awareness that Andrew describes happens through the garden as a place. By simply being in the garden, competing images and representations spin into motion, provoking an emotionally charged and volatile experience involving multiple ways of seeing oneself. Yet, despite the suffering that such traumatic experiences provoke, they also suggest an opportunity to confront, understand and engage with societal processes at the level of individuated bodies through affective/emotional/visceral engagements with food. Through such engagements, new ways of thinking, feeling and acting are cultivated that imbues gardening with political significance.

Throughout our interview Andrew was clear that “seeing himself” was a socio-metabolic process that linked his physical body to the societal processes through which it is (partly) constituted (Heynen 2006). For instance, after a lengthy conversation about the negative impacts of industrialized agriculture on African American neighborhoods and human health, he stated:

What I love about food is that it has a psychological and physiological affect on people... what we eat makes up what we think, our skin, our hair, our teeth... [it] makes up your DNA, your genes, what you eat will essentially *become you!*

His response suggests that self-cultivation is not simply choosing among a collage of competing images, but a visceral and material process that happens through the biological act of eating as it relates to societal processes at multiple scales. The process Andrew describes resonates with Heynen’s (2006) argument that bodies are produced through “socio-metabolic processes that link their existence to external processes that produce food.” The concept of metabolism, or the life-sustaining chemical transformation of food into energy by cells, is invoked to discuss bodily functions as they relate to the (uneven) social process of transforming raw materials into commodities for consumption. These numerous metabolisms are linked through an amalgam of socio-physical processes that (dis)allow bodies and cities to function in particular ways. Drawing on similar connections, Andrew defines the self at multiple scales, elucidating how the practices of industrialized agriculture physically shape urban neighborhoods, communities and individuated bodies through the food system. It is *this self* Andrew recognizes in the garden; it is an assembled self that is not isolated from external processes, but which materializes through their linkages at multiple scales. Furthermore, when asked to elaborate on the act of seeing oneself in the garden, he responded:

You know what they say about a garden... if its left alone for seven years without any sprays or anything it will eventually become an organic garden... same way with the human being... this is what I mean when I say that I "see myself."

For Andrew, the metabolic process of growing crops (transforming raw materials into commodities for consumption) is linked to and reflects the biological process of eating and digesting food. Furthermore, his response suggests that the agricultural practices polluting food and harming the environment are the same processes that prevent him from becoming a "human being" and make him less than human. Therefore, through gardening he is cultivating a visceral and relational self through which he asserts and reclaims his humanity, while challenging the societal processes that inhibit his psychological, emotional and physical wellbeing on multiple scales.

The place-based process of cultivating new racialized subjectivities through food and gardening was also invoked through a discourse of "seeing oneself" in the AAUF garden. Like Andrew, Aissia discusses the importance of developing a first-person awareness through gardening enabling participants to break from negative racial stigmas, stereotypes and representations. For instance, exemplifying the organization's work with adjudicated minors, she stated:

I think [what motivates people] has to do with seeing yourself in the future and seeing yourself in a positive future, and I think that one of the reasons why it's no accident that we work with young men, it's no accident that there are adjudicated minors in their cohort, so if your ... able to talk to young people about the importance of eating well, importance of imparting skills that are marketable so they can take care of their families, bring resources in for themselves because, you know, I always ask them: 'When was the last time you saw a dealer on the corner, ballin'?' You know? Like, seriously!

According to Aissia, the desire to move beyond racial stereotypes, including those surrounding African American men as drug dealers, is a motivational factor that encourages

participants to become involved with the urban gardening project. Through the garden, participants are able to see themselves in a more positive light and cultivate new subjectivities. As previously argued, this is a liberating and empowering gesture that makes room for self-determination by providing opportunities for African Americans to develop a first-person awareness that challenges oppressive racial stigmas, stereotypes and representations.

In Aissia's description, the self-image participants cultivate through the urban gardening project is strongly defined through a frame of marketability, or their potential usefulness in the marketplace. This is implied in the contrast Aissia draws between informal economic activities happening largely outside of market exchanges, such as drug dealing, and "marketable" skills helping men find gainful employment. The AAUF's emphasis on job training reflects the focus of the Progress Movement in North Philadelphia on increasing access to resources in African American neighborhoods through employment opportunities. In other words, like many social movements of the 1960s-70s, the AAUF aims to increase access to food by ensuring that African Americans have the opportunity to work and earn wages. While this dynamic was always a historical concern since the time of the earliest African "Americans," these efforts reflect recent political restructuring of welfare and other programs/institutions providing basic needs. For example, a person's willingness and ability to work determines eligibility to receive assistance, particularly over the last few decades. More generally, the BPP and other groups criticized these "capitalist constructs" for putting a "price on [people's] heads" by establishing *any* criteria or conditions for survival (Heynen 2009). According to them, access to food and other basic resources should be guaranteed to

everyone, regardless of their ability to work. As I discuss in the final discussion, this limits the potential of the gardening program to generate an oppositional politics because it risks reifying neoliberal subjectivities that define a person's worth according to their participation in the dominant marketplace. The capacity to "see oneself" is not separate from societal processes; it is a complex process resulting in multiple, contradictory and often unanticipated consequences and effects that simultaneously sustain and challenge oppressive structures, creating new opportunities as well as constraints.

Thus far I have argued that oppressive racial stigmas, stereotypes and representations shape how African Americans view themselves in relation to food and gardening, simultaneously inhibiting and motivating civic participation. Furthermore, in African American neighborhoods, the constraints these stigmas, stereotypes and representations carry ultimately limit "internalized access," or, the "articulated bodily capacit[ies] to feel a certain level of comfort, excitement, affection, pride and so on, for what [people are] eating" and growing (Hayes-Conroy and Hayes-Conroy 2013). Within this context, the construction of the AAUF's urban garden as a homeplace facilitating feelings of comfort, belonging and nurture while also providing an opportunity for participants to disassociate the space from the negative place-based imaginaries (i.e. plantations) that might initially inhibit their motivation to garden.

"WE CAN HAVE A SAY IN HOW OUR CITY LOOKS!": GARDENING, BEAUTY AND SOCIAL HOUSEKEEPING

The importance of “seeing” was invoked on another register when participants suggested that aesthetic beauty shaped their motivation to garden, as well as their desire to establish urban gardens in their neighborhoods. This perception of urban gardens as a source of beauty was expressed in a symposium organized by the Philadelphia City Planning Commission, seeking to “find out what community residents want” before starting neighborhood development projects in North Philadelphia (Plan Philly 2013, see appendix). During the symposium, residents cited urban gardening as their second choice (next to rebuilding homes) for land use on vacant lots. In many neighborhoods, corner stores provide the only immediate access to food without the use of public transportation, yet many residents expressed their disdain with small shops and preferred to travel to large supermarkets and shopping plazas to buy groceries. These grievances provide insight into their distaste for corner stores, as well as their desire for urban gardens as an alternative source of food and beauty. For instance, one resident noted that food retailers in the commercial corridor of her neighborhood only sell “low-cost, high-fat, high-sodium food” (Plan Philly 2013). Furthermore, a note left on a presentation board citing safety issues at corner stores suggest that many residents avoid these retailers due to gang-related violence and drug dealing activities taking place nearby. Concerned with crime, short dumping and abandonment, another resident stated that “some places *look* real good, and then you’ll walk and you’ll *see* just one house on an entire street” (Plan Philly 2013). Atiba Ellerby, a panelist for the discussion I organized with the AAUF, also emphasized the visibility of social inequalities in the residential landscape. During the discussion he contrasted poor and wealthy neighborhoods, stating: “you didn’t *see* equality between them both.” Furthermore, concerned with the deleterious affects of crime on her neighborhood, one attendee argued:

“gardening helps us create beauty so there is no short dumping, prostitution and drug dealing.”

Echoing this sentiment, another attendee declared that gardeners are “stepping up [so] we can have a say in how our city looks!” Her emphasis on visual beauty as a solution to crime indicates how aesthetic preferences shape people’s motivations to become involved with urban gardening. However, these motivations are not innocent. In this section, I argue that these motivations inadvertently perpetuate apolitical understandings of crime and safety that do not address structural problems, but simply sweep them under the rug.

The AAUF links visual beauty, cleanliness and crime reduction using a discourse of giving and sustaining life through gardening. Throughout our interviews and in her blogs, Aissia described the pre-garden lot adjacent to the AAUF as a “vacant lot where illegal dumping, prostitution and drug dealing were rampant” (Richardson 2013). This description was frequently associated with what Aissia called “dead space,” or space that offered little value to the community. According to her, the urban garden was responsible for “breathing life into dead space” by creating beauty and community (Richardson 2013). The captioned photographs attached to her blog illustrate the binary oppositions used to frame the urban gardening project.



“Vacant” is defined as being without content or occupant, free from activity or work, and not put to use (Simpson OED 1989). The description of the pre-garden lot as “vacant” suggests then it is empty or devoid of people, work and usefulness. However, this suggestion is far from true, since the space was used for sex work and drug dealing, both informal economic activities constituting a form of work largely outside the regulated marketplace. Furthermore, far from empty, the lot is filled with bins, glass, a grill, litter and numerous objects. The “vacant lot” was actually quite full!

Here, Butler’s regulatory regimes are useful when we remember how certain ideas viewed as “natural” carry inherent value judgments and value systems. The description of the pre-garden lot as vacant offers more a value judgment than “factual” observation. A space described as “vacant,” and therefore the activities taking place within it, are devoid of value, belonging to a nondescript “community” of equally negated selves. Furthermore, the pre-garden lot’s lack of value is reified through a discourse of death and life, where urban gardening is positioned as a life-giving force that creates value and community where it was presumably absent. For instance, in an interview, Aissia defined the lot in the following way:

When you have a vacant lot, that's dead space, that is a space that is not valued. It's a graveyard! It's really a graveyard, but when you create a community garden on that space you are creating life, you are creating community... again, going back to the garden... talking about the space having home... feeling like home, and wanting to take care of it because it's home, it's something that is important to you-- making it have walls, making it have a door, making it have a roof, so that it feels like people are stepping into a different reality.

Far from inclusive, the frequent references to community are loosely employed to refer only to certain people and groups, including the AAUF, and exclude residents who work in different economic activities (i.e. drug dealers and sex workers). It is assumed such individuals and groups do not belong to the community, and that they lack any sense of community themselves. This definition is exclusive, or as one participant noted, when gardeners talk about community they are often “only talking about some people and shunning others.” Furthermore, many attendees and panelists shared Aissia's distaste for “thugs and gangsters,” blaming them for crime and blight, without addressing broader structural processes creating a need for such activities in the first place. As I will explain in the following section, the beauty and community that gardens supposedly create do not solve crime or even address crime, rather they function as regulatory fictions that hide and exclude these processes as unwanted social elements. Furthermore, the construction of the garden as a homeplace suggests these processes of exclusion happen through a form of social housekeeping that promotes the garden as a clean, orderly and safe space free from undesired people, objects and labor. The regulatory fictions produced (and historically constituted) effectively individualize crime, ignoring the processes that create poverty and by extension uneven access to healthy food.

GAUGING THE CAPACITIES AND LIMITATIONS OF THE GARDENING PROJECT

In previous sections, I have outlined the capacities of the AAUF's urban gardening project advocating a place-based politics that starts with social relationships constituting political subjectivities through emotional, affective and visceral engagements with food. Through a relational ethics of care that provides opportunities for African Americans to cultivate different racialized class subjectivities through food and "see themselves" in a positive light, the urban gardening project generates civic participation. The strength of this approach lay in its capacity to motivate people to become involved with food movements across race and class difference, while addressing structural inequalities that constrain both physical and internalized access to food. It is noteworthy that the strengths of the urban gardening program happen at the micro-level, below the relationship between state and civil society. However, when issues of state and civil society are considered, the place-based politics practiced in the urban garden is delimited by the organization's tendency to reify neoliberal forms of governance in three key areas: 1. blaming criminals 2. shifting responsibilities away from public programs and onto communities and individuals, and 3. institutionalizing a workfare approach. In this section, I discuss each of these areas, paying particular attention the precarious position of the AAUF as an organization that rests somewhere between the state and civil society. The intention of these critiques is not to dismiss the urban gardening project, but simply to point out areas of potential growth and transformation to strengthen such projects in the long-term.

Through processes of exclusion that simply hide and rearrange spatial patterns of crime (i.e. forcing sex workers and drug dealers to go elsewhere), the AAUF neglects an opportunity to

address unemployment, crime, poverty and uneven access to resources through an integrative structural framework. This is surprising given the organization's tendency to view limited access to food from a structural perspective in other areas, including those relating to discriminatory employment practices and lack of public transportation. I suggest that in order to avoid atomizing social problems and thereby marginalizing unwanted populations, the AAUF apply the structural framework they employ in other areas to understand and address crime. This is especially important when tensions and contradictions between crime and urban gardening arise.

Instead of blaming "prostitutes," "gangsters and thugs" for neighborhood crime, perhaps the organization could link crime to limited access to food, unemployment and mass incarceration. After all, as I argued in chapter three, these are joint processes perpetuating and sustaining one another across multiple scales, they do not simply happen at an individual level. A structural framework is arguably more inclusive and may enable people from different backgrounds to identify, confront and collaborate across difference to challenge the oppressive structures that produce uneven access to food and other resources. However, Mitchell (1999) warns against the "structural effect," arguing that too much of an emphasis on broad-scale processes may inadvertently discourage social justice efforts and obscure possibilities for change in everyday life. In light of his argument, it is worth noting that avoiding the rhetoric of personal responsibility, while providing opportunities for participants to see through and beyond societal structures could help the AAUF address inequalities through inclusive and collaborative efforts at multiple scales. The organization certainly exercises such an approach in other areas of programming. Yet, I suggest that a concerted

effort to do so with regard to drug dealing, prostitution and other informal economic activities, especially where they conflict with the ideals, values and practices of urban gardening, is productive. Furthermore, the “beauty” and “community” that urban gardening creates represents a form of social housekeeping that excludes undesirable people, objects and labor to establish a clean, orderly and safe home. This undermines the capacity of the organization to effectively address societal inequalities in African American neighborhoods because we cannot transform the food system and related societal structures through “cleaning” a place whereby undesirable elements are hidden behind the facade of an ideal home (Kaika 2004). After all, while having walls and a door may make some people feel welcome, they can also be used to keep others out, reinforcing divisive inside/outside and us/them attitudes.

The AAUF’s emphasis on creating a self-sustaining local economic base that is supported in part by volunteer work and individual donations intersects neatly with the lack of government funding for nonprofits and cutbacks to public services. However, Aissia’s stance on the role of the AAUF within the context of welfare retrenchment was clear during one interview:

I think the political aspect of cutting back the SNAP program completely has an impact on whether or not people have access to healthy food. But you know the thing that’s so ironic about [the cutbacks] is that SNAP helps out supermarkets, SNAP helps out the meat industry, you know, so without SNAP ... these industries would be suffering. For those who are right-wing say: “Well, you know people are just getting a hand out.” But really, SNAP is a handout to corporations.

In her response, she acknowledges public programs impact people’s access to healthy food, but also emphasizes the deep flaws of these programs. Therefore, restoring recent cutbacks is insufficient; the entire system must be restructured. But until that restructuring is underway

and complete, alternatives that help people, families and communities meet basic needs are fundamental to survival. Furthermore, Aissia clarified her position on these issues when asked whose responsibility it was to ensure that everyone has equal access to healthy food:

I would say policy makers but I don't think that you can trust policy makers to do the right thing. That's why you need advocacy organizations like ours, and coalitions that are concerned about making sure that there is healthy food and we do have green space.... So, I think the responsibility is with the policy makers, but the implementation and the way policy is implemented, or the way policy is carried out is really with the people.

Aissia starts with the recognition that in a perfect world policy makers would act in the best interests of their constituents and be responsible for ensuring the equitable distribution of resources, but that world has yet to come. In the meantime, organizations like the AAUF are meeting basic needs and helping people survive. Furthermore, bodily survival is fundamental to social justice movements, or as one attendee stated during the panel discussion: “ It is important for people to say I can't take it anymore and fight back... [but] people can't fight back against their oppression if they...are hungry!” Furthermore, like many scholars who are optimistic about the transfer of public services to nonprofits (Fraser et al 2003; Sites 2003; DeFilippis et al 2006; Fuller et al 2008; Ilcan 2009; DeFilippis 2010; Milbourne 2010), Aissia suggests that nonprofit activity provides an opportunity for people to shape and implement policy according to their needs. Specifically, the organization works through a multi-scalar approach that utilizes both grassroots and policy-oriented campaigns to meet people's immediate needs while fighting for policy reforms that will benefit communities in the long run. This multi-scalar approach is evident in the *X-offenders for community empowerment*, an initiative aimed at institutionalizing laws prohibiting employers from discriminating against the formerly incarcerated, while providing educational training in the urban garden that teaches individuals the skills they need to start small landscaping

businesses. Through their work, the AAUF challenges simplistic critiques of nonprofits as simple pawns of neoliberalism. The ambiguities surrounding the role of the AAUF as a provider of public services that rests somewhere between the state and civil society resonates with the relational perspective on nonprofits. Trudeau (2008) argues that many different types of interactions between state institutions and nonprofit agencies are possible. Moreover, such interactions are multiple, contradictory and certainly ambiguous, and do not always herald the advent of neoliberal forms of governance. However, an engagement with critiques of neoliberalism would help the AAUF avoid limitations many nonprofits do confront, especially those that work with racial and ethnic groups; these limitations often intersect with particular neoliberal forms of governance and economic structure. These include the failure of organizations to contextualize their beliefs and practices within the structural processes that produce poverty, including the “hallowing out” of the state (Jessop 1994; Joassart 2012).

Lastly, the AAUF’s emphasis on employment risks reifying capitalist values that reduce a person’s value to marketplace interactions. More specifically, the organization’s emphasis on teaching young people “skills that are marketable so they can take care of their families” highlights such a risk. To begin with, young people should not have to take care of their families. From a structural perspective, the problem should be that such responsibilities rest on the shoulders of young people in the first place. Furthermore, the opportunities for self-cultivation the urban gardening project provides are limited by the organization’s emphasis on job skills and marketability. As previously discussed, a person’s ability to obtain food should not depend on their ability to work and generate income. While meaningful work is undoubtedly important, eating should be a bodily right that is available to everyone

regardless of one's ability (or even willingness) to work and earn income. As one leader of the BPP who helped establish the free breakfast program for children in the 1970s declared:

Because we are so used to the capitalist construct, it doesn't occur to us that we have a human right to eat; because if you don't eat you will die, it's not complicated. So, if there is a price tag to eating, then there is a price on your head.... The question is, do I as a human being in this society, or in this life, have a right to eat. And does this society have any duty at least with children to make sure that we eat... The question is: are we prepared to make that commitment, at least, to our children that we will not put a price on their lives by denying them food unless their parents have the money to pay for it (Heynen 2009).

Instead of focusing all of their efforts on helping people find employment so they can buy food, perhaps the organization could also engage in forms of consciousness-raising that question whether one's income should have anything to do with their capacity to access basic resources. This would keep with the ethos of the BPP and other social movements that attempted to break from capitalist value systems. Lastly, engaging with capitalist and neoliberal critiques could also provoke insights into welfare restructuring, which has become increasingly work-oriented, helping the organization cultivate the kind of structural change that would eliminate the need for urban gardening in the first place.

The importance of nonprofit organizations such as the AAUF to the continual survival of African Americans and other racialized groups cannot be overstated. Through food provisioning services, numerous nonprofits help people meet basic needs while challenging societal inequalities at multiple scales. However, in order to accomplish structural change, including around the racial bifurcation of food movements, a broader and more inclusive civic participatory body working across and through difference must be generated. In order to accomplish this task, it is important to ask what motivates people to become involved with food movements. My research on the place-based politics practiced by the AAUF argues that

people's motivations are shaped by historically-constructed as well as individually experienced racialized class subjectivities that orient them towards and away from certain foods and food practices. By providing opportunities for African Americans to cultivate different ways of thinking, feeling and acting through food, the AAUF challenges oppressive societal structures while generating civic participation. Despite the limitations of their politics, the organization's gardening project provides potent insights that help nonprofits motivate people across race and class difference, effectively developing an inclusive and diverse civic participatory body and overcoming the racial bifurcation of food movements.

CONCLUSION

When I worked for nonprofit organizations that implemented food access projects addressing constraints related to income and physical location, I was surprised to find that such projects did not effectively generate civic participation across race and class difference. Why did people who had limited resources for purchasing healthy food choose not to participate in these projects?

My thesis research suggests that food access projects emphasizing market-based solutions fail to address important motivational factors that influence participation in food movements, including people's bodily capacities to relate to their cultural ideals, values and practices. Using the AAUF's urban gardening project as a case study, it asked: **(1) how is the garden constructed as a homeplace? (2) how does the garden's design speak to the racialized experiences of African Americans along lines of gender, class, age and other social differences? (3) what kind of food politics do these entanglements cultivate? (4) why does this matter to the future of food movements?**

Through the arrangement of objects, the performance of domestic labor and familial ties, the AAUF's urban garden was constructed into a material and symbolic homeplace that facilitated feelings of familiarity, belonging and nurture that motivated African Americans to participate in gardening activities. For many residents of North Central Philadelphia, domestic food production (and the agrarian imaginaries underpinning food movements) are associated with the exploitation and oppression of slavery. Thus, the design of the urban

garden helps to generate civic participation by promoting a place-based politics that ‘domesticates’ potentially intimidating cultural beliefs, values and practices so they became more relatable to African Americans.

Drawing from a multitude of critical scholars, I suggested that the garden’s design speaks to the racialized class experiences of African Americans within a white colonial context where their self-image is polarized into first and third person awareness. Within the context of food movements, African Americans often associate the cultural beliefs, values and practices of alternative food with the oppression and exploitation of slavery, a constraint that is often ignored by food access projects that focus solely on income and physical location. By working through and moving beyond such frameworks, the AAUF cultivates a food politics that recognizes race as a socially constructed material reality that is at once social, political economic and cultural.

Furthermore, by addressing the affects of structural racism from multiple platforms, the AAUF provides opportunities for the cultivation of different racialized class subjectivities through emotional, affective and visceral engagements with food at the micro-level. These opportunities allow participants to break from historically-constructed representations, stereotypes and stigmas surrounding blackness, and cultivate different ways of thinking, feeling, acting and “seeing themselves” through gardening.

The work of the AAUF matters to the future of food movements in Philadelphia and beyond. The insights that their urban gardening project provides, especially regarding the

exclusionary cultures of food movements, will help nonprofits generate an inclusive civic participatory body that motivates people through and across difference. This is a necessary step in the creation of an integrated food movement that overcomes existing racial bifurcation.

Through my thesis research, I attempted to represent the complexity of people's motivations to at the bodily level by focusing on their affective, emotional and visceral engagements with food and urban gardening. However, my focus on the individual identities of key participants overshadowed a largely nonexistent discussion on group identities, which I had initially sought to research. This is due in part to the fact that I was not able to speak with African American residents who chose not to participate in the AAUF's urban gardening project. How might these tensions have informed my research on identity within African American neighborhoods as it relates to food movements? I also neglected to consider how the services and resources the urban gardening project provides extend outward, impacting (or not impacting) households, families, and neighborhoods. As a result, the empirical portion of my thesis could have benefited from a stronger mutlisclar analysis to understand the broader impacts of urban gardening within the context of group dynamics.

While my theoretical framework incorporated scholarship from feminist thought on home, the empirical portion of my thesis focused heavily on race and class (and somewhat on age) but largely failed to address how gender and sexuality were constituted, performed and challenged in the space. Perhaps more of a grounded engagement with scholarship on desire within feminist and queer thought may have rendered these dimensions more pronounced.

The lack of attention paid to desire is an oversight of this project, especially because much of the scholarship I used to construct a theoretical framework deals specifically with this concept. Furthermore, my theoretical framework would have benefited from an engagement with theories of multiple consciousness that move beyond the dualism of DuBois' "twoness" and advance more nuanced conceptualization of racialized experience (King 1988; Harris 1990; Grillo 2003). Such an engagement may have enabled me to better account for the complicated dynamics involved in the production of group identities beyond and through a black/white binary.

Future research should analyze food movements using emerging bodies of geographic thought that pay attention to bodily engagements with food, including visceral and emotional geographies, while accounting for the broader structural processes within which they occur. This requires looking with "fresh eyes" to recognize possibilities and nuances enmeshed in the haphazard forces constituting everyday and mundane interactions without assuming that a particular articulation of dominance exists. It also requires an awareness that uneven power relations *do* always exist, but they do not always materialize in predictable ways. As a result, it is necessary to consider how the meaning, significance and affects of people's bodily engagements with food transform when expanding and contracting the scale of analysis. With this in mind, the social, political economic and cultural dynamics that shape the production of group identities is a fundamental node in the materialization of food movements. From another perspective, the broader impacts of individual projects, including urban gardening and other food access projects, on such structural processes are fundamental to any analysis of food movements that aims to impact politically progressive change. The

frayed endings of my thesis research thus pose such challenges and possibilities to future scholars of food movements who will inspire a new generation of critical thinkers and eaters.

AFTERWORD

by Aissia Richardson

In the *Social Animal: The Hidden Source of Love, Character and Achievement* by David Brooks, the author analyzes popular methods of thought, including the French and British Enlightenment. According to him, thinkers from the French Revolution imagined we are Rational Animals, distinguished from other animals by our power of logic. Marxists and others in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries imagined that we are Material Animals; shaped by the physical conditions of our lives. Furthermore, thinkers in the British Enlightenment depict us as Social Animals and emphasized the power of sentiments and affections to bind people together on subconscious levels. Ultimately, Brooks argues that intellectual history has oscillated between rationalist and romantic periods, wherein rationalist thinkers reduce human behavior to austere mathematical models and intuitive leaders and artists emphasize feeling and imagination during romantic periods. Sometimes imagination grows too luxuriant. Sometimes reason grows too austere.

While Brooks posits the philosophers of the British Enlightenment were correct, I believe we are a combination of all three: logic, material and social. As a result, social change is achieved when reason and empathy lead to persuasion. For instance, recently it was revealed that the lawyer who defended California's gay marriage ban, Charles Cooper, is now planning his daughter's same-sex wedding. He admits his views have changed and will be evolving over time. As a result, more Americans support legalizing same-sex marriage because the activist that fought for legal recognition of their human right to express love from a place of personal experience and feeling that was operationalized on a larger scale.

I could expound more on the history of social change movements but I want to focus on what such change means to many activists. It means connecting with individuals and institutions to collaborate on programs, projects and issues that increase parity for disenfranchised populations, including formerly convicted and incarcerated people, youth, the aging, the mentally ill, the poor, women, LGBT. Finding what we have in common with each other leads to community, which lends itself to understanding and empathy. These personal feelings and emotional ties create collective actions that lead to persuasion and outcomes creating massive, popular shifts in thinking. Eventually, such shifts have the potential to change the material circumstances of our lives and create a better world for everyone.

However, before structural change can occur, the basic needs of disenfranchised populations must be met. At the African American United Fund, we believe that in order to create broad-based change, the individual, then the family, then the neighborhood and finally the larger community must be stabilized out of crisis. Basic needs must be addressed before systemic causes of oppression are ameliorated. Our urban gardening initiative adopts this approach by providing resources for the community, including access to fresh produce, recreational space and education.

Leticia Garcia's thesis paper captures the connections between logic, material and social operating at the AAUF and other organizations in North Philadelphia who do work with the marginalized populations such as low income, formerly incarcerated and senior caregivers by adding to the canon of research at the nexus of feminist, queer and critical race theories. Marginalized populations are not homogenous, that is formerly convicted, senior caregivers and low income peoples cross pollinate within distinct movements to reduce barriers to equity.

This research is important because it brings together, in a cohesive manner, the works of other noted scholars that focus on distinct subsets of environmental justice communities, defined by the federal government as, "the fair treatment and meaningful involvement of all people regardless of race, color, national origin, or income with respect to the development, implementation, and enforcement of environmental laws, regulations, and policies." This is important within the context of Philadelphia because such communities, including those created/sustained by the African American United Fund, are often marginalized socially, politically and culturally.

The outcomes of my working relationship with Leticia Garcia have been to re-envision methodologies employed by the African American United Fund to view our mission through an Environmental Justice rather than solely through a community economic justice lens. By focusing the broader concept of Environmental Justice we have developed relationships with multi-racial, multi-ethnic, multi-class communities and have found allies across disciplines in municipal planning, urban agriculture, community organizing and food justice/food sovereignty. This cross disciplinary approach has increased the reach of the organization and increased the impact of our work regionally, nationally and internationally by using our garden space as a model and participating in conferences and symposiums that address community control of land use. Additionally, Leticia used ethnographic fieldwork, participant observation, archival research and conducted a symposium in preparation for her thesis. Through such activities, this thesis research has informed and reflected our organization's work, providing insight into how communities can use food and gardening as organizing tools to break free of Western, paternalist concepts of usefulness and by redefining what work and therefore what the value of labor is.

I would like to encourage Leticia to continue to explore concepts raised in her thesis by finding ways to share the practical knowledge she gained by expanding beyond academia into the public sphere to help others make connects between land use, culture and community.

Aissia Richardson

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Executive Director

The African American United Fund

APPENDIX



Photograph One: A photograph taken of North Philadelphia in 1959 provides a visual scene of a segregated African American neighborhood. In the photograph, a group of African American school children is waiting at the intersection of Marshall and Brown Streets in North Philadelphia on their way to Kearny Public School. The racial uniformity of the neighborhood is evident in the children and the adults. The multiple “for sale” signs hanging from the row homes allude to the impact of white flight on the neighborhood and its real estate. A grocery store stands behind the children advertising their goods, including meats, fresh vegetables and bread. There are several businesses in the background whose storefronts are not legible with the exception of a laundry mat across the street from the grocery store. When juxtaposed with a Google maps image of this intersection from 2011, the loss of businesses is astounding. There no longer exists a grocery store at the location or anywhere near the intersection. Additionally, the row homes have been transformed into apartment buildings, and the neighborhood is still occupied predominantly by African American residents. The changing characteristics of this intersection are indicative of broader changes in the social and physical landscape that limited access to food and other resources in African American neighborhoods.



Photograph Two: A photograph from 1955 depicted the site of an African American squatter settlement, commonly referred to as “the neck,” where residents built small houses and practiced domestic food production. The photograph depicts a landscape where domestic production was valued as a means to survive, exposing a lingering contradiction to industrial landscapes, wherein uniformity and homogeneity were hallmarks of capitalist production.

New York Times Article 1957

FOOD CENTER SET FOR PHILADELPHIA: \$100 Million Distribution Site Is ...
 The New York Times (1951-2010) with Index (1951-1993)

FOOD CENTER SET FOR PHILADELPHIA

\$100 Million Distribution Site Is Planned, With Facilities 'Unmatched Anywhere'

Special to The New York Times.

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 27—Plans for locating a \$100,000,000 East Coast food distribution center here were announced tonight by the Greater Philadelphia Movement.

The center, to be built on a 420-acre site in South Philadelphia, will have facilities and a transportation network "unmatched anywhere in the world," according to the announcement. The plans were developed by the United States Department of Agriculture, working with Pennsylvania State University and community leaders after years of study and research.

The complete details of the program were outlined in an elaborate booklet distributed to 1,000 local business and professional leaders, food wholesalers, presidents of chain food stores and heads of national food processing companies at the Greater Philadelphia Movement's annual dinner.

The movement was founded here six years ago by business, labor and civic leaders to promote a long-range program of improvements for this metropolitan area.

New Expressways to Be Used

The site of the center, which is to be developed by a nonprofit corporation, is close to bridges, piers, the International Airport, and a network of railroads.

"Trucks will use new expressways and turnpikes in going to and from the market, and these routes will make it possible to serve an area of ninety miles radius," the booklet asserted.

The highways follow a perimeter course around the city, bypassing local traffic, and there are good short routes from the market for service to hotels, restaurants and other large users of food.

In letters to Geoffrey S. Smith, co-chairman of the movement, both Edward Hopkinson Jr., chairman of the City Planning Commission, and Francis J. Myers, chairman of the city's Redevelopment Authority, have promised their fullest cooperation.

Both said that the site of the proposed center, now being used largely as a city dump, needed redevelopment. They also promised their support when the proposal was submitted to the City Council for approval.

Expansion Provided

After this approval is obtained, the booklet said, the corporation will acquire the land and set up an organization to work with the food industry in constructing the new distribution center.

The center, the booklet stated, would be the "world's first really integrated modern wholesale food market, with proper facilities for fresh fruits and vegetables, meat, fish and other sea food, groceries, fresh-frozen foods, butter and eggs and poultry."

The report added that about one-third of the full investment of \$100,000,000 would be sufficient to build a plant to handle the present volume of wholesale food business. It added that the proposed market would be enlarged as the business grows.

"The new integrated market," the booklet added, "will be like a superhighway cutting out all of the detours and bumpy roads and winding alleys that have been followed in the past."

"It will at last enable food wholesaling to catch up with the giant progress which has come in the last hundred and fifty years in agriculture and food processing, in packaging and in retail food distribution."

City Paper Article 2013

He may be blind, but he has a vision for his W. Philly garden :: Blogs :: The Naked City :: Philadelphia City Paper

4/5/14 2:50 PM



Four senses and a vision. That's all Andrew Huggins needed to grow [The Table Spread](#), an organic garden located on a dormant stretch of land in West Philadelphia.

Huggins has retinitis pigmentosa, a degenerative eye disease that made him legally blind at the age of 35. But that doesn't keep him from knowing his way around the red cabbage, collard greens, squash, tomatoes, basil, pumpkins and watermelons planted around what's left of a decrepit basketball court behind the Philadelphia Masjid mosque and school at 4700 Wyalusing Ave. With help from a few friends, Huggins took over the garden in 2010, and grew it out from a few spare tomato plants to 1,000 square feet of aromatic vegetables and herbs.

But gardening without eyesight presents a few challenges. It's simple math, he says: For watermelons, plant the seeds every 26 inches. "My problem is keeping a straight line." Weeds present another challenge: his hands have a hard time distinguishing "where the weed at and where the plant at." So he laid out some weedblock, a type of plastic sheeting through which the weeds stick out as they grow.

Huggins saw his first bumper harvest last year. He gave it all away to neighbors, and to the mosque's students, who've eaten their share of tomato sandwiches. The next harvest will go the homeless. But eventually, he hopes to recoup some of the money he's invested in the garden — funded by his night job selling water ice at a Mount Airy playground — and sell some of the produce.

Meanwhile, he's found plenty of ways to connect with his greens. "You can feel the plants, you can smell the tomatoes," he says. "When you water 'em the plants will speak to you and say thank you," he adds, referring to

the smell they give off when they come in contact with the water and sunlight. In fact, gardening has refined his other senses. He attuned his nose to recognize the different plants, and also softened his touch by handling delicate vegetables. Maybe that's also why his gardening experience reaches transcendental heights. "I see myself — you can see yourself in the garden." Plants are just like us, he says. Tomatoes, like some people, need to be enclosed in cages, "else they go wild."

A former Black Panther, Huggins says that gardening suits his ideals of self-reliance. He wishes his community were more aware of the genetically modified organisms and processed foods they ingest. And he says he's sorry that many have turned their back on gardening. "When you mention farming to them, they equate it with slavery." But, he says, "one of the ways to gain economic power and political power is through land."

He's not the only one to think that. **Imam Kenneth Nuriddin**, whose mosque owns the land, would like to strip off the remaining patch of concrete and turn the entire space into an Islamic garden — a place for spirituality that would also lower the carbon footprint. "The idea of growing your own food is a spirit that's beginning to resonate especially in urban area," he said.

Lalita Clozel



APRIL 1, 2012, 10:45 A.M. The line outside the Pennsylvania Convention Center was growing. Parents with strollers, young professionals, older couples, eco-conscious hippies and families in Phillies shirts were all patiently waiting for 11 a.m. Apparently the 1,100 pre-sold tickets were no fluke. The Philly Farm & Food Fest was attracting a crowd.

Inside, the 110 exhibitors were putting the final touches on their displays. Urban Apiaries opened jars of their Philadelphia-raised honey, Birchrun Hills Farm prepped pieces of their coveted Chester County cow's milk cheese, and area favorite Lancaster Farm Fresh Cooperative set up an expansive local products tableau—haystacks included. Little Baby's Ice Cream even brought in their freezer-toting tri-cycle to scoop homemade flavors like Earl Grey Sriracha and Cardamom Caramel.

The Philly Farm & Food Fest, a collaboration between Fair Food and the Pennsylvania Association for Sustainable Agriculture, saw nearly 3,000 people that afternoon. While attracting a few thousand attendees to a local food event may not seem remarkable nowadays, consider the food scene in Philadelphia 25 years ago. Eating locally meant a cheesesteak, not farm fresh vegetables. "Farm to table" wasn't part of the restaurant vocabulary. And there weren't regular (if any) farmers markets in the city. So, what's changed? Why do Philadelphians support—and even expect—regular access to local foods?

For Judy Wicks, founder of the White Dog Cafe and Fair Food, the local food movement's beginning was almost accidental. "[At the White Dog] I wanted the idea to be to serve what's fresh and local," she says. "But, it wasn't because there was a trend or because I was trying to start a trend; I simply wanted to have what I had enjoyed myself."

The White Dog opened in 1983, and has since been a cornerstone of the local food movement in Philadelphia. But Wicks isn't alone in her efforts. Duane Perry, founder of the Food Trust; Bob Pierson, founder of Farm

to City; and Ann Karlen, executive director of Fair Food, have all made significant contributions to building the local food community. While their individual efforts were influential, it's their collaborative work that has made Philadelphia's food movement so vibrant.

CREATING A TRULY LOCAL RESTAURANT

At her home in Filtler Square on a warm April morning, Judy Wicks explains her evolution as a local food leader.

"I grew up in a small town and my parents had a huge vegetable garden," she recalls. "So, in the summertime, the three kids would go up and pick the vegetables, and we would eat from the garden all summer long. Then my mother and grandmother would can and jar for the winter... We also went to the farmers market all the time too... So, I kind of grew up with that kind of background."

After 12 years at the French restaurant La Terrasse in University City, during which Wicks spent time as a waitress, general manager and, finally, business partner, she decided it was time to open her own restaurant. She moved her family to a Victorian brownstone in West Philadelphia and opened a take-out muffin store below. The menu of muffins evolved into soup and sandwiches, and eventually, a 200-seat restaurant known as the White Dog Cafe.

Wicks, who is not a chef, credits the inclusion of local, sustainable food sources on the menu to the restaurant's first chef Aliza Green. While Green worked at the White Dog for just a year, she brought with her connections to local farmers and a desire to implement the new, California-style cuisine chefs like Alice Waters were using. "I hired Aliza

66 IT WASN'T BECAUSE THERE WAS A TREND OR BECAUSE I WAS TRYING TO START A TREND; I SIMPLY WANTED TO HAVE WHAT I HAD ENJOYED MYSELF. 99
-JUDY WICKS

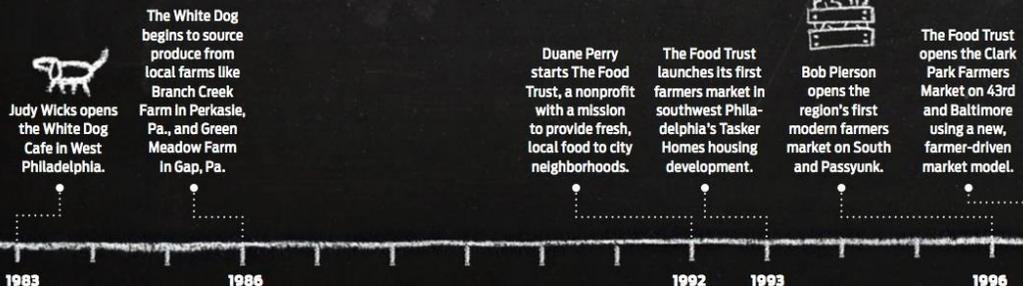
because I wanted someone that knew how to buy from farmers," says Wicks.

By 1986, the White Dog was sourcing produce from Mark and Judy Dornstreich's Branch Creek Farm in Perkasie, Pa., and Glenn Brendle's Green Meadow Farm in Gap, Pa. "[Brendle] was the first one to bundle orders where he would go around to other farms and pick up food," says Wicks. "So, he was the first distributor, as well as a farmer."

Soon after the White Dog started using local produce, Wicks learned about the inhumane treatment of animals that's rampant in the meat industry. "My love of animals is really my driver," she says, explaining how she pulled conventional meat products from her menu and began to explore this side of local eating.

By then, Green left to have her second child and sous chef Kevin Klause (now of FARMiCiA) had stepped into the executive position. Again, explains Wicks, it was the chef who headed the White Dog's transition into sustainable food. "Kevin really did all that work," she says. "I mean, he was the one that really researched where can we get the pork, where

TIMELINE of the FOOD MOVEMENT



can we get the beef, and finding new farms and orchestrating all that.”

During the 1980s and '90s, the White Dog became a springboard for many educational and sustainable food initiatives. The restaurant brought in regular speakers and hosted events like farm and community garden tours, a weekly Farmers Sunday Supper and the annual Dance of the Ripe Tomatoes—a street party celebration of sustainable and humane farming.

But for Wicks, it still wasn't enough. "My big turning point was realizing that it wasn't enough to have one restaurant doing all this stuff," she says. "It wasn't just about the White Dog. What we had to do was focus on the [food] system... and how could we build that system."

CONNECTING RESTAURANTS & FARMERS

Typically, restaurants consider each other competition, not potential collaborators. Despite this, Wicks believed cooperation among restaurants was the key to building both a sustainable business and local eating community. She started the Business Alliance for Local Living Economies, the national parent organization for Philadelphia's Sustainable Business Network, and in 2000 launched Fair Food—an organization that provides free consulting to chefs about using local foods. "I asked Kevin to just turn over the list of all our farmers," says Wicks. "This might seem like common sense, but it's really unheard of in business to give a list of your suppliers to your competitors."

Already committed to various projects, Wicks hired Ann Karlen to lead Fair Food. Karlen was an ideal candidate; she had experience in starting a nonprofit (the artist collective Vox Populi) and interest in the food movement. And unlike many already involved in these issues, she didn't have a farm or restaurant to run.

"In the beginning of my job, I sounded a lot like a door-to-door salesman," says Karlen. "It was literally about going door-to-door, kitch-

en door to kitchen door saying, 'Will you talk to me about buying from these local farms?'"

As Karlen began putting a system in place for farmers and chefs to do business together, the food movement was gaining steam on a national level. Food lovers were starting to recognize the benefits of local food, and restaurants were realizing the value these local products had. "[Restaurants] were the audience willing to pay a little bit of extra money for that product," says Karlen. "They were also super excited about what farmers were growing in their fields and the animals that they were raising. It was really an exciting time."

While Fair Food's initial goal was to work exclusively with restaurants, the organization soon found a niche in the retail world. After failing to convince Reading Terminal Market vendors to sell local meat, Fair Food launched their own folding table farmstand. "It was a freezer in the back with animal products," says Karlen. "And it was a table with literature. The produce we put on the table was really more so we would attract people."

Fair Food didn't expect consumers to be interested in the produce, but the demand proved high. Soon, the table was open multiple days a week. Eventually they received a small, permanent stand and in 2009, moved to their current location on the west side of the market. Today, the farmstand does close to \$1 million in sales annually, selling local meats and produce along with milk, eggs, cheese, honey, flour, breads and much more.

REINTRODUCING THE FARMERS MARKET

By the 1950s and 1960s in Philadelphia, opportunities to buy food from nearby farmers were largely limited to Amish farmstands in the suburbs. "Those always existed, but they didn't really grow. They were just scattered markets that stuck around, but weren't contributing to any movement," says Duane Perry, a former manager of Reading Terminal Market and founder of the Food Trust. By the 1980s and early '90s, these markets had



"dwindled to just a few," and farmers markets within the city were virtually nonexistent.

During his time at the Reading Terminal, Perry recognized how many neighborhoods lacked access to quality fresh foods. "Through talking to lots of people in the area, as well as in the market," he says, "we became convinced that one of the things that we could do would be to create more opportunities for food retailing to grow and flourish in some of the Center City neighborhoods."

Perry launched the Food Trust in 1992 with a vision for accessible, inner-city farmers markets. The first one opened in 1993 in southwest Philadelphia's Tasker Homes housing development. "Our very first markets were basically one-day-a-week kind of affairs we actually bought food for," he says, "and brought it and sold it at the markets." While the response from customers was positive, the market model was problematic.

Around the same time, in 1996, Bob Pierson, a former biochemist turned regional planner, launched one of the region's first modern farmers markets on South and Passyunk. Pierson,



Judy Wicks starts Fair Food and hires Ann Karlen as the executive director. Bob Pierson starts Farm to City.



Farm to City launches their Winter Harvest program, providing local foods and goods during the winter months.



Fair Food hosts the first Brewer's Plate fundraiser, celebrating local beer, restaurants, farmers and artisans in a tasting event.

The Food Trust is named the regional director for the mid-Atlantic chapter of the Farm to School Network.

Farm to City helps launch Common Market, a distribution company that connects area farmers with the region's wholesale markets.

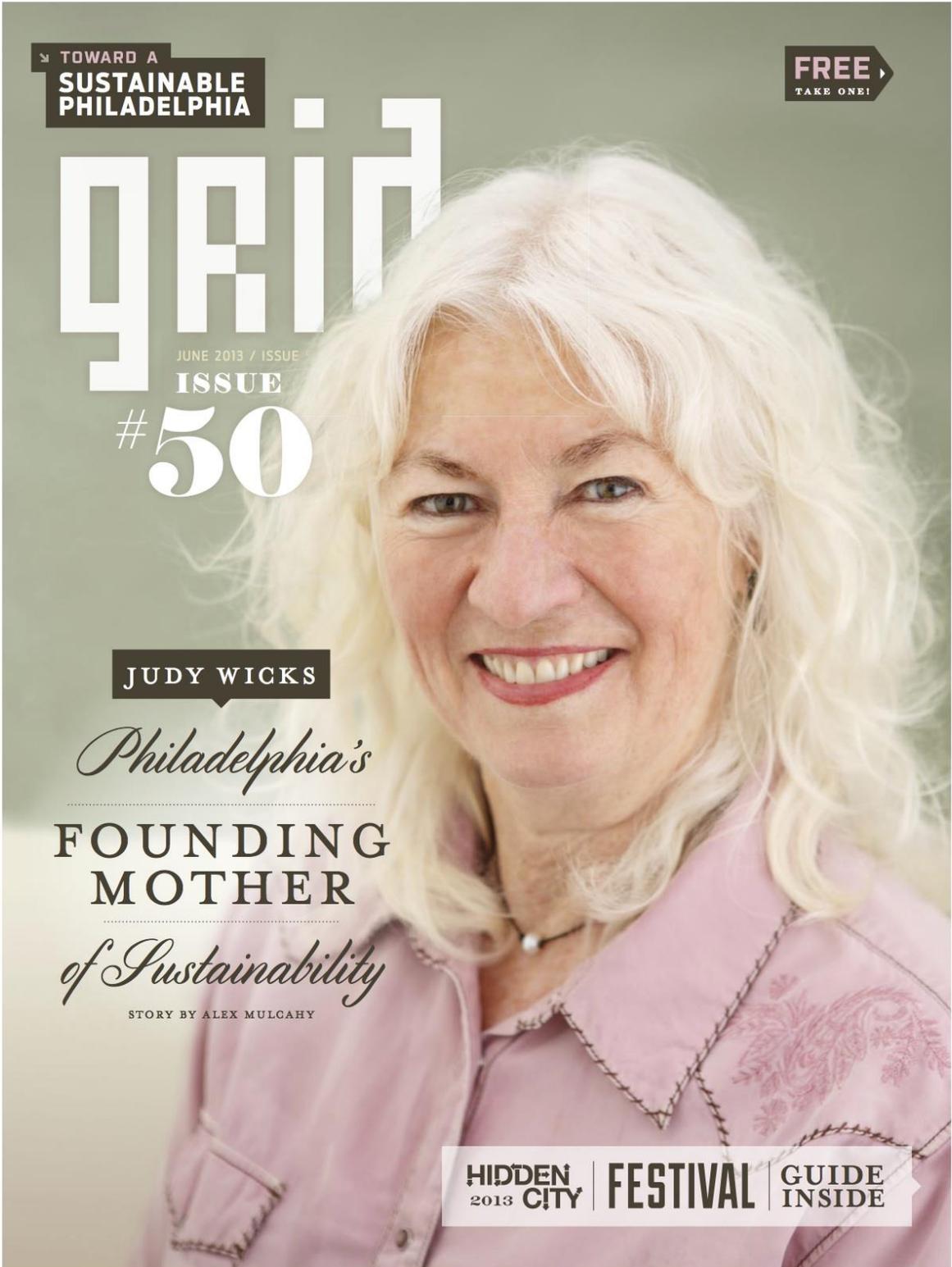
Mayor Nutter announces his Greenworks Philadelphia plans, which includes the goal of putting 75 percent of Philadelphia's population within a 10-minute walking distance of fresh food.

Fair Food moves to their new location on the west side of the Reading Terminal Market. Judy Wicks sells the White Dog, but retains control over the trademark.



Philly Farm & Food Fest, an event that connects local producers, buyers and eaters, draws a crowd of nearly 3,000 people.

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JUDY WICKS

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redefines sustainability**

SHADES *of* GREEN

“Being green is
such a broad title.
I’m about justice—
food justice.”

CHRIS BOLDEN-NEWSOME

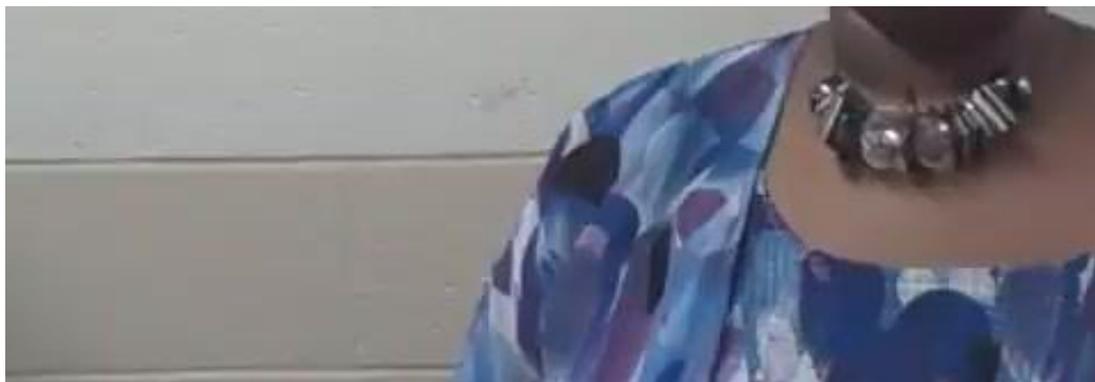


ALSO
Local flowers for
Valentine's Day
Sustainable Schools
Philly Cowshare

PlanPhilly Article 2013

PlanPhilly | Lower North residents want safety, code enforcement and more community-oriented business

7/25/13 12:53 PM



The beautiful staircase, hardwood floors, porch and lawn big enough for plenty of flowers made Robin Aluko fall in love with the Strawberry Mansion home she bought in 2008.

Near her customer relations work in Center City? Check. Near public transit? Check. Near her parents? Churches? A hospital? Check, check and check.

Aluko wants to stay put, and then one day pass her home on to her kids. But she isn't certain that will happen.

She worries about crime, and the blight and trash and abandonment she sees when she leaves her street. "Some places look real good, and then you'll walk and you'll see just one house on an entire street," she said.

"I've rolled the dice," she said. Either conditions will improve, and she'll have something wonderful to leave her kids, she said, or things will get worse, and she'll leave, with less money than she invested in the house.

Hoping to help tip the scales toward the better option, Aluko joined many residents of Strawberry Mansion and other Lower North Philadelphia neighborhoods - North Philadelphia, North Central, Norris Square, Olde Kensington, South

Kensington, West Kensington, Yorktown, Ludlow, Brewerytown, Green Hills, Cecil B Moore and Sharswood - at a district comprehensive planning meeting held at the Martin Luther King Rec Center Tuesday night.

The Lower North District Plan follows five district-level comprehensive plans already adopted, but Philadelphia City Planning Commission staff and commissioners say this plan will require tougher decisions than its predecessors. This is especially true because of the high residential and commercial vacancy rate, brought about by a sharp decline in population since the 1950s, said city planner and Lower North plan manager David Fecteau.

There are about 4,000 vacant buildings, 80 percent of which were once residential or partly residential. There are 10,600 vacant lots, 40 percent of which are owned by the city or city-related agencies.

With this much vacancy, Fecteau said Tuesday, the long-term plan has to be shrinking the inhabited parts of the neighborhoods, so they are smaller, but better. This could include stabilizing abandoned blocks by leasing vacant land or properties to farmers, to neighbors for side yards or community space, or other uses. It does mean concentrating public investment in areas where it will make the most difference and are the most important to residents, he said. Which is why Tuesday's meeting was the first in a series designed to find out what community residents want.

It didn't go exactly as planned.

The open-house style meeting went from 6:30 to 8:30 p.m., and by about 6:35, a line of residents snaked out the door of the classroom-sized room, which was uncomfortably warm. About 100 people signed in, but it seemed more were there. Some left without signing in or giving feedback.

Easels were set up around the perimeter of the room, with a planner stationed at each one. Some presented information, others asked questions. The idea, said planner Clint Randall, was that residents already know what's happening in their neighborhood. So rather than have a presentation on current conditions, residents were able to talk one-on-one with planners and provide feedback in the first round of meetings.

Planning had reserved a large room, in which Randall said this would have worked well. But the small room made the format difficult.

To Gail Loney, a block captain, and her neighbor Geraldine Bolden, it felt like the planning commission underestimated their community, and the number of people who would turn out to talk about its future. It felt like a slight, Loney said.

Several residents told PlanPhilly they anticipated hearing the PCPC's ideas for their neighborhood, and then giving feedback on those ideas.

Planners said they wanted to get feedback from residents at the Tuesday session and another coming up July 30th before crafting any proposals. But at the next round of meetings in the fall, ideas will be shared with residents, and feedback on those ideas taken and used to create the final draft, Fecteau said.

Judging by feedback left on the boards, most residents think that the best location to build new or restore existing homes is close to other residences that are already in use, but parks and recreation space and near transit got some votes.

When it's not possible to rebuild or build new homes, residents said they'd most like to see the land used as community/open space and community gardens.

The single most popular shopping location for district residents seems to be Progress Plaza, which they drive to, and they said preferred driving to shopping plazas to taking transit or shopping in traditional commercial corridors.

Planning consultant Danielle DiLeo Kim said she was surprised by the "real negative reaction" against traditional commercial corridors, which participants told her were "not well-kept and dirty."

Planning Commission Executive Director Gary Jastrzab said this doesn't mean the city won't be investing in commercial

corridors. Before making any decisions, he and other planners said, they need to talk more to residents to find out why they prefer shopping plazas.

One comment left on a board with a sticky note gives a reason: Safety issues at the corner stores make driving elsewhere the best option.

Aluko said there is a strong commercial corridor near her on 22nd Street, but it doesn't nearly cover all the residents' needs. "There are four or five different hair salons," she said. There's a small store that sells "low-cost, high-fat, high-sodium food," but there is no where to get healthy groceries. A gym, a doctor's office, a clothing store – all would be welcome, she said; if her needs could be met on a nearby corridor, she'd love to walk to shop.

PlanPhilly did in-depth interviews with several residents on their concerns about the Lower North District and what they think should be done to improve it. The videos are posted with this story.

Common themes: Vacant lots need to be cleaned up. Vacant homes and lots should be sold to neighborhood residents or to the larger community, for use as community space or gardens. There aren't enough businesses in the neighborhood that serve residents' needs. Development centered around Temple University doesn't necessarily help the neighborhoods. There are also concerns about the city's Actual Value Initiative, and what it will do to tax bills.

Neighbors are worried about taxes going up, Loney said. "What are we going to get for our tax dollars? You have all these developers with 10-year tax abatements ... who really is paying all the taxes for the city?" she asked.

Meanwhile, she said, the school district is closing schools in the area – a step it says it has taken for financial and decreasing population reasons. "Kids are having to go further away from their homes to go to school," Loney said.

Loney said absentee landlords have become a problem – they live elsewhere, and convert homes in her neighborhood to boarding houses.

Bolden, who has lived in her home for decades, said the home next to hers is a small, single family residence, but it has been divided, and three families are living there.

Loney calls 311 on a regular basis to have lots cleaned. She also has been calling the city in hopes of having a vacant lot in her neighborhood turned into a sprinkle park. But her neighborhood's needs are more basic than that:

"We need a fire hydrant," she said. "We don't even have a fire hydrant on our block. I mean, what is that about?"

Eric Mason lives and works in North Philadelphia – he's Senior Pastor of Epiphany Fellowship Church. "I pray these blocks and I walk these blocks," he said.

The neighborhoods need more businesses that are owned by people who live in North Philadelphia, so the money made stays in the community, he said. "The neighborhood has tons of off-the-books economy, but we need more legitimate, on-the-books economy that is neighborhood-based," Mason said.

When asked what kinds of business the community needs, Mason rattled off a list: Healthier food choices. More banks that can provide financial-planning assistance to residents and get them thinking long-term, fewer check-cashing places.

He agrees with planners that some areas should be used for something other than homes or businesses – he loves the idea of farms, gardens, and even roof-top gardens on occupied buildings.

But Mason also sees areas that he believes could be successfully re-developed or re-inhabited.

There is a strip "on Susquehanna between 17th and 16th where the whole block is almost bombed out that's a phenomenal investment opportunity," he said. It's close to Temple, and residential neighborhoods, he said.

Aissia Richardson's EPA Blog 2013

Breathing Life into a Dead Space | Environmental Justice

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Breathing Life into a Dead Space

2013 July 25



By Aissia Richardson

For over 31 years, the mission of African American United Fund (AAUF) has been to actively engage Pennsylvania's African American community to collectively address social, environmental and economic injustices by pooling resources to enhance the quality of life of those most affected by these problems. I created the AAUF African Marketplace Health and Wellness program in 2007 to highlight health disparities in the African American community after my father suffered a stroke and subsequently was diagnosed with heart disease.

After my father had his stroke, he was afraid to leave home. He stopped working, stopped teaching, and stopped exercising. All activities he had previously enjoyed. As a work therapy project, I asked him to help coordinate this new program to educate our family and our community about preventable disease and to connect African American men to traditional health care providers. Sadly, my father lost his battle with heart disease in 2008 and died the day before our first healthy food cooking demonstration took place. As a tribute to him, I vowed to provide access to health care for the poor and in minority communities, to present information about how to maintain health and recognize warning signs of preventable diseases and to work with young men by talking with them early about maintaining their health.

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