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"Squeezed Between The Gunshots And The Gentrifiers": Urban Agriculture In Philadelphia's Kensington Neighborhood

Arianna Hall-Reinhard

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**"SQUEEZED BETWEEN THE GUNSHOTS AND THE GENTRIFIERS": URBAN
AGRICULTURE IN PHILADELPHIA'S KENSINGTON NEIGHBORHOOD**

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**Thesis submitted to the Eberly College of Arts and Sciences
at West Virginia University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of**

**Master of Arts in
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**Keywords: Urban Agriculture, Urban Political Ecology, Food Justice, Gentrification,
Nonprofit Industrial Complex, Race**

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Abstract

"SQUEEZED BETWEEN THE GUNSHOTS AND THE GENTRIFIERS": URBAN AGRICULTURE IN PHILADELPHIA'S KENSINGTON NEIGHBORHOOD

Arianna Hall-Reinhard

Urban agriculture (UA) is part of the broader alternative food movement and a potential avenue through which to “do” food justice work. UA projects in the urban Global North are frequently motivated by social and food justice goals. Despite these guiding ideals, UA projects in America are rife with internal contradictions, including those related to racial inequalities, complex gentrification dynamics, and funding realities. In this paper, I employ the conceptual frameworks of food justice and urban political ecology to consider how gentrification and UA project funding structures affect five specific UA projects in Philadelphia’s Kensington neighborhood. While the loss of industry and population throughout North Philadelphia in the 1980s and 1990s heavily impacted Kensington, the modern-day neighborhood faces two seemingly-opposing challenges: entrenched poverty and rapidly accelerating gentrification. The twin influences of poverty and gentrification make Kensington a uniquely compelling neighborhood in which to study UA projects and their complex relationships to gentrification and funding structures. To this end, qualitative interviews were conducted with UA project managers, volunteers, and supportive staff associated with five specific UA sites in Kensington selected to represent an array of grassroots, nonprofit, and for-profit UA projects. A number of patterns have emerged through this case study comparison, including how funding structures (grassroots, nonprofit, or for-profit) influence the formation and persistence of UA projects, the differential outcomes of gentrification pressures on UA projects (often along racial lines), and the how UA projects’ organizational structures and guiding principles determine the existence and/or realization of food justice goals within the project. The study concludes with a call for additional research into the complex relationship between UA projects and gentrification, including greater awareness of the influence of race within this relationship.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Food is both a biological necessity and a signifier of cultural identity, and, as such, often serves as a potent medium for inequalities. Adding to this, the modern food system is labyrinthine, shaped by a bewilderingly complex array of political, environmental, and social factors that often enhance rather than ameliorate injustice. There are many avenues through which researchers, activists, and policy makers are working to address disparities in the modern food system. Collectively, their efforts comprise the alternative or community food movement (Alkon & Mares, 2012; Holt-Giménez & Wang, 2011; Reynolds, 2015). Urban agriculture (UA) is one such avenue that is frequently motivated by ideals of social and food justice, particularly in the cities of the Global North (McIvor & Hale, 2015; Mougeot, 2000; Tornaghi, 2014). In the United States, UA projects are often tightly linked to the nonprofit sector and rely on state, corporate, and private foundation funding. However, there are serious limits to this approach (Eliasoph, 2009; INCITE!, 2017; Rosol, 2012) and it warrants further examination. Complicating the funding landscape, UA projects often rely on access to vacant land, resulting in tenuous futures in the context of gentrifying neighborhoods. This qualitative research project uses case studies from Philadelphia to examine how UA funding structures and pressures from gentrification influence UA projects.

1.2 Research Aim and Questions

The overarching objective of this study is to understand how UA projects' funding structures and the impacts of gentrification affect the evolution and persistence over time of selected UA spaces in Philadelphia. I am especially interested in how land access, changing neighborhood dynamics, and funding sources, particularly from within the Nonprofit Industrial Complex (NPIC), affect UA projects. Specifically, this project investigates two research questions:

1. How does gentrification affect the evolution and persistence of urban agriculture projects and organizations?
2. What are the implications of different funding structures – grassroots, non-profit, or for-profit – for the evolution and persistence of urban agriculture projects and organizations?

1.3 Situating my Research

According to Tornaghi (2014), UA “remains a very marginal and almost unexplored field of human geography.” While the number and variety of UA projects has vastly increased over the past decade, particularly in Philadelphia, the number of human geographers researching their efficacy and impact has not kept pace (Mougeot, 2000; Tornaghi, 2014; Vitiello & Nairn, 2009). This is a glaring lack within human geography, a discipline that is uniquely aligned with studying UA and its connections to food justice. Indeed, Heynen, et al. (2012) notes that, “with a long tradition of engaging with social, political and economic inequality, geographers can offer valuable insights into struggles over access to healthy food, and struggles for food justice more broadly” (p. 304). While Philadelphia-based studies have previously investigated UA and food justice concepts, many were conducted over five years ago and do not capture the multifaceted influences of recent gentrification in the city (Kremer & DeLiberty, 2011; Meenar & Hoover, 2012; Travaline & Hunold, 2010; Vitiello & Nairn, 2009). Furthermore, none of these studies explicitly address the connections between UA, gentrification, food justice, and the nonprofit industrial complex, as I am proposing to do within my research. As such, this is an ideal time for a human geography-based study of the factors that contribute to the evolution and persistence of UA projects in Philadelphia

1.4 Situating Myself Within the Research

I share a personal connection to Philadelphia's UA community. In 2010, I moved to Philadelphia for a year-long AmeriCorps position as the Vacant Land Management VISTA with the New Kensington Community Development Corporation. Over the course of my VISTA assignment, I

worked directly with urban farmers and community gardeners in Philadelphia's Kensington neighborhood. I remained in Kensington for three years after my VISTA term of service, working for Lutheran Settlement House, a social service nonprofit in the neighborhood. Over my nearly five years of living and working in Kensington, I interacted with a plethora of urban food and farming related projects. Some projects I helped to launch or support as a non-profit professional while others I participated in as a neighbor and volunteer. It was within this complicated neighborhood that my initial education around food justice and urban farming began.

While working with nonprofits and UA projects in Kensington, I experienced clear discrepancies between the alternative food movement and food justice activism. In many cases, UA projects would situate themselves within a food justice framework, with goals of using food to: rebuild neighborhoods, encourage economic development, and build community capacities through political organizing. But the reality is that many projects did not even begin to approach those lofty ends. Many projects stalled out at the initial stage of building their urban farm or offering nutrition education, instigating no real or lasting changes for their participants. Still other projects borrowed the language of food justice activism and social justice without any real intention to achieve those goals. The diverse nonprofit funding landscape with a multitude of private and public funders and donors further complicates the matter. Often, the reality of these food-related urban projects doesn't match up with the way they are framed or reported by nonprofit organizations and funding agencies. Sometimes the exact same UA project was framed as a stereotypical non-threatening community garden to one funder while simultaneously touted as a radical urban farm achieving food justice goals to a different funder.

My diversity of experiences within Philadelphia's nonprofits and UA scene helped me to transition from starry-eyed naiveté to a more realistic understanding of the nuances and contradictions within the alternative food movement. Ultimately, these experiences inspired me to embark upon this research project to investigate how factors such as funding sources, land access, and changing neighborhood dynamics influence UA projects.

1.5 Thesis Chapter Outline

The thesis is organized into six chapters which I outline in this section. In the Introduction Chapter I first present the broad justification for my thesis research in the chapter's introduction section. In the chapter's research aim and questions section, I introduce my research's specific focus on how UA projects' funding structures and the pressures of neighborhood gentrification influence the evolution and persistence of these projects in Kensington, Philadelphia. I then situate my research within the broader field of human geography and the specific arena of UA in Philadelphia. Chapter One continues with a brief depiction of how my previous experiences with UA in Kensington inform my research and concludes with a thesis chapter outline to preview the thesis's structure and content. In Chapter Two, I present my research's conceptual framework, a blend of both food justice (FJ) and urban political ecology (UPE). I then provide a thorough literature review of FJ and UPE, including their theoretical origins and current iterations. Throughout Chapter Two I provide definitions for key terms including food justice, alternative food movement, nonprofit industrial complex, gentrification, and urban agriculture. I conclude Chapter Two by describing the utility of the UPE and FJ framework for my research on UA. In Chapter Three, I present my qualitative methodology and research design. Here, I extend my exploration of how my past experience living and working in Kensington with UA projects and nonprofits shaped my role as a researcher. I ground this discussion in the feminist concept of positionality generally and how this concept is employed within feminist political ecology specifically. I also use Chapter Three to describe my research's case study design, snowball sampling strategy, and specific criteria for UA site selection. I then detail my research methods including semi-structured interviews, mobile interviewing, and a grey literature analysis. I conclude the chapter with a discussion of my approach to data analysis using Atlas.ti to apply multiple rounds of coding and analysis to my interview transcripts. In Chapter Four, I introduce my case study in more detail including background information about the Kensington neighborhood and detailed organizational histories for each of the

five UA projects in my study. This chapter presents a map of the Kensington neighborhood that displays the locations of the five UA projects relative to each other as well as copious photos of each UA project to provide visuals along with their written histories. In Chapter Five I present a thorough discussion of my research findings. This chapter is divided into three main headings that group the key findings that emerged from my research by topic including funding structures and UA; Gentrification and UA; and Justice, Race, and UA. For an outline depicting Chapter Five's structure, including headings and detailed sub-headings, please see Appendix D. Finally, in Chapter Six I present my thesis conclusion. This chapter starts with a summary of my research's contributions and key findings, including a discussion of how this relates back to the broader literature within the conceptual framework. In Chapter Six I return to a consideration of my shifting roles and experiences within Kensington's UA projects over time and include a discussion of how these shaped my research process and findings. Finally, Chapter Six and the thesis conclude with a discussion of important new directions to expand research on the complex interactions among UA projects, gentrification, and race.

CHAPTER 2: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

In this research project, I employ the dual conceptual framework of both food justice and urban political ecology to consider how funding structures and gentrification affect UA projects' evolution and persistence. In this section I theoretically ground my research using literature from within two major conceptual umbrellas, urban political ecology (UPE) and food justice (FJ). The section is broken into two distinct portions. First, I discuss the food justice framework, offering definitions for food justice which I differentiate from the alternative food movement at large. I also present an exploration of urban agriculture including its connections to food justice, the alternative food movement, and the nonprofit industrial complex, all of which I define below. I then provide a thorough description of UPE, including its origins, its utility for theorizing urban agriculture and gentrification, and its relationship to my research. The definitions that I use in this chapter are deeply contested and continually evolving through ongoing scholarship. I chose to frame these concepts here using the definitions that most usefully elucidate and underpin my research.

2.2 Food Justice Framework

To fully grasp the concept of food justice and put it into practice necessitates first understanding the meaning of social justice. In his seminal book, *Social Justice and the City*, David Harvey writes that the basic principle of social justice is "a just distribution justly arrived at" (p. 98). Garrett Broad, in his book *More than Just Food*, expands on Harvey's assertion to characterize social justice as "a normative concern that calls for an equitable distribution of fundamental resources, a universal respect for the dignity of all peoples, and the promotion of political and social rights that ensure all minority groups can equally pursue their life's interests and voice their visions for change" (Broad, 2016:5). According to Broad, justice can only be attained when the systematic discriminations causing inequalities are openly critiqued and consciously dismantled. Simply promoting equality, while certainly a noble cause, is not enough to create the broad institutional, social, and political changes necessary to promote true justice.

Harvey and Broad's definitions of social justice, and justice more generally, are the critical starting points for shaping effective food justice activism. If the stated goal of food justice organizations is to attain justice within the food system, then those involved must actively fight for equity while at the same time rejecting and deconstructing the barriers of discrimination (Bradley & Herrera, 2016; Dixon, 2014; Holt-Giménez & Wang, 2011; Ramírez, 2015; Reynolds, 2015; Sbicca, 2012). The food system will not be socially just until it enables individuals and communities to determine how to equitably meet their basic human needs through equal access and opportunity to participate in the food system without risk of exploitation (Allen, 2008, 2010; Meenar & Hoover, 2012).

While actors in the US alternative food movement often use the term food justice to describe and publicize their activities, the exact meaning of the phrase is rarely made explicit (Reynolds, 2015). To understand the relationship between social justice, food justice, and the broader alternative food movement, it is useful to explore a few of the many definitions of the term "food justice". To that end, I offer the definition of food justice used by Just Food, a longstanding food activist organization in New York City (justfood.org). They describe food justice as, "communities exercising their right to grow, sell, and eat healthy food. Healthy food is fresh, nutritious, affordable, culturally-appropriate, and grown locally with care for the well-being of the land, workers, and animals. People practicing food justice leads to a strong local food system, self-reliant communities, and a healthy environment." This definition asserts that food justice happens when communities organize themselves internally to define their own vision for their local food

system and pursue that vision in the ways they see fit. With this definition it becomes clear that food justice is not merely an idea, but an active practice (Cadieux & Slocum, 2015; Dixon, 2014).

However, missing from the Just Food definition is one of the central tenets of the food justice ethos, that which motivates and supports major social transformation toward a more socially just and equitable food system. As Reynolds (2015, p. 243) writes, “there is a distinction between alleviating symptoms of injustice (such as disparate access to food or environmental amenities) and disrupting structures that underlie them”. In its most radical sense, food justice seeks to dismantle systems and structures of power that limit communities’ ability to reconstruct a more just food system, one that explicitly recognizes and works to neutralize injustice due to race, class, or gender (Bradley & Herrera, 2016; Dixon, 2014; Holt-Giménez & Wang, 2011; Ramírez, 2015; Sbicca, 2012). In their book *Food Justice*, Robert Gottlieb and Anupama Joshi define food justice as, “A new social movement taking form, assuming the language of food activism, embracing a passion for justice, telling stories, mobilizing around an agenda of change, and discovering that individuals can play a role in demonstrating that another food system – and another world – is possible” (p. 238). Gottlieb and Joshi’s definition begins to frame food justice as a tool around which to organize people and communities, rather than food justice as the explicit end goal of organizing. Together, these definitions are an important part of elucidating the nuanced differences between food justice and the broader food movement, a distinction I explore in my research and discuss in the following section.

2.3 Alternative Food Movement vs. Food Justice

Definitions of the alternative food movement are also slippery. “Alternative food movement” or “community food movement” refer to groups and individuals who seek change within the modern food system, often based on an environmentalist mentality and motivated by ideas of localism and sustainability (Hoover, 2013; Reynolds, 2015; Sbicca, 2012; Slocum, 2006). However, in many cases, the work of those within the alternative food movement is stymied by a lack of awareness of differential racial, gendered, or class dynamics within the food system (Alkon, 2014; Guthman, 2014; Ramírez, 2015). Beyond a simple lack of awareness, some claim that actors within the alternative food movement actively “reproduce white privilege” (Slocum, 2006) resulting in a movement that is “predominantly white, hegemonic, and exclusive” (Hoover, 2013). As a result, most US alternative food organizations and projects stop far short of addressing the systemic and structural inequalities that come to bear on food access (Alkon, 2014; Cadieux & Slocum, 2015). Indeed, Meenar and Hoover (2012, p. 145) write, “A closer examination of the alternative food movement from a food justice perspective demonstrates that, while working to create greater democracy, sustainability, and access, this movement may unintentionally be creating its own inequality.” This quote re-affirms the premise that the food justice perspective is a vital lens through which to assess and improve the alternative food movement in the US (Meenar & Hoover, 2012).

To further elucidate the distinctions between the alternative food movement and food justice, it is instructive to mention Community Services Unlimited Inc. (CSU), the nonprofit portion of the branch of the Black Panthers located in Los Angeles, California. According to Broad, those involved with CSU exemplify the food justice-based understanding that food production and consumption is a vital conduit through which to engage people and promote social change. In fact, in his book, Broad quotes Lawrence DeFreitas, a CSU staff person, who offers the central insight that “food is a way in which you can get folks to think critically about their environment. A community that understands how the environment impacts them has the ability to think critically to take action” (Broad, 2016:13). This hints at the much broader and truly radical potential of food justice organizing and projects. In contrast to the out-of-touch, top-down, “solutions” to unequal food access promoted by many in the alternative food movement, CSU built on the internal capacities of people of color by organizing within their own community in order to discuss, define, and strategize solutions as defined by community members. CSU’s story demonstrates that food justice activism can empower people who are traditionally marginalized to organize, identify concerns, and define their own solutions for environmental, economic, and political justice in the broadest sense (Allen,

2010; Holt-Giménez & Wang, 2011; Sbicca, 2012). This central difference between food justice and the alternative food movement is deftly summarized in Broad's article *The Black Panther Party: A Food Justice Story* where he writes:

“Food justice activists employ many of the same strategies that have come to characterize the broader food movement — they build gardens, offer nutrition education, and develop local food markets. But in the food justice approach, cooking and eating are never simply about improving nutrition alone. Food is also a strategic organizing tool and a critical conversation starter, all in support of a multi-ethnic movement for social and environmental justice.”

Although the alternative food movement and food justice activists may use some of the same tools and techniques, the underlying motivations, big picture goals, and organizational realities are radically different.

2.4 Urban Agriculture and its Role in the AFM vs. FJ Debate

UA organizations and projects are often considered a part of the broader alternative food movement. However, UA efforts can also provide a potent avenue through which to “do” food justice work (Cadieux & Slocum, 2015; McClintock, 2014; Tornaghi, 2014). According to the broadest definitions, UA refers to food cultivation and animal husbandry projects that grow, process, and distribute food and other products in locations around, near, and particularly within cities (McIvor & Hale, 2015; Mougeot, 2000; Opitz, Berges, Piorr, & Krikser, 2016; Tornaghi, 2014). Examples of common types of UA projects, include community gardens, educational programs, demonstration farms, and entrepreneurial production farms (Hoover, 2013). The motivation behind most UA projects is to increase access to free and low-cost produce for nearby urban residents whose neighborhoods are dominated by fast food restaurants and corner stores where produce is difficult and costly to acquire (McClintock, 2014; Meenar & Hoover, 2012; Opitz et al., 2016).

One expression of food justice within UA projects appears when urban farms provide the space and context for neighborhoods to foster relationships that cut across the typical divides of race, gender, and class (McIvor & Hale, 2015). This relationship building enhances the community's ability to organize, identify, and work toward their own social justice goals, including dismantling discriminatory urban food systems. By consciously incorporating a food justice framework within UA projects, it becomes possible to explicitly question entrenched power differentials while working to transform unjust systems (Heynen et al., 2012; McIvor & Hale, 2015; Tornaghi, 2014).

Despite its connections to food justice, UA is rife with internal contradictions. As Hoover (2013, p. 1) writes, “As a movement, UA is largely championed by a middle-class white populace as part of the alternative food movement.” The AFM perspective ignores the deep history of UA within black and Latino neighborhoods and glosses over the significant contribution of UA knowledge from communities of color. Often led by white people within the alternative food movement who lack an explicit awareness of UA's racial legacy, many modern UA projects “create white spaces in otherwise black or Latino places” (Hoover, 2013, p. 1). Aside from its serious racial concerns, one of UA's deepest contradictions emerges from its dependence on external funding sources. Whether UA projects are grassroots or institution-led, they all require funding to some degree. McIvor and Hale (2015) describe how non-profit UA organizations often feel it necessary to emphasize small scale, short-term projects that provide quantifiable deliverables for funders to gain access to grant funding. While many non-profit UA projects are motivated by concepts of food justice, they remain firmly lodged within the neoliberal funding realities of the modern nonprofit system (McClintock, 2014; Rosol, 2012). Neoliberalism is used here to refer to the “privileging of voluntary, market-centric strategies over those that appeal to the regulatory power of the state” (Alkon, 2014, p. 27). The reality of this neoliberal influence on UA projects means that their radical and subversive potential is reduced. Much of that effect is due to the necessity of UA projects to work within the context of the nonprofit industrial complex to receive funding and support (INCITE!, 2017).

2.5 The Nonprofit Industrial Complex

The concept of the Nonprofit Industrial Complex (NPIC) is central to my research but requires clarification about its role within the context of UA and food justice. In its broadest sense, the term NPIC identifies the “system of relationships between the State (or local and federal governments), the owning classes, foundations, and non-profit/non-governmental social service and social justice organizations” (INCITE!, 2017, p. xiiv). However, this relatively neutral framing of the NPIC doesn’t capture the sometimes-insidious nature of the nonprofit sector. To understand the NPIC, one must define “nonprofit organization,” an historically amorphous concept that can be hard to pin down. Recently, scholars developed a framework for defining nonprofits using the following six criteria: “nonprofits are formal organizations, they are private entities, they do not distribute profits, they are self-governing, they are voluntary, and they provide a public benefit” (Hammack, 2002, p. 1614; Samimi, 2010, p. 20). According to rules from the Internal Revenue Service, US nonprofits must incorporate under 501(c)(3) status to be eligible for grant funding from the state, private foundations, and corporate donors. This requirement to incorporate is costly and onerous, particularly for small grassroots social justice organizations. Gaining or retaining 501(c)(3) status can be used as a tool for the state to exert control over social justice oriented non-profit organizations, with the goal of limiting the impact of their most radical tactics and activities (INCITE!, 2017; Samimi, 2010).

In the book *The Revolution Will Not Be Funded: Beyond the Non-profit Industrial Complex*, Dylan Rodriguez further defines the NPIC as “a set of symbiotic relationships that link political and financial technologies of state and owning class control with surveillance over public political ideology, including and especially emergent progressive and leftist social movements” (p. 21). One of the roles of the NPIC in US society is to control dissent and social justice organizations by deeply entrenching them within the apparatus of capitalism and the state (INCITE!, 2017). The shift away from funding grassroots social justice movements in favor of corporate nonprofit organizations is a direct result of neoliberalism (Alkon, 2014; INCITE!, 2017; Rosol, 2012; Samimi, 2010). In the US, UA projects are often limited by the process of neoliberalization with its insistence on market-based “solutions” to food access issues (Alkon & Mares, 2012). In many cases, these neoliberal tactics negatively transform UA projects by neutralizing their potential to foster inclusivity and transformative change (Hoover, 2013; Ramírez, 2015).

These foundational concepts – food justice, AFM, UA, and the NPIC – are presented here because they critically underpin my thesis research. These concepts enable me to construct comparisons within my research between UA projects that exist within the NPIC and those that have chosen to remain grassroots, while providing a deeper understanding of how the key similarities and differences of these distinct funding structures affect the evolution and persistence of these UA projects. This comparison underscores further analysis that is necessary to understand the complex differences between UA projects grounded in food justice ideals and those that remain lodged in the AFM without a strong awareness of or commitment to the ideals of transformative social justice.

2.6 Urban Political Ecology Framework

According to Keil (2003: 725), “what we call ‘the urban’ is a complex, multiscale and multidimensional process where the general and specific aspects of the human condition meet” in different contexts and assemblages than are considered within the rural focus of traditional political ecology. In this section I provide a thorough literature review of urban political ecology, including an exploration of the origins, major theoretical influences, unique manifestations, and potential future directions of this specific sub-discipline. In addition to reviewing UPE’s origins and its breadth of scholarship, I use this section to consider the potential application of UPE to better understand and theorize the processes of gentrification (Dooling, 2009; Quastel, 2009). To accomplish this, I define gentrification and describe its common processes along with providing a brief overview of gentrification research, including how research on this topic has changed over time and important

gaps that still exist in understanding gentrification. I argue that UPE contains a deep utility for conceptualizing and theorizing many urban processes, particularly that of gentrification.

In the context of my Master's research project, I leverage urban political ecology to consider how gentrification and its associated processes influence urban agriculture (UA) projects in the Kensington neighborhood of Philadelphia. For that purpose, I use this section to relate UPE scholarship generally, and gentrification-focused UPE scholarship specifically, to my research on urban agriculture. I also briefly introduce the niche concept of environmental gentrification, in advance of a more thorough discussion in section 6.4 where I consider the concept's utility for understanding how UA projects also exert an influence on gentrification. I ultimately use this section to demonstrate how UPE is a compelling component of my conceptual framework, by arguing that UPE is the appropriate lens through which to develop a better understanding of the many complex intersections between gentrification and urban agriculture (Checker, 2011; Dooling, 2009; Quastel, 2009).

2.7 Urban Political Ecology's Origins

In her pivotal book *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, Jane Jacobs wrote that urban environments "are as natural as colonies of prairie dogs or the bed of oysters" (Jacobs, 1961:443). This provocative comment was intended to counteract the era's prevailing wisdom that the urban is the antithesis of nature, a wholly unnatural space that was the sole provenance of human beings and their social, economic, and political existences. David Harvey expanded upon Jacobs' challenge to treat the city as a natural entity, leveraging Marx's historical geographical materialism to do so. Harvey did this first in his seminal 1973 book, *Social Justice and the City* and again in his 1996 book *Justice, Nature, and the Geography of Difference*. In his later book, while arguing that there is nothing inherently unnatural about New York City, Harvey made the key observation that "it is inconsistent to hold that everything in the world relates to everything else, as ecologists tend to, and then decide that the built environment and the urban structures that go into it are somehow outside of both theoretical and practical consideration. The effect has been to evade integrating understandings of the urbanizing process into environmental-ecological analysis" (Harvey, 1996:427)." In this statement, Harvey is pointing to an important gap in urban scholarship and in doing so, he is laying the case for an explicitly urban political ecology, one that approaches urban environments through the dual lenses of both social and ecological processes.

The term 'urban political ecology' was originally coined by Erik Swyngedouw in his 1996 paper, *'The City as a hybrid: On nature, society and cyborg urbanization'*. In this paper, Swyngedouw introduced urban political ecology as a sub-discipline forged within the shared spaces of ecological thinking, political economy, urban studies, and critical social and cultural theory. In a nod to Jacobs' and Harvey's view of the city as natural, he wrote that urban political ecology offers a framework that acknowledges and explores the hybridity of society and nature that exists in the city, with all its "contradictions, tensions and conflicts" (Swyngedouw, 1996:65). Seven years later, Swyngedouw offered a more comprehensive definition of UPE that informs my research. He wrote, "UPE provides an integrated and relational approach that helps untangle the interconnected economic, political, social and ecological processes that together go to form highly uneven urban landscapes" (Swyngedouw & Heynen, 2003:914).

The concept of urban political ecology did not spring from Swyngedouw's mind fully formed, rather it emerged over time as a sub-discipline within political ecology scholarship as well as other critical urban traditions more broadly (Heynen, 2014; Keil, 2003). In fact, urban political ecology is generated by "fusing critical urban theory with critical political ecology, in both a theoretical and empirical sense" (Swyngedouw and Heynen, 2003:915). To better understand UPE's emergence and the gap it purports to fill within political ecology scholarship, it is useful to briefly describe traditional political ecology. Political ecology is many things, including: a critical approach, a community of scholars, a framework for investigating questions with both qualitative and quantitative methodologies, and an attempt to bring awareness of the power relations at multiple

scales into explanations of human-environment interactions (Robbins, 2011). Elmhirst defines political ecology as an area of inquiry that emerged from geographic research with a spotlight on the “politics of environmental degradation and conservation, the neoliberalisation of nature and ongoing rounds of accumulation, enclosure and dispossession, access and control of resources, and environmental struggles around knowledge and power, justice and governance” (Elmhirst, 2011:129).

Historically, political ecology scholars have not considered the “urban” within their work. This is largely due to political ecology’s origins within Blaikie and Brookfield’s early work *Land Degradation and Society* which firmly established the discipline in a rural, global south context. Indeed, Heynen writes that, “many engaged in political ecology have failed to acknowledge the impact of cities within their framing of political ecology” (Heynen, 2014:598). Neil Smith explains the lack of political ecology’s attention to urban processes as stemming from the highly political, yet often invisible reality of the production of urban nature, writing that this occurs “precisely because the arrangement of asphalt and concrete, water mains and garbage dumps, cars and subways seems so inimical to our intuitive sense of (external) nature” (Smith, 2006:xiii-xiv). Although many scholars have urged for the development of an explicitly urban political ecology, in 2005 Keil wrote that there is “still a reluctance to take UPE on board in both geography more generally and political ecology more specifically” (Keil, 2005:640). It is interesting to note that as recently as 2011 when Robbins published his formative political ecology textbook, *Political Ecology: A Critical Introduction*, UPE received explicit mention only once in reference to the urban-based “sewer socialism” of Jane Addams and her Settlement House Movement in early 1900s America. UPE scholars assert that this hesitancy to embrace UPE is a function of both political ecology’s ‘third world rural trap’ established by its early scholars like Blaikie and Brookfield, as well as a lingering reluctance among social scientists to approach the ‘city as natural’ (Angelo and Wachsmuth, 2015; Braun, 2005; Heynen, 2014).

Despite their close congruence in title, political ecology is not UPE’s sole progenitor or source of inspiration. UPE can claim a diversity of theoretical origins including Marxist urban theory, urban ecology, social ecology, environmental justice theory and practice, and ecological modernization theory (Keil, 2003). Looking even further afield, Rademacher writes about the synergies between UPE and urban anthropology, discussing how UPE has borrowed from anthropology’s ethnographic approach to “engage with the grounded social analysis that only situated ethnographies can offer... to shed light on power relations, social processes, and the plurality of ecologies” inherent in urban environments (Rademacher, 2015: 146). Keil discusses how critical scholarship contributed to the foundation of UPE, writing that UPE has deep intellectual ties to traditional forms of social critique such as eco-Marxism, eco-feminism, eco-anarchism, and neo-pluralist and radical democratic politics (Keil, 2003). The influence of critical traditions is obvious in that “UPE literature is characterized by its intensely critical predisposition; critical is defined here as the linking of specific analysis of urban environmental problems to larger socioecological solutions” (Keil, 2003: 724).

The modern era of rapid global urbanization, also called the Anthropocene, is forcing many scholars to broaden their perspective. It is no longer possible to ignore the impacts of a progressively urban world on a separate and distinctly rural environment. Instead, the ever-expanding process of urbanization with its global reach is further problematizing the nature/city binary while calling into question whether any part of the world can truly be considered non-urban (Rademacher, 2015; Angelo and Wachsmuth, 2015). Wachsmuth cautions that UPE scholars must actively resist the tendency to treat the city as “the privileged analytical lens for studying contemporary processes of urban social transformation that are not necessarily limited to the city” (Wachsmuth, 2012:518). Even if scholars don’t subscribe to this vision of an integrated urban world, it is undeniable that more and more people are now located in cities around the globe. According to the United Nations’ 2007 Population Fund’s State of the World Population Report, by 2008 more than half of the world’s population resides in cities. It is in the context of our present global urban

reality that Piers Blaikie – often considered the grandfather of traditional, rural “third world” political ecology – asserted in a 2008 article that “UPE is one of the most important, provocative, and necessary intellectual terrains for understanding the future of socio-natural relations” (Blaikie, 2008; Heynen, 2014:598).

In the face of fever-pitch globalized urbanization, UPE is more important than ever. Heynen writes that we are entering a new, fast-paced urban century that will require: the “continued evolution of theoretical, empirical, and methodological parameters of UPE” (Heynen, 2014:602). According to Heynen as recently as 2014, “while [UPE is] still often not incorporated into larger discussion of political ecology, its growing visibility in the published literature suggests that it has gone beyond an emerging theoretical lens to one that has fully emerged” (*ibid.*, 598). Today, UPE is practiced through two primary avenues, Marxist UPE and approaches to UPE that draw on post-humanist, feminist, and postcolonial thinking to both critique Marxist UPE and provide new alternatives to it. For simplicity in referring to these different iterations, I will adopt Heynen’s terminology that characterizes Marxist UPE as the “first wave” of UPE and the various critiques that followed as “second wave” UPE (*ibid.*). In the following two sections I will explore the specific theoretical origins first of Marxist UPE and then of UPE’s second wave of scholarship that offers exciting new avenues of inquiry and applications for the sub-discipline (Angelo & Wachsmuth, 2015; Heynen, 2014; Heynen, 2016; Gabriel, 2014; Lawhon et al., 2014).

2.8 First Wave – Marxist Urban Political Ecology

After Swyngedouw’s landmark 1996 article first introduced the term UPE, he joined forces with Nik Heynen, a colleague from Oxford. Together they sought to further explicate a shared vision for UPE, one constructed using an historical geographic lens. The foundation of their approach is based on the work of Marx and Engels from 150 years ago and the metabolism metaphor that they leveraged to explain the dynamic relationship between humans and their environment (Heynen, 2006). The crux of this dialectic relationship can be found in the human action of production which requires nature as an input while also creating a different, but materially real, nature in the process. UPE draws from Neil Smith’s ‘production of nature’ thesis (Smith, 2010) along with David Harvey’s interpretations of Henri Lefebvre’s analysis of capitalist flows between rural and urban to theorize the peculiarities of the production of this urban nature (Harvey, 1973; Harvey and Braun, 1996; Swyngedouw and Heynen, 2003; Keil, 2003; Rademacher, 2015). Ultimately, through their collaboration Swyngedouw and Heynen developed “a framework through which to systematically approach issues of uneven urban socioecological change” (Swyngedouw and Heynen, 2003:906), which they refer to as ‘critical Marxist urban political ecology’.

Central to Heynen and Swyngedouw’s critical Marxist UPE is the urbanization of the metabolism metaphor that they assert offers a means to move past the common yet problematic conception of nature and society as distinctly separate. According to Heynen and Swyngedouw, metabolism is a metaphorical format through which to understand nature/society hybridity or the “interwoven knots of social process, material metabolism and spatial form that go into the formation of contemporary urban socio-natural landscapes” (Swyngedouw and Heynen, 2003:906). Metabolism provides a means to re-conceive of nature and society as inseparably co-created by concentrating attention on the systemic flows that intertwine and move through both (Heynen and Swyngedouw, 2003; Heynen, 2014; Keil, 2003).

Interestingly, it can be argued that a thorough conceptualization of urban metabolism has the potential to enhance an egalitarian notion of urban change (Heynen, 2014; Keil, 2005). It is the inherent sense of creativity within the concept of metabolism that signifies the fluid and flexible reality of urban processes (Heynen, 2014; Heynen, 2016). Although there are still winners and losers, these roles are not inscribed in some sort of unchangeable fashion, but rather, are open to the possibility of change through policy, resistance, or even revolution (Lawhon et al., 2014). In fact, Heynen writes that UPE offers “myriad articulations of how urban environmental and social change

co-determine each other and how these metabolic processes offer insights into creative pathways toward more democratic urban environmental politics” (Heynen, 2014:599).

In this arena UPE closely resembles environmental justice (EJ) with its goals of ameliorating the unjust and uneven distribution of environmental harms, primarily within the urban environment. While there are vast similarities between the goals of UPE and environmental justice, there are distinct differences as well. UPE is driven by its broad theoretical framework developed primarily through academic research projects whereas EJ is first and foremost an activist movement that developed through praxis and was later supplemented by empirical research. According to Swyngedouw and Heynen, the key difference between the two traditions is that UPE “address[es] questions of justice and inequality from a historical-materialist perspective, rather than from the vantage point of the EJ movement and its predominantly liberal conceptions of justice” (Swyngedouw and Heynen, 2003:910). Ranganathan and Balazs disagree with this interpretation, writing “while some have argued that the liberal political philosophy underpinning EJ is at odds with the Marxist roots of UPE, we find this to be a narrow conception of both literatures, and one that is perhaps more true about their origins than their emerging trends” (Ranganathan and Balazs, 2015:405). Regardless of which interpretation is more accurate, it is undeniable that both UPE and EJ share a common goal of increasing justice in urban environments.

UPE’s bend toward justice is fully in line with traditional political ecology’s focus on the unjustly differential power relations that produce society’s ‘winners and losers’. Swyngedouw and Heynen explain how UPE research attempts to elucidate “who gains from and who pays for, who benefits from and who suffers from particular processes of socioenvironmental change” (Swyngedouw and Heynen, 2003:910). Both Swyngedouw and Heynen are careful to assert the practical and critical agenda for UPE, noting that “the political programme of UPE... is to enhance the democratic content of socioenvironmental construction by identifying the strategies through which a more equitable distribution of social power and a more inclusive mode of environmental production can be achieved” (*ibid.*, 914). It is this focus on justice that makes UPE a relevant tool to study gentrification which is undeniably both a social and environmental process. As a process, gentrification involves a transformation of urban space that results in highly uneven urban environments. The fact that these uneven urban environments are so often constructed along class, race, and gender lines only underscores the need for a critical UPE to tease apart the political forces at play in producing the ‘winners and losers’ of gentrification writ large (*ibid.*; Kirkland, 2008; Heynen, 2016; Quastel, 2009).

2.9 Second Wave – Critiques of Marxist Urban Political Ecology

When a subdiscipline can generate and sustain internal debates that ultimately serve to progress the boundaries of its scholarship, it is a sign of its vibrancy and an indication of the potential for its continued expansion. That is precisely what is currently happening within the UPE literature. In what Heynen refers to as ‘second wave’ UPE, scholars are generating innovative new understandings of urban nature inspired by the incorporation of theories beyond Marxism that “continue to complicate the binaries, boundaries, margins, and limits between urban and natural environments and within urban socio-natural processes and politics” (Heynen, 2014:600). The scholarship that falls within the bounds of ‘second wave’ UPE draws on many disparate theories, including but not limited to posthumanism, actor-network theory, critical race theory, postcolonialism, and African urban theory. Although these approaches represent an important divergence from traditional Marxist UPE, Heynen cautions that more work is required to move UPE “toward better incorporating feminist, racialized, and queer positionalities within UPE, as well as other interlocking power relations” (Heynen, 2014:602). To that end, Heynen published a paper in late 2017 that explicitly develops UPE’s connections to feminist political ecology and queer ecologies (Heynen, 2017). Despite their theoretical diversity, these new approaches are united under UPE’s ‘second wave’ banner by their shared critical stance toward earlier, purely Marxist, interpretations of UPE (Heynen, 2014; Keil, 2005; Loftus, 2012). They are also connected by their ability to expand the political relevance of UPE by providing new grounded understandings of what

is possible along with alternatives to 'uneven urbanism as usual' (Angelo and Wachsmuth, 2015; Lawhon et al., 2014; Gabriel, 2014).

According to Heynen, the "two important critiques that are central to a second wave of UPE scholarship include posthumanist perspectives as well as looming methodological questions" (Heynen, 2014:601). The roots of the posthumanist critique of Marxist UPE reach back to Swyngedouw's original 1996 article with its broadly connective theoretical language that joined together the human and non-human in the creative imagery of the cyborg. Even in 1996, Swyngedouw was already problematizing the narrow conception of humans as the sole actors that influence outcomes in the complex matrix of the urban (Swyngedouw, 1996; Heynen, 2014). Posthumanism within UPE is exemplified by its attention to "the problematic binary of the human and the non-human, drawing in particular [from] work on hybridity by Bruno Latour (2007, 1993) and Donna Haraway (2013, 1997), enabling a profound reorientation of the ways in which humans and nature are theorized in relation to each other" (Gabriel, 2014:39). UPE's posthumanist engagement with actor-network theory is described by Holifield who writes, "instead of explaining inequalities by contextualizing and situating them, actor network approaches turn our attention to the forms and standards that make it possible to circulate new associations of entities, to generalize social orders, and to situate actors within a social context – that is, to socialize them in particular ways" (Holifield, 2009:639). To this end, Rademacher calls for UPE scholars to conduct 'multispecies ethnographies' that could help explicate the agency of nature and the real, material effects of non-human entities within urban processes that create, alter, or entrench uneven urban environments (Rademacher, 2015).

Angelo and Wachsmuth provide the key methodological critique of UPE in their 2015 article, *Urbanizing Urban Political Ecology: A Critique of Methodological Cityism*. They believe that UPE has become mired in what Rademacher refers to as the 'political ecology of the city' which "asks whether and how sociocultural and nonhuman natural life in dense human settlements is experienced in ways distinct from its noncity counterparts... [using] deeply historicized, ethnographic methodological strategies" (Rademacher, 2015:141). In contrast, Wachsmuth critiques this form of 'methodological cityism' writing that, "the city is taken to be the privileged analytical lens for studying contemporary processes of urban social transformation that are not necessarily limited to the city" (Wachsmuth, 2012:518). Angelo and Wachsmuth provocatively consider how urbanization affects rural regions as well as cities, asking "is strip mining in the Appalachian Mountains any less a case of urban environmental injustice than polluted rivers from sewage treatment plants in the Bronx?" (Angelo and Wachsmuth, 2015:21-22). They claim that, despite its rural locus, in many ways strip mining should be considered an urban process. Although this form of mining occurs many miles away from traditional cities, it is driven by the energy needs of cities and urban consumers, providing the fuel for an ever-increasing press of global urbanization and consumption. Ultimately, according to these authors, UPE is a relevant framework with which to study the contemporary global processes of urbanization ranging from rural mining to more explicitly city-bound phenomena such as urban agriculture.

Additional critiques of Marxist UPE originate in postcolonial traditions including critical race theory and southern theories of African urbanism. Heynen insists that "over the life course of UPE, rich and vibrant theoretical expansion and empirical nuance has added to the ways in which UPE is starting to grapple with the connections between white supremacy and urban nature" (Heynen, 2016:840). In his own work, Heynen begins with Smith's articulation of the creativity inherent within urban metabolism which he combines with abolition ecology – born of antiracist, postcolonial, and indigenous theory – to "elucidate and extrapolate the interconnected white supremacist and racialized processes that lead to uneven development within urban environments" (Heynen, 2016:839). Within this broad goal, it is important to include Lawhon et al.'s work to 'provincialize UPE' by engaging with an explicitly African urban theory that adds to the postcolonial iteration of UPE. Lawhon et al. (2014) suggest that provincialization offers one avenue to develop a situated UPE that would newly incorporate the variety of urban experiences of the global south that vary

substantially from those in the global north from which UPE was originally developed. One avenue for provincialization that the authors suggest is using African urbanism “to create a more situated UPE [that] might entail: starting with everyday practices, examining diffuse forms of power, and opening the scope for radical incrementalism” (*ibid.*:497). With a deep nod to feminist methods and approaches, creating a situated UPE requires a methodological shift to privilege the immense variety of everyday lived experiences in urban environments. UPE scholars have much to learn from African urbanists who start with “everyday practices as the objects of analysis” resulting in an appreciation of the diffuseness of power which “complicate[s] research and analysis but also open[s] up critical new spaces for understanding and contesting power” (*ibid.*:512).

2.10 Gentrification & Urban Political Ecology

The term ‘gentrification’ was invented by urban sociologist Ruth Glass in 1964 to critique the broad urban redevelopment process that forced poor residents out of London and replaced them with new upper-class enclaves (Brown-Saracino, 2016; Slater, 2006). Glass was a Marxist who, throughout her life disdained research for its own sake, believing that the purpose of sociological research was to influence government policy and bring about social change. Her work inspired generations of gentrification scholars, particularly in the United States, who shared her desire for justice and sustained her critical perspective on gentrification (Slater, 2006). Despite the rich history of the term, the exact definition of gentrification varies depending on who is using it and to what end. For the purpose of my research, Hammel and Wyly’s definition resonates as representative of the situation in Philadelphia’s Kensington neighborhood. They describe gentrification as “the replacement of low-income, inner-city working-class residents by middle- or upper-class households, either through the market for existing housing or demolition to make way for new upscale housing construction” (Hammel and Wyly, 1996:250).

Glass’s critical approach to both gentrification research and activism dominated until the late 1980s (Slater, 2006). More recently, however, gentrification research has begun to lose its critical edge, glossing over or outright ignoring the destructive effects of displacement for residents evicted from inner-city neighborhoods (Byrne, 2002; Freeman, 2011; Lees, 2000; Slater, 2006). Displacement – defined as the process “whereby current residents are forced to move because they can no longer afford to reside in the gentrifying neighborhoods” (Freeman, 2005:463) – is consistently one of the most widespread and pernicious effect of gentrification (Slater, 2006). In Slater’s 2010 paper discussing the dearth of accounts of displacement within gentrification research, Peter Marcuse, a prominent philosopher of urban planning, was quoted as stating, “If the pain of displacement is not a central component of what we are dealing with in studying gentrification... we are missing the central point that needs to be addressed” (Slater, 2010:170). If quantitative gentrification studies consider displacement at all, they often negate its effects, largely because it is almost methodologically impossible to quantify displacement (Slater, 2006). Atkinson (2000) has referred to measuring displacement as ‘measuring the invisible’ because of the extreme difficulty of counting the number of residents who have been forced out when they are no longer located in or near the study area. The alternative is to conduct qualitative studies that have the potential to, if not quantify, then at least capture some of the pain and violence of the displacement process for poor residents, but this kind of research is severely lacking (Newman and Wyly, 2006). According to Slater, “in a huge literature on gentrification, there are almost no qualitative accounts of displacement. Doing something about this is vital if critical perspectives are to be reinstated” (Slater, 2006:749).

Peter Byrne, an American legal scholar and self-confessed gentrifier in Washington D.C., exemplifies the recent rash of scholars who argue that gentrification provides benefits to low-income residents socially, economically and politically solely because it brings them into contact with affluent gentrifiers (Byrne, 2002). This glib reconceptualization of gentrification as a public good is part of the discursive project of neoliberalization that fosters a “bourgeois emancipatory romanticism vis-à-vis gentrification” (Slater, 2006:742) and has real effects on fostering pro-gentrification urban policy (*ibid.*; Hackworth and Smith, 2001; Lees, 2000; Smith, 2002; Atkinson and Bridge, 2005).

Slater skillfully summarizes this phenomenon, stating that “the current era of neoliberal urban policy, together with a drive towards homeownership, privatization and the break-up of ‘concentrated poverty’ (Crump, 2002), has seen the global, state-led process of gentrification via the promotion of social or tenure ‘mixing’ (or ‘social diversity’ or ‘social balance’) in formerly disinvested neighbourhoods populated by working-class and/or low-income tenants” (Slater, 2006:749-750). In an attempt to further obscure the negative effects of gentrification, social mixing and other such terms have become code in urban policy circles to encourage and implement gentrification without attaching that term’s negative connotations.

Along with the narratives of the displaced, a concerted focus on race is also curiously missing from most scholarly articles about gentrification (Kirkland, 2008; Lees, 2016). Kirkland has decried this absence, writing that “although racial identity is frequently acknowledged in gentrification literature, race as a subject of direct inquiry and serious concern is conspicuously absent from many investigations of gentrification” (Kirkland, 2008:18). In most cases, the lived reality of gentrification takes place along racial lines. Long-term residents contending with displacement are often people of color who lose not only their homes but their tight-knit communities along with their access to culturally specific resources and support (Kirkland, 2008; Smith, 1996). More often than not, incoming residents are affluent white people who are encouraged to relocate from their suburban enclaves with the lure of ‘vibrant and diverse’ communities, walkable neighborhoods, and proximity to urban centers where their jobs are often located (Lees, 2000; Smith, 1979). The consequence of this racial dichotomy within gentrification is stark. As Kirkland has observed, “the argument may be made that gentrification and displacement represent not an anomaly but a continuation of a longstanding pattern of the dislocation and subjugation of people of color in this nation.” (Kirkland, 2008:28-29). It is imperative that more research is done to focus on the racially unequal effects of gentrification including the disproportionate displacement of people of color. In a recent paper Heynen provocatively asks, “how can internalizing the deep historical spatial logics of the ‘ghetto’, the ‘plantation’, the ‘colony’ and the ‘reservation’ push UPE to wrestle with both the racialization of uneven urban environments and also the abolition of white supremacy from the metabolic processes that produce racially uneven urban environments?” (Heynen, 2016:840). Heynen’s work makes it clear that UPE has much to offer as a framework for studying gentrification, including the potential for providing qualitative accounts of the displaced along with a deeper consideration of gentrification’s racial disparities.

2.11 Urban Political Ecology, Gentrification, and Urban Agriculture Research

By incorporating both its ‘first and second wave’ approaches, UPE is uniquely situated to examine questions of food justice in the urban environment, including within the context of UA projects (Agyeman and McEntee, 2014). As discussed above, in contrast to political ecology’s heavy focus on rural areas of the global south, urban political ecology is deeply rooted within the urban environment (Keil, 2003; Rademacher, 2015). This makes UPE a relevant tool for examining urban environments in both the global south and the global north, including UA projects in Philadelphia. Heynen and Swyngedouw (2003, p. 899) write that, “cities are dense networks of interwoven socio-spatial processes that are simultaneously local and global, human and physical, cultural and organic.” Because of their very nature, the metabolic processes within cities, including those related to food, water, waste, and energy, are considered both physical and social processes (*ibid.*).

Taken together, Food Justice and Urban Political Ecology offer a unique dual framework through which to understand how changes to the urban environment and its metabolic processes relate to socioeconomic impacts and are affected by political process, concepts that are central to understanding food justice in the context of UA (Agyeman and McEntee, 2014; Keil, 2003). In fact, according to Agyeman and McEntee, “urban political ecology, mainly through its emphasis on process and outcome, offers a frame to keep both outcomes (such as food insecurity) and processes (governing entities and regulations) associated with food justice in mind” (Agyeman and

McEntee, 2014:211). This dual framing enables a thorough illumination of the primary concerns of food justice, including the investigation of unjust food access in urban environments and how it relates to broader socioeconomic and political inequalities. UPE's utility for examining food justice in the context of UA is enhanced by its historical-geographical materialist approach and emphasis on the hybridity of the urban and the natural (Agyeman & McEntee, 2014; Classens, 2015; Heynen, 2014; Swyngedouw & Heynen, 2003).

Second wave UPE, such as postcolonial approaches to understanding the impacts of race and white supremacy are also particularly useful for my research. By heeding Lawhon et al.'s call to generate a situated UPE, I start from the 'everyday lived experience' of Kensington's urban farmers, including their experiences of gentrification and community within UA projects. Indeed, the everyday lived experience of gentrification in Kensington along with its effects on UA projects in the neighborhood is a crucial component to my research. I also leverage my research to help fill a gap in the gentrification literature by further explicating gentrification's differential impacts on a community of Puerto Rican urban farmers in contrast to nearby white urban farmers. I am inspired to do this because my fieldwork has uncovered the inescapable reality that gentrification has materially different impacts on UA projects with racially distinct histories and current realities. This observation is underscored by Kirkland's assertion that "there is a need for an explicit examination of the racially differential impact of gentrification and the relationship of the gentrification process to the racial/ethnic characteristics of the gentrifying neighborhood" (Kirkland, 2008:19). This quote provides justification for my research on gentrification's racially unequal impact on urban agriculture in Kensington.

In addition to Kirkland's work on race and gentrification, Melissa Checker's UPE-like investigation into environmental gentrification also became important during my research analysis. According to Checker, "environmental gentrification [is] a mode of "post-political" governance that shuns politics and de-links sustainability from justice... thereby disabl[ing] meaningful resistance [to gentrification]" (Checker, 2011:212). Her depiction of environmental gentrification is rooted in her observations of how successful community-driven environmental justice projects are often leveraged externally to market the "improved" community to outsiders, spurring gentrification. New incoming gentrifiers experience the benefits of the environmental justice project while the original community-members responsible for the project are displaced by rising housing costs triggered by this gentrification (*ibid.*). Although I encountered the phenomenon of environmental gentrification well into my research process, it helped me make sense of the complex relationship between UA and gentrification that I observed in Kensington. I expand on this in section 6.4 of the conclusion chapter, where I discuss environmental gentrification, connect it to my research, and consider its importance for shaping future research on UA and gentrification.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Qualitative Methodology and Research Design

Due to the in-depth, local, and contextual nature of my research, I selected a qualitative approach to enable me to explore the specific nuances of my research topic, subjects, and location (Cope, 2010; Tornaghi, 2014; Winchester, 2000). Qualitative methods first emerged in geography in the 1980s after the discipline's 'critical turn', largely as a response to the limits of the quantitative revolution (Cope, 2010; Davies, Hoggart, & Less, 2002). These methods offer an approach that differs from traditional geography in that they privilege the power of subjective knowing within a constructivist framework that disavows the existence of a single objective reality (Winchester, 2000). This is particularly important when investigating the nuances of complex social, political, and economic realities, especially when differential power dynamics are involved (Dyck, 2015). Qualitative methods are appropriate for my research because they help integrate context and causality through the subjective observation, interpretation, and description of multifaceted urban agriculture projects (Cope, 2010).

I open the methodology chapter with a discussion of researcher reflexivity, grounded in feminist theory and feminist political ecology, in which I consider the importance of maintaining a reflexive self-awareness of my shifting role(s) and relationships during fieldwork using a researcher field diary. Then I describe my overall case study design, my snowball sampling method, and the selection criteria I used to determine which UA projects to include in my case study. I go on to recount my methods in detail, including semi-structured interviews, mobile interviews, and a grey literature analysis of relevant documents associated with UA in Kensington. I conclude this chapter with a thorough description of my data analysis process including transcribing, applying multiple rounds of coding in Atlas.ti, and how I used writing to advance my analysis.

3.2 Researcher Reflexivity and Field Diary

Political ecology continues to evolve through ongoing dialectics with feminist theory (Baksh & Harcourt 2015; Robbins, 2011; Rocheleau, 1995). Feminist theory is a more recent addition to political ecology, not widely incorporated until the mid-1990s, and only considered within UPE in the last few years (Elmhirst, 2011; Heynen, 2017). However, feminist theory contributes to the thinking of many political ecologists who argue for using feminist research methods within political ecology scholarship, including inculcating a self-reflexive awareness of how each researcher's shifting positionalities affect their work (England, 1994; Kohl & McCutcheon, 2015; Rocheleau, 1995). Aside from giving greater weight to considerations of positionality within research, the primary path by which feminist theory has been incorporated into political ecology is as a technique or approach that helps to elucidate and liberate the voices of the marginalized (Rocheleau, 1995). In other words, feminist theory is employed by political ecologists to empower research subjects to articulate their own unique experiences of reality. In this way, feminist political ecology aligns well with my research as it supports my goal to elicit personal stories and reflections from my research subjects related to their experiences of gentrification, UA, and the NPIC (Hovorka, 2006; Sachs & Patel-Campillo, 2014). In this section I focus my discussion on how I used feminist theory to inform my selection of research methods by choosing those that require me to investigate and understand my complex positionality as a researcher while privileging reflexivity and self-reflexivity at all points in my research process (Broom, Hand, & Tovey, 2009; England, 1994; Kohl & McCutcheon, 2015).

Positionality is an important concept within qualitative work in geography, particularly that with a feminist epistemology, which speaks to the need to include a critical awareness of one's own place in the world and in relation to one's research subjects and field sites (Caretta & Jokinen, 2016; Caretta & Riaño, 2016; Chiswell & Wheeler, 2016; England, 1994; Sharp & Dowler, 2011). According to Sharp and Dowler (2011), however "the field" is conceived by the researcher, it is

consistently intersected by power dynamics around knowledge production, representation of research subjects, and the very practice of research itself. By fostering a thorough awareness and appraisal of these power dynamics, the researcher can begin to untangle and analyze them rather than simply accepting or remaining oblivious to them.

Sharp and Dowler (2011) identify three primary ways in which power differentials between the researcher and researched can appear in fieldwork. The first is through social categories of identity including race, class, gender, and age. Next, there is the potential for exploitation and unequal/unfair knowledge exchange due to power dynamics within the research relationship. And finally, after fieldwork is conducted, the researcher retains the power to represent, or misrepresent, the subjects and field sites. These multiple facets of unequal power in research are important to consider at all phases of fieldwork, including design, implementation, analysis, and writing the results.

By returning to a neighborhood I once called home and leveraging connections I made within Philadelphia's UA scene in the past, my positionality was an advantage within the context of my fieldwork because it granted me a partial or limited "insider" status from which to conduct my research (England, 1994; Smith, 2016). My semi-insider positionality was a tool to help make contact with key informants. While I remain aware of important race and gender dynamics within my research, as Porter (2009, p. 219) writes, "coming out as a white woman can also be quite liberating." I interpret this to mean that questioning and identifying my positionality does not have to be a source of shame, but instead can be an important foundation from which to understand myself and to mitigate the otherwise unconscious effects of my role as a researcher.

Throughout all phases of fieldwork, I explored my positionality by maintaining a reflexive field diary to record my thoughts, feelings, and emotions (Caretta & Jokinen, 2016; Smith, 2016). This diary served as the basis of me seeking to uncover and understand the privilege I brought with me to the field so that I can become a better researcher who is more deeply aware of the ethics involved in that role. The diary also provided me with a platform to reflect upon how my positionality has changed over time and how those changes influence my research (Latham, 2008). I will return to discuss this diary and the purpose it served within my research in section 6.3 of the conclusion chapter.

While I do not claim to fully consider my positionality as a researcher within this research, I did borrow the feminist concept of positionality to help attune myself to my shifting role as a researcher and how that affected my findings. This feminist-inspired attention to reflexivity was particularly important to help me understand the influence of my prior connections to the neighborhood and organizations included in my case study. My attempt to incorporate self-reflexivity into my research through the use of a field diary was aimed at understanding the overt and subtle influences of my shifting role(s) as a researcher and how it affected my data collection and analysis. While I did not comprehensively explore positionality – including a thorough analysis of the role of my race, gender, and age in shaping my research design, data collection, and analysis – I used my reflexive field diary to facilitate my awareness of and attention to my complex and shifting researcher positionality and how it intersected with my fieldwork and shaped my findings.

3.3 Case Study Design

This research project is designed as a case study to allow for the in-situ observation of the complex interactions and influences present within UA projects and spaces. A case study design for the research project is an appropriate choice because case studies allow for a deeper understanding of rich and complex social phenomenon (Mabry, 2008) Case studies are especially useful to examine the complex implications of UA projects within the context of the specific community in which they are implemented (Kremer & DeLiberty, 2011; Reynolds, 2015; Tornaghi, 2014; Travaline & Hunold, 2010). By employing the case study approach in the specific location of Philadelphia's Kensington neighborhood, I can probe more deeply into the complex social,

ecological, and economic effects of UA projects on the populations in close contact with these projects (Meenar & Hoover, 2012). The case study focuses on urban farm leaders and participants, nonprofit staff, and activists who work on UA projects within Philadelphia's Kensington Neighborhood.

3.4 Sampling Strategy and UA Site Selection Criteria

I used a purposive snowball sampling approach in my research, first selecting key informants for initial interviews, and then using their knowledge and feedback to generate additional informants (Curtis et al., 2000; Noy, 2008; Teddlie & Yu, 2007). The purposive snowball sampling method is a progressive process that remains flexible and adaptive, which is an advantage for fieldwork (Noy, 2008). To help guide my sample selection, I utilized Miles and Huberman's framework for determining case study samples (Curtis et al., 2000; Miles & Huberman, 1994). I applied Miles and Huberman's framework by using a checklist of criteria to help constrain sample selection. One of the primary reasons for my case study choice is my prior experience within the Kensington neighborhood generally, and particularly within the urban farming population there. This fact speaks to Miles and Huberman's sixth criteria (Curtis et al, 2000), which is the feasibility of the case study selection. Because I lived in this neighborhood and engaged with its urban farming projects for five years, I had the advantage of a pre-existing rapport with some UA leaders. My former connections to Kensington and its UA projects provided me with enhanced access to key individuals and spaces within the neighborhood and improved the feasibility of the research.

Within my research, I first identified five specific UA projects based on the checklist below, that were selected to represent a diverse array of UA project funding structures including for-profit, grassroots, and nonprofit (Rapley, 2013). The leaders of these five UA projects served as my initial key informants because of their knowledge of farm funding structures, their long-term perspective on the farms and their neighborhood, and their ability to connect me with other farm participants. Additional informants - including UA project participants, employees of nonprofits associated with UA projects, and local food justice activists – were identified based on my initial interactions with UA project leaders in keeping with the snowball sampling method (Noy, 2008; Rapley, 2013; Teddlie & Yu, 2007). The five UA projects were selected based on the following criteria checklist:

1. UA project site that is actively producing and distributing food crops
2. The project must have existed for 5 or more growing seasons (projects currently in their 5th growing season in 2017 will be included)¹
3. Project sites must be located within the Kensington neighborhood, which I define as extending from the Delaware River on the East to 5th St on the West, and from Girard Ave in the South to Lehigh Ave in the North (see Figure 1, below)
4. The majority of the project's growing space must be communally managed, not in individual growing plots. This is to distinguish between urban farming (communal plots) and community gardening (individual plots) projects.

¹ Philadelphia's Land Bank Bill (#130156), introduced by Councilwoman Maria Quiñones Sánchez and passed by the city council in December of 2013, created a publicly accessible online land bank that prioritizes securing vacant land for affordable housing, economic development, community gardens and UA sites. The Philly Land Bank also provides Community Garden Agreements guaranteeing gardeners' access to a lot for five years. Although the UA projects included in my research pre-date the bill, I selected five growing seasons as the minimum to investigate how UA projects can sustain themselves beyond the guaranteed five years of protection from the Philly Land Bank.

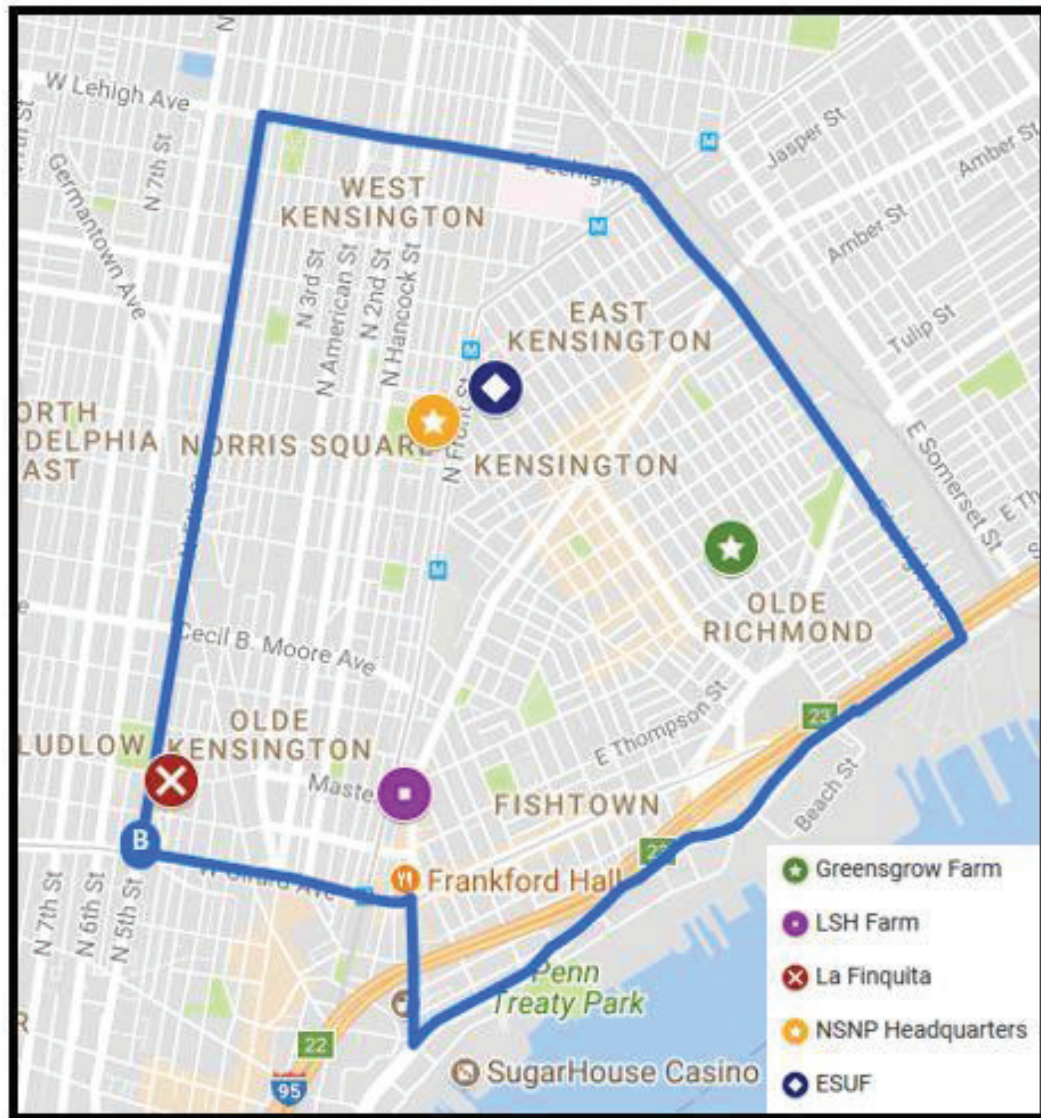


Figure 1: Map of Kensington neighborhood, as defined within the blue boundary, that displays the locations of the five UA projects in the case study. Map created using Google Maps.

Based on the criteria listed above, I selected five UA sites in Kensington including Emerald Street Urban Farm, or ESUF (grassroots); Greensgrow Farm (for-profit), La Finquita (grassroots), Lutheran Settlement House (LSH) Farm (nonprofit-led), and the Norris Square Neighborhood Project, or NSNP (a blend of grassroots and nonprofit-led). To understand the locations of these urban farms in relation to each other, please see Figure 1 on page 31. I will discuss these sites and their histories in more detail in chapter 4, the case study chapter.

3.5 Methods ²

The primary method employed in this research project is in-depth, semi-structured interviews conducted with UA leaders and activists, UA project volunteers and participants, and associated nonprofit employees. Interviews are my principal research method because they are in

² This project design has been approved by the West Virginia University IRB under protocol number 1705594544.

keeping with both qualitative methodology and a political ecology framework that encourages a deep understanding of the specifics of a place (Baxter & Eyles, 1997, 1999; Classens, 2015; Travaline & Hunold, 2010). In addition, feminist political ecology asserts the importance of situating the deep knowledge of a specific place within its broad political and ecological context (Rocheleau, 2008; Robbins, 2011). To do so, interviews are complemented by an analysis of grey literature sources including, but not limited to UA related Requests for Proposals; foundation, state, and nonprofit reports; UA project press releases; and articles written in newspapers and online publications about UA projects in Philadelphia (Allen, 2008; Hopewell et al., 2005). This grey literature analysis is targeted at exploring the broader neighborhood, political, and nonprofit funding contexts in which UA projects exist. Additionally, by analyzing a selection of grant proposals from my UA project sites, I have gained insight into the way in which projects are pitched to funders and what kinds of UA, food justice, and alternative food movement projects are typically funded.

3.6 Interviews

I conducted 17 semi-structured interviews, starting with project leaders of the five UA sites and gaining additional respondents using a snowball sampling strategy. Interviews with nonprofit staff and urban farming leaders were conducted either in the offices of the organization, at the UA project site itself, or over the phone. Semi-structured interviews with UA volunteers, participants, and neighbors were conducted at the UA sites or over the phone. Interview locations were selected for mutual convenience with the goal of providing additional insight into the project space and ensuring both that the respondent felt comfortable and that my safety as the researcher was not compromised (Chiswell & Wheeler, 2016). All interview respondents were adults over the age of eighteen who are actively involved in either a leadership or volunteer capacity within UA projects or their associated nonprofit organizations.

To improve the rigor and validity of my interviews (Baxter & Eyles, 1997), I employed communicative validation techniques within the interviews to confirm that my interpretation of the respondent's answers was in keeping with their intended meanings (Stracke, 2009). Specifically, I asked respondents for further clarification on their statements as needed and I consistently restated my respondents' answers back to them, asking them to confirm that I had accurately grasped their intended meaning. The process of communicative validation is intended to enhance the rigor of qualitative interview data by providing a platform for clarification and knowledge sharing to occur within the immediate context of the interview itself (Baxter & Eyles, 1997; Stracke, 2009). When time allowed for a second meeting or follow up phone call with a respondent, member checking was used as an additional tool to further enhance the rigor of the interview data (Baxter & Eyles, 1997; Cho & Trent, 2006). Member checking allows for respondents to review the researcher's interpretation of their interview data to confirm whether the researcher has accurately interpreted the respondent's meaning after the interview has occurred.

When logistically possible, additional informal mobile interviews were conducted with urban farming project leaders and nonprofit staff while moving in and around the UA project sites (Finlay & Bowman, 2016). By the end of the fieldwork, I had conducted mobile interviews at three of the sites: Lutheran Settlement House, Norris Square Neighborhood Project, and Greensgrow Farms. The goal of mobile interviews is to evoke additional place-specific recollections and experiences from the respondent by moving through their community and the spaces in which they practice UA (Carpiano, 2009). Mobile interviews do not follow an explicit interview guide, but are instead respondent-led allowing interviewees to control the speed and direction of movement as well as the content of the informal interview itself (Evans & Jones, 2011; Finlay & Bowman, 2016).

Standardized interview guides, used in all semi-structured interviews, were created and refined before reaching the field (see Appendix A). These interview guides were designed to direct and advance the progress of the semi-structured interviews, while leaving room for additional information to be voiced as desired by the respondents. The interview guide included specific questions for UA project participants, UA leaders and organizers, and for nonprofit leadership and

staff. Not all questions were asked of each interviewee, with the exact list of questions depending on their particular role within their UA project and what information they were aware of. A standard audio recording device was used in the field to ensure the reliability of the researcher's field and interview notes. Respondents were fully informed about the recording device and given the opportunity to opt out if they felt uncomfortable being recorded. In addition to the recording devices, copious notes were taken by hand during the interviews. These interview notes were supplemented by the field diary, referenced above, where I also captured my impressions about the interviews, the UA field sites, and the surrounding neighborhood.

3.7 Data Analysis

My approach to data analysis included transcribing my interviews and then developing and applying multiple rounds of coding to the transcribed interview data. I transcribed my interviews using an online transcription application (transcribe.wreally.com/app), beginning with my five key informant interviews and then continuing with the remaining 12 interviews. To capture additional nuance within my verbal data I included notations within my transcriptions to indicate if the respondent used an unexpected tone or if there were any intriguing pauses or laughter during the interview (Kowal & O'Connell, 2013). I conducted preliminary data analysis during the transcription process by noting specific passages that explicitly addressed the UA project's funding structure or the effects of gentrification on the project. This pre-coding analysis work helped me to manage my data and get a sense for what salient points were beginning to emerge.

After I transcribed my interviews, I coded and annotated the transcripts using Atlas.ti, a qualitative analysis software tool. Coding interview data is useful to facilitate the emergence of patterns and trends in the data and to readily make comparisons between different project sites (Flick, 2013; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Weston et al., 2001). I selected Atlas.ti as my qualitative data analysis software tool based both on its utility for interview analysis and coding and because of my advisor's affinity for the software (Friese, 2014). Friese (2011, p. 2) cautions researchers that "Atlas.ti – like any other Computer-aided Qualitative Data Analysis Software – does not actually analyze data; it is simply a tool for supporting the process of qualitative data analysis." It is important to explicitly acknowledge that I was ultimately responsible for the conceptualization, justification, and execution of my coding process, rather than adopting a theoretically determined coding schema or relying on a software program to "do it for me." Keeping this in mind, I wrote analytic memos throughout the transcription and coding process to record any thoughts and impressions that emerged and to reflexively examine how they shaped my iterative coding process (Flick, 2013; Saldaña, 2015). I did not code my reflexive field diary, nor the materials from my grey literature analysis, largely due to a lack of time in the analysis process. Future research could include returning to these data sources to code them for a deeper analysis of their content. However, I did incorporate relevant information from my field diary and the grey literature into my analytic memos to help build connections between my role as a researcher, the UA projects, and the broader funding and neighborhood gentrification context in which they exist (Saldaña, 2015).

In my first round of coding I applied provisional codes that I developed by drawing on both my former experiences with UA projects and my theoretical grounding in political ecology and food justice work (see Appendix B). According to Saldaña, "provisional coding begins with a 'start list' of researcher-generated codes based on what preparatory investigation suggest might appear in the data before they are analyzed" (Saldaña, 2015:165). My prior experience within Kensington's UA and non-profit communities was vital to inform the construction of my provisional codes because I could draw on it to generate a list of relevant key words, phrases, and concepts that I expected to emerge in the data.

Building on my desire to elucidate the voices of the marginalized, I expanded my provisional code list using an In Vivo approach to generate additional codes using the respondents' own voices. In Vivo coding uses direct quotes in the respondents' voice to create codes that are representative of common themes while retaining the essence of the specific language and

expressions used by the respondent. According to Saldaña, “In Vivo coding is appropriate... particularly for beginning qualitative researchers learning how to code data, and studies that prioritize and honor the participant’s voice” (Saldaña, 2015:105). My new In Vivo codes were used to capture and include any new concepts that emerged in my first round of “pre-coding” analysis discussed above. While developing and applying the new provisional coding list with its additional In Vivo codes, I continued to write regular analytic memos to capture and make sense of my perceptions of the codes’ meaning(s) and how they fit more broadly into my research.

By adapting and applying the edited list of provisional codes to all of my transcripts, I was engaging in a form of structural coding that served as a data sorting/management technique. According to Saldaña, structural coding is particularly appropriate for qualitative studies with multiple participants, semi-structured data collection, and for interview transcripts. My first round of structural coding using the edited provisional coding schema with its new In Vivo codes (see Appendix C), provided a categorization technique that helped me take stock of my data and prepared me for more comprehensive subsequent round of coding. Saldaña (2015:109) writes that this process is useful as in intermediary coding step because it can provide additional “imagery, symbols, and metaphors for rich category, theme, and concept development” that retains the voices of my participants while setting the groundwork for additional coding.

I selected the pattern coding approach for my second cycle coding. Like many second cycle coding techniques, pattern coding groups first cycle codes under “meta code” categories that are deliberately constructed to depict the key themes in the data. My goal in using pattern coding was to help make sense of the large number of first cycle codes and reduce them into their major themes, allowing for richer cross-case analysis of my five UA projects by clarifying their major commonalities and differences. According to Saldaña, the researcher can “use the pattern code as a stimulus to develop a statement that describes a major theme, pattern of action, a network of interrelationships, or a theoretical construct from the data” (Saldaña, 2015:238). I used the pattern coding process to generate three “meta codes,” each of which contain two or three sub-categories that serve to further explicate their nuances (see Appendix D). After my second cycle of analysis, these “meta codes” and their sub-categories were translated into the headings and sub-headings for my discussion section and helped guide my writing of that section.

Ultimately, by constructing pattern codes to represent the most salient points of connection and contrast within my data, I clarified my thinking and prepared myself to write my thesis. Combining all three coding methods – provisional, adapted provisional with In Vivo, and pattern – allowed me to make sense of my data, to compare the five UA projects, and to construct relevant arguments about the broader implications of my research for UA projects generally. After the coding process was complete, I returned to the analytic memos and notes that I collected in Atlas.ti throughout the coding process. These sources served as the starting point for writing the UA project histories and the discussion and conclusion sections. Throughout my analysis, I concentrated on writing as “a way of making the world visible” and the writing process as “simultaneously a method of discovery, a method of interpretation, and a method of analysis” (Denzin, 2013:569).

CHAPTER 4: CASE STUDY

4.1 Defining the Kensington Neighborhood

Not only are neighborhood boundaries somewhat fuzzy in this part of Philadelphia, but the choice of neighborhood moniker can have political overtones. To some “Fishtown” indicates hipsters and gentrification while “Kensington” means poverty and heroin. For many the dividing lines are racially motivated, historically white parts are termed Fishtown while areas with large minority populations are called Kensington. For simplicity’s sake I will use “Kensington” to represent this contested neighborhood, which I define as extending from the Delaware River on the East to 5th St on the West, and from Girard Ave on the South to Lehigh Ave on the North (see Figure 1 on page 31 for a Kensington map).

Kensington is one of the oldest parts of Philadelphia with a rich history that pre-dates the incorporation of the city itself. Located in Lower Northeast Philadelphia, bordering the Delaware river, Kensington’s role as Philadelphia’s industrial powerhouse peaked between 1880 and 1900 (Milano, 2008). By the second half of the 20th century most of these industries had died out or relocated, and job opportunities in the neighborhood rapidly diminished. As the jobs left, the people did too (*ibid.*). The neighborhood’s population was further decimated by Philadelphia’s crack epidemic of the 1980s and 90s (Lubrano, 2018). During and after the drug crisis, the houses that were vacated in Kensington often remained empty. Many of these homes were condemned and torn down, and with their loss, the number of vacant lots in Kensington began to rise. This historically high concentration of vacant land in Kensington provided a rich physical basis for the many urban agriculture projects located there.

While economic deterioration and population loss throughout North Philadelphia heavily impacted Kensington in the past, the modern-day neighborhood faces two seemingly-opposed challenges, entrenched poverty and rapid gentrification. According to 2000 Census data for Kensington, 46.6% of residents do not have high school degrees and 78.6% of families fall below 150% of the federal poverty level. The neighborhood is in Pennsylvania’s 1st Congressional District, which in 2010 was one of the poorest in the United States with an overall poverty rate of 28.9%, double the national rate of 14.3% (Census, 2010). Hunger is a deeply rooted issue for individuals in this area. In 2010, the 1st Congressional District was the fourth hungriest in the United States, with 49.6% of families suffering from food insecurity, as defined by the USDA (Food Research and Action Center, 2010).

Against this backdrop of poverty, Kensington has recently entered an era of rapidly intensifying gentrification in the neighborhood. Developers turned their focus to Kensington as the effects of the Great Recession faded in 2011 and 2012. Over the past five years Kensington’s derelict rowhomes and vacant land parcels have been transformed into condos at a rapid clip (Marin, 2016). Commercial development along the neighborhood’s major corridors has rapidly expanded as well. As more and more land parcels are developed, the pressure to develop vacant land in the neighborhood, including parcels with UA projects, has soared (*ibid.*). The twin influences of poverty and gentrification make Kensington a uniquely compelling neighborhood in which to study UA project dynamics.

4.2: Lutheran Settlement House Farm History

In 1902, the Lutheran Social Mission Society of Philadelphia, inspired by Jane Addams’ Settlement House Movement, founded the Lutheran Settlement House (LSH) in Kensington. Remaining in the same building on the corner of Frankford Ave and Master St in Kensington for over 115 years (see Figure 1 on page 31), LSH became a “home away from home” for thousands of immigrants. The nonprofit organization assists individuals and families through the provision of

food and shelter, education, employment counseling and training, and social activities for adults and children. Despite Kensington's rapidly changing needs over the last century, LSH's core mission has remained "to empower individuals, families, and communities to achieve and maintain self-sufficiency through social, educational, and advocacy services" (www.lutheransettlement.org). Today, LSH serves Philadelphia through four main programming areas: Domestic Violence, Homeless Shelters, Community Education, and its Senior Center. LSH also provides emergency food services through its Community Food Cupboard, and in 2012 secured additional funds to design, launch, and evaluate a new anti-hunger initiative, called Hungry 2 Healthy. According to the LSH website, "Hungry 2 Healthy tackles hunger and food insecurity through free distribution of healthy food, nutrition education, and afterschool programming, intergenerational urban farming and advocating for better food policy."



Figure 2: Lutheran Settlement House's building in Kensington in 1902 on the left (photo retrieved from: <https://www.lutheransettlement.org/history/>) and LSH's same building in 2017 on the right (photo credit: Arianna Hall-Reinhard).

LSH is first and foremost a social service nonprofit, and it has not traditionally engaged in urban agriculture. However, in 1999, in a deal brokered by the local New Kensington Community Development Corporation, LSH purchased a nearby vacant lot from the city for a dollar. This lot is directly adjacent to LSH's main site in Kensington, located along the neighborhood's busiest commercial corridor, Frankford Ave. This portion of the neighborhood is often referred to as "Fishtown" and is a historically white part of the city. Originally, the lot was occupied by row homes, then a paper mill, and eventually an autobody shop, all of which were long gone when LSH acquired it. In 1999, LSH employees, neighborhood volunteers, and employees from New Kensington Community Development Corporation cleared out trash, planted trees, mowed the grass, and installed benches, tables, and trash cans, transforming the space into a de-facto park (see Figure 3 below). At first, LSH's only responsibility was to "clean and green" the space and to ward off vandals and illegal dumping. Over time, however, several neighbors along with clients from LSH's Senior Center added raised beds to the site and began to grow food there. These small-scale food production activities were sanctioned by LSH but took place without direct funding or programmatic support. Together, neighbors and seniors had transformed the neglected space into a modest community-managed garden and public park, which reduced the burden on LSH to care for the lot.

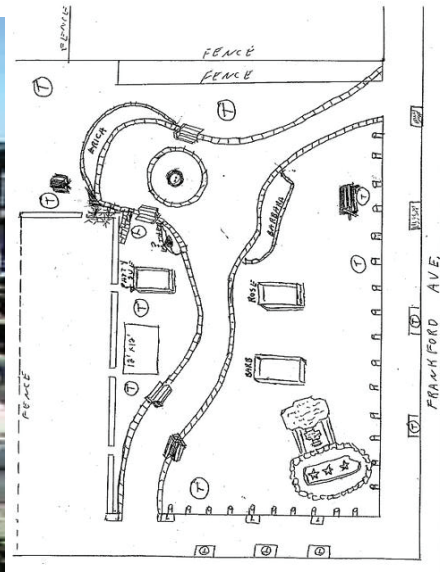


Figure 3: On the left is a photo of the 1999 efforts by LSH and NKCDC staff to transform LSH's adjacent vacant lot into a green space. An early park design, including community member's planting beds, is pictured in the diagram to the right. Images from LSH's official agency documents, used here with permission.

I joined the LSH staff in 2011 and shortly thereafter collaborated with friends and neighbors to establish The Friends of the Settlement House Garden (FSHG) to care for the green space. Although I participated in the FSHG as a volunteer, my role was really two-fold: both a volunteer gardener and an LSH staff-person. Because I was a member of LSH's development staff, I served as the liaison between the community gardeners and the non-profit's administrators. FSHG members and I maintained individual plots used to grow vegetables, as well as caring for the public green space, which functioned like a pocket park for the neighborhood. Although many of the core members had been gardening there for years before I joined them, they had no need for a formal organization until we decided to apply for funding in 2012. As LSH's grant-writer, I was nominated to spearhead the funding application process, although I did so without pay in my capacity as an FSHG volunteer. The application proved successful and in 2012, we were awarded a Pennsylvania Horticultural Society "Green Machine" grant to re-design the space and improve its infrastructure. Our goal was to increase the available food production space without losing its functionality as a public park. Through a series of volunteer community workdays over the 2012 growing season, we transformed the space – adding new raised beds, a new path, re-painting benches, and building an herb spiral planter – while re-invigorating community involvement in it (see Figure 4 below). Despite the FSHG's successes, our tenure in the garden was brief.



Figure 4: FSHG members helping to build a new path through the space during a community workday in July 2012. Note the PHS Green Machine truck in the background of the second picture. (photo credit: Arianna Hall-Reinhard)

In 2010 Pennsylvania's First Congressional District, which includes Kensington, was declared the fourth hungriest in the nation where 49.6% of families faced persistent food insecurity (Food Research and Action Center, 2010). In response to this, many local foundations began aggressively seeking opportunities to fund anti-hunger initiatives in the area. Ms. Evans, LSH's executive director from 2011-2016, while impressed by the fundraising and re-design efforts of the FSHG, took note of the sudden explosion of funding opportunities for urban farms in the city. Ms. Evans was originally an LSH board member who took on the job of interim executive director in 2011 after LSH suffered a major loss of programmatic funding. Her primary focus was on generating additional funding for the organization and she saw the urban farm as a potential avenue to do so. In our interview Ms. Evans said she "found it easy to sell the farm" to funders by leveraging LSH's Hungry2Healthy program and food cupboard, and transforming the Settlement

House Community Garden into the food production-focused LSH Farm. As a result, LSH raised significant funding earmarked for urban farming, the first of which was a \$50,000 grant from the Walmart Foundation in early 2013.

With this rash of new funding to build an urban farm, and in the wake of the unrelated but abrupt departure of two FSHG leaders, the space was effectively re-claimed by LSH and the FSHG dissolved. The former community gardeners lost access to their growing space and the thousands of dollars of investment they had helped funnel into it through the Green Machine Grant. My own role in this transition was complicated. Although I identified strongly with the FSHG and our goals, I was paid by LSH to write grants. Because of this dual positionality, I was partially responsible for securing the funding that was used to remove me, along with the other volunteer gardeners, from the space. While I mourned the loss of our garden, I was simultaneously complicit in generating funding to support the LSH administration's vision for the space, which put me in a precarious place in relation to my fellow gardeners. As part of the construction of LSH's new food production-centric urban farm, LSH cut trees down, removed individual garden beds, and added a large fence leaving only a fraction of the site open to the public (see Figure 5 & 6 below). What had once been a publicly accessible park space with a few vegetable planting beds was now mostly cordoned off in the service of LSH programming.

Still in the midst of a pro-urban farming grant cycle, LSH continued to receive corporate and private foundation funding for the space. By the 2013 growing season, LSH had enough funding to hire Mr. Moore, a full-time urban farmer, who remains the only paid employee in the farm. Over the next few years, led by Mr. Moore, LSH continued to expand the food production space in the farm, eschewing raised beds for 60-foot-long in-ground planting beds. In 2015 the farm produced over 800 pounds of produce that was distributed to those in need through LSH's food pantry, and used in daily meals in LSH's Senior Center and their Homeless Shelter. However, despite these successes, LSH has been unable to create any lasting agreements with other organizations to share the burden of managing and farming the space. Since 2013, LSH has attempted various partnerships including one with Teens4Good, an after-school urban farming program, which had dissolved by 2016. This lack of solid partnerships combined with the limitations of a single paid employee, has resulted in a series of fits and starts for the LSH Farm.



Figure 5: 2017 aerial view of the LSH building (to the left of Master St.) and the LSH Farm (to the right of Master St.). Note the large fence, marked in red, that divides the farm into private growing space (above) and the much smaller public park space (below). Image created using Google Maps.

By 2016, two major changes occurred that affected the LSH Farm. First, Ms. Evans stepped down as LSH's executive director and Ms. Jones was hired to replace her. Ms. Jones was previously the executive director of a different domestic violence agency in the city and is firmly rooted in the social service realm with little-to-no interest in urban farming. Under her watch, the future of the LSH Farm has become less certain. Second, the non-profit funding climate in the city shifted substantially in the eight years since Kensington's congressional district was declared the fourth hungriest in America. Funding for urban farms is now harder to secure than it was in 2012 and 2013. As the abundance of funding for urban farming fades, and LSH's new leadership renews the agency's focus on social service provision, it is becoming increasingly challenging to make the case that urban farming fits within LSH's core mission.

Critiques of the lack of congruence between LSH's urban farm and the agency's mission are not new. Ever since LSH took over the farm space in 2013, staff in other departments have been reticent to accept it and, in some cases, have been overtly hostile to its existence. According to Ms. Evans, this is because the LSH Farm is seen as superfluous to LSH's core social service mission. Staff communicated to her that they didn't see the point of the farm, which Ms. Evans summarized as, "we're trying to save lives here, we're not trying to get people to eat a cucumber." According to Ms. Green, a member of LSH's development staff, "there wasn't a lot of interpretation about whatever the current vision of the garden is to the staff... and there was this split of [LSH staff] who found it irritating, like 'what the hell is that?' and 'why are we doing that?'" Some staff claim the LSH farm represents "mission drift" in that it detracts resources, staff time, and funding away from other programs that are more in line with LSH's mission statement. With a shrinking funding pool for urban farming projects, the fact that the farm is not core to LSH's mission makes it even harder to raise funds for it. Ms. Green discussed this phenomena in our interview, saying "as fundraisers, that has been really challenging, because when you're trying to look for funds when it's not core to your mission... it's been very hard to fund-raise for the farm."

Complicating this situation, LSH is also located in the one of the most rapidly gentrifying portions of the Kensington neighborhood, causing land values to skyrocket (see Figure 6 below). Because LSH owns the urban farm's land, a very rare situation for urban farms in the city, it is not at risk of unexpected eviction like most UA projects in Philadelphia. However, Ms. Jones is aware of the rising value of the land and regularly fields offers from developers who want to buy the space to build condos or commercial developments. It is quite possible that she may choose to sell the urban farm land, thus providing a long-term endowment for the agency. According to Ms. Green, "I think what the board and the director are looking at... is this is valuable property in the middle of a gentrified neighborhood. Is this the best use of it? Or, as one of the board members said, this is the most expensive vegetable garden in this whole area." For both Ms. Jones and the board, it's progressively harder to make the case that the community is best served by an urban farm. Especially in a swiftly gentrifying neighborhood like Kensington, where most neighbors can easily afford to buy produce at the grocery store. In the words of Ms. Green, the LSH farm "used to be this...sustenance thing and now it's like this 'privileged garden'," for the wealthy new residents who have the time to volunteer at the farm and no need for food assistance. In the context of a rapidly changing neighborhood, an uncertain nonprofit funding-scape, and with new leadership, the LSH Farm's future is deeply uncertain.



Figure 6: 2017 photo of the LSH Farm's new fence taken from the public park side, private planting space is on the far side of the fence. Note the new residential developments being constructed immediately next to the farm and beyond those, the new commercial developments on Frankford Ave. (photo credit: Arianna Hall-Reinhard).

4.3: Greensgrow Farm History

Greensgrow Farm is a hybrid for-profit/nonprofit urban farm that sits on a three-quarter-acre lot in an historically white part of the Kensington neighborhood (see Figure 1 on page 31 for a map). This lot was the home of Boyle's Galvanized Steel Plant for many decades until it was demolished in 1988. After the plant's destruction, the land where it once stood was considered a toxic "brownfield", heavily contaminated with lead and zinc. Although the site was subsequently cleaned and capped by the EPA (see Figure 7 below), it represented yet more vacant land in the midst of Kensington's overabundance of empty lots. But in 1997, business partners Mary Seton Corboy and Tom Sereduk defied prevailing logic to select this very brownfield as the site for their new venture, Greensgrow Farms.



Figure 7: EPA cleaning and capping the brownfield that would become Greensgrow Farm in 1997. (photos retrieved from: <http://www.greengrow.org/photo-gallery/before-greengrow/>)

Mary and Tom secured a lease to the land through the New Kensington Community Development Corporation (NKCDC), a nearby non-profit that was granted ownership of the parcel after Boyle's was demolished. NKCDC is a community development nonprofit that works to enhance the Kensington neighborhood through vacant land management, economic development, and a variety of community-building events and activities. To this day, NKCDC still owns Greensgrow's land and continues to lease it to the farm at well-below market value. In the early days, NKCDC's subsidization of land costs for the fledgling farm was a major component in their ability to survive as a non-traditional urban farming startup.

Mary's and Tom's initial plan for the land was to build a for-profit hydroponic farm, avoiding the toxicity of the soil while growing high-end produce that could be sold to the local restaurant community in which they had many contacts. According to Mary, "we hope[d] to develop a blueprint of technologies, crops, systems, designs, and schedules for building small, for-profit farms that use vacant land and create jobs in decimated neighborhoods" (Seton-Corboy, 1999). The hydroponic farm started out small, but by its second growing season they had enough work to hire three single moms from the surrounding neighborhood to work full time seeding and harvesting lettuce (see Figure 8 below). Still, money woes were common leading to Tom's departure from the venture in its second year. By 1999, facing mounting financial pressures, Mary incorporated Greensgrow as a nonprofit. According to Mr. Ward, Greensgrow's current executive director, Mary was likely convinced to incorporate as a nonprofit in order to access additional funding and resources to help keep the farm afloat.



Figure 8: Greensgrow Farm's early days as a for-profit hydroponic lettuce farm, 1997-1999. (photos retrieved from: <http://www.greengrow.org/photo-gallery/early-days/>)

Although much has changed about the farm in its 20 years of operations, its initial history laid the groundwork for Greensgrow's unique profit structure that persists today. While Greensgrow continues to be incorporated as a 501c3 non-profit organization, it derives 85% of its operating budget from direct sales and only relies on foundation and corporate funding for the additional 15%. This financial system allows the farm to rely less heavily on grant writing to meet its needs meaning that it can operate somewhat outside of the realm of funding cycles and unpredictable foundation priorities. In our interview, Mr. Ward celebrated the flexibility of this hybrid for-profit/non-profit system, stating that "the operating costs are covered by the for-profit activities, the retail sales. And then, you know, we use grants to innovate and grow new programs. That's... our idea lab, our way to keep pushing the boundaries and stay relevant not only to our customers, but again to our community."

While Greensgrow's funding structure has remained the same over the last 20 years, its products and services have changed vastly. While the farm still has some minimal hydroponic growing space, it has evolved into a year-round venture including: a summer and winter CSA program that sources produce from farms within a 150-mile radius of the city, a daily farm stand for non-CSA sales, a neighborhood garden center and nursery, a small food business incubator in a nearby church kitchen, and a community space for workshops, meetings, and weddings (see Figure 9 below). Greensgrow has copious chickens on site for the neighborhood kids to interact with, a beekeeping operation with multiple hives, and a resident pig named Milkshake (see Figure 9 below). The farm offers a low-income CSA share that can be purchased using SNAP and hosts many workshops from seed starting to medicinal herbs to beekeeping. Their staff has grown from the two initial founders to 40 employees, 19 of whom are full-time and year-round. Greensgrow does accept volunteer labor, but according to Mr. Ward, "we made a decision a long time ago that we weren't going to depend on volunteer labor. If there's a job to be done, we were going to pay someone to do it."

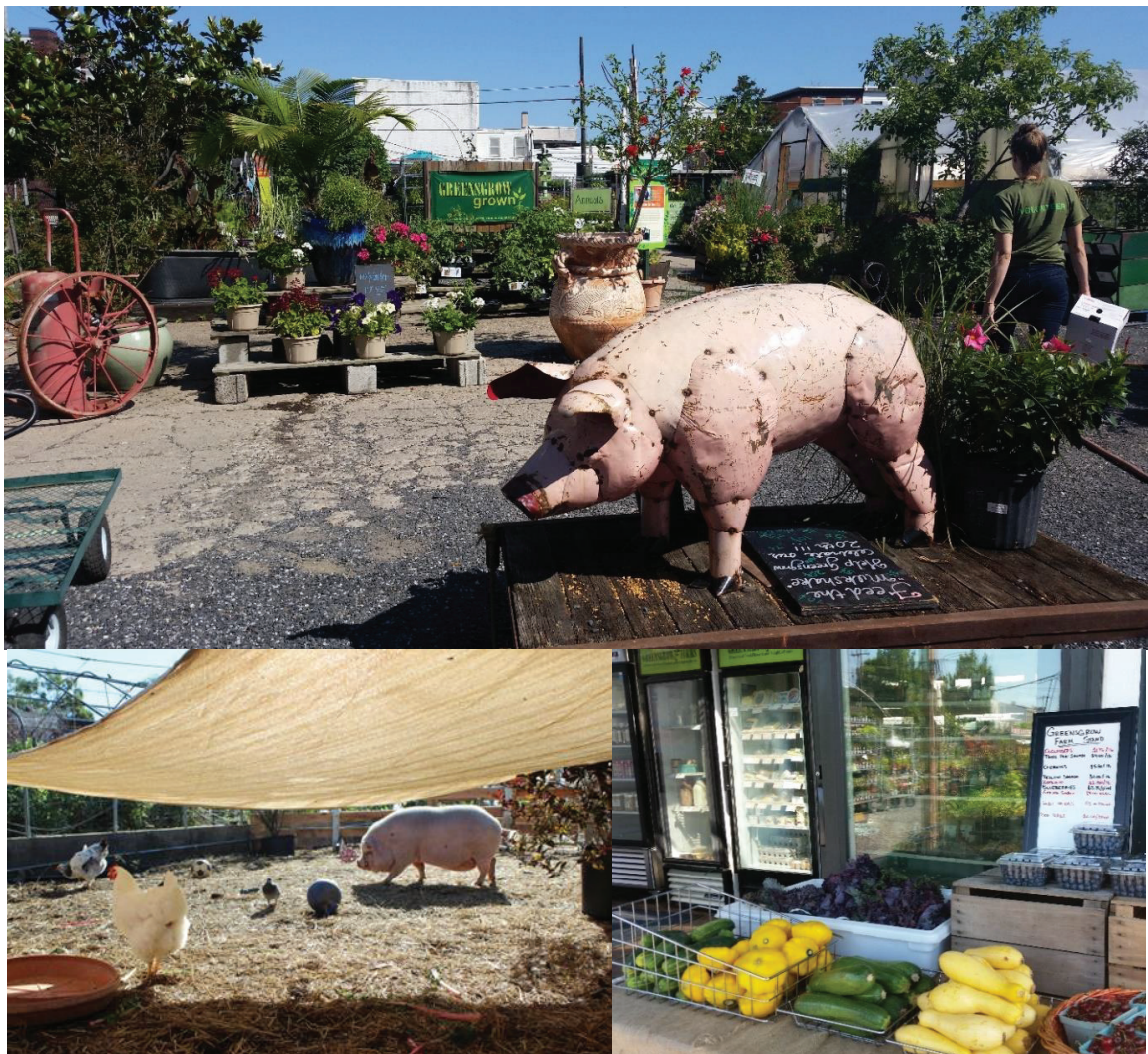


Figure 9: Top photo: Greensgrow Farms in 2017 with plants for sale, high tunnels, and Milkshake the pig sculpture. Bottom left: the real Milkshake the pig with chicken friends. Bottom right: Greensgrow's daily farm stand, note refrigerated cases. (photo credit: Arianna Hall-Reinhard)

Beyond its local impact in the Kensington neighborhood through revitalizing vacant land and hiring neighbors, Greensgrow has received many accolades and awards outside of the neighborhood too. According to their website, their current mission statement is, “Greensgrow engages our neighborhoods in cultivating social entrepreneurship, urban agriculture, and community greening.” They see themselves as an urban agriculture innovator and, because of their longevity, they’ve received widespread acclaim for their work, including articles in *The New York Times*, *Smithsonian Magazine*, and *The Philadelphia Inquirer*. In fact, just before she passed away in 2016, Mary was honored by *Food Tank* who recognized her as one of only 17 Farmer Heroes in the nation for her work with Greensgrow (“Mary Seton Corboy, 1957-2016”, 2016). Over its rich 20-year history, Greensgrow has become into a pillar of the Kensington community even while it has continued evolving.

4.4: Norris Square Neighborhood Project’s Urban Farming History

Norris Square Neighborhood Project (NSNP) is a nonprofit organization in Kensington that provides programming in art, urban farming, and social justice to high school students and community members. Unlike LSH or Greensgrow, NSNP is located in a neighborhood that is historically and currently predominantly Puerto Rican. The vast majority of NSNP’s participants are Puerto Rican, and one of the central goals of the organization is to connect youth and community members to their LatinX heritage. This is apparent both in how NSNP’s multiple urban farm sites depict Puerto Rican and African Diaspora culture, as well as in the founding history of the organization itself.

Norris Square is a large public park, the size of a square city block, that sits just east of the Market-Frankford elevated train and just south of Lehigh Ave. In the 1970s this area of the city was known for its illegal drug sales, many of which took place within Norris Square and the vacant lots surrounding it. According to Mx. Reyes, NSNP’s gender neutral garden coordinator, “a lot of white people from the suburbs heard ... that they could get the best drugs down here. And so a lot of white suburban people started migrating here and... a lot of our members in our community here were getting arrested.” While some members of the local Puerto Rican community were undoubtedly involved in the drug trade, the vast majority were not. It angered many of the area’s moms, grandmas, and caregivers that their children didn’t have anywhere safe to be outside in the neighborhood. It frustrated them that the many vacant lots in the area were hotspots for crime, neglected spaces rife with needles and other trash.

In response to the rampant drug trade and its effects, a number of Puerto Rican women from the neighborhood, led by Iris Brown and Tomasita Romero, organized themselves to form Grupo Motivos, or the “motivated group.” Together these women began to clean up empty lots in the area and to do what they could to counter the negative effects of the drug trade around their homes (see Figure 10 below). According to Ms. Wilson, NSNP’s Development and Marketing Manager, “they were dealing with an immense drug trade that was going on in the area and those vacant lots were open air drug markets.” Ms. Wilson added that in a video made by Grupo Motivos from that era, an older abuelita from the neighborhood spoke about the women’s efforts beyond cleaning lots, she said “we would go to the corners and we would say, no drugs here tonight!” Over time, Grupo Motivos developed into a vital network of support for Norris Square’s neighbors, a coalition of women who forged a community to improve their neighborhood, share stories, do traditional crafts, and celebrate their Puerto Rican culture together.



Figure 10: Left: Grupo Motivos co-founders Iris Brown and Tomasita Romero pictured at a NSNP orchard planting in 2007 (photo retrieved from: <https://www.phillyorchards.org/tag/paul-glover/>). Right: Early NSNP youth participants from the 1980s (photo retrieved from: <http://myneighborhoodproject.org/>)

In 1973 Grupo Motivos joined forces with Natalie Kempner, a local elementary school teacher, and Helen Loeb, a professor from Eastern University, to form Norris Square Neighborhood Project. NSNP was incorporated as a non-profit in 1978, formalizing their efforts and providing them access to additional funds and support from the city. It wasn't until the 1980s that the NSNP began to convert the vacant lots they had cleaned and greened into vibrant, beautiful community gardens and urban farm spaces (see Figure 10 above). According to Ms. Hill, NSNP's Garden Manager, "from the beginning the purpose was really just to have a healing oasis for the community. It wasn't so much about food production or anything like that, but it was more just to have a safe space in places that have been used for negative activities such as the drug trade." The Raices ("roots") garden was one of the first garden spaces created in 1989 with funding from the Pennsylvania Horticultural Society's Green Country Town project.

The Raices garden persists to this day and is one of NSNP's six urban farm spaces, including Las Parcelas, El Batey, Jardín de Paz, Butterfly Garden, and Villa Africana El Colobó, the most recent garden built in 2006 (see Figure 11 on page 52 and Figure 12 on page 53). According to Ms. Hill, the gardens are potent mediums for sharing and teaching about the community's LatinX heritage and culture. She elaborated on this in our interview saying, "each of the gardens is dedicated to a different aspect of Puerto Rican culture. We have a garden [Raices] dedicated to the Taino People, who are the first people of Puerto Rico. We have a garden [Villa Africana El Colobó] that is devoted to the African Diaspora and recognizing the contributions of African people in Puerto Rico and in the U.S. We also have a garden called Las Parcelas, which is our largest garden, that is dedicated to the Thibodaux and the country people of Puerto Rico" (see Figure 12 on page 53).

Today, NSNP's programming has expanded far beyond its garden spaces, and they are an official provider of afterschool services, contracted by the city of Philadelphia. NSNP provides youth with snacks, a safe space to be, and afterschool programming focused on either social justice and art through Semillas Del Futuro ("Seeds of the Future"), or on social justice and urban farming through Raices de Cambio ("Roots of Change"). In *Stories of my Neighborhood* a documentary about NSNP that was made by the Semillas arts students, the youth interviewed are bursting with pride and affection for NSNP (Norris Square Neighborhood Project Youth, 2017). Many of them

speak of it as their second home, a place where they have found belonging, where they know they can be safe, find peace, and be creative. One student said, “I know I can go into NSNP and just be myself.” In the same documentary, NSNP’s executive director says that the goal of NSNP is to create a space for youth to “honestly learn who they are, where they came from... with that comes responsibility and with that comes respect.”

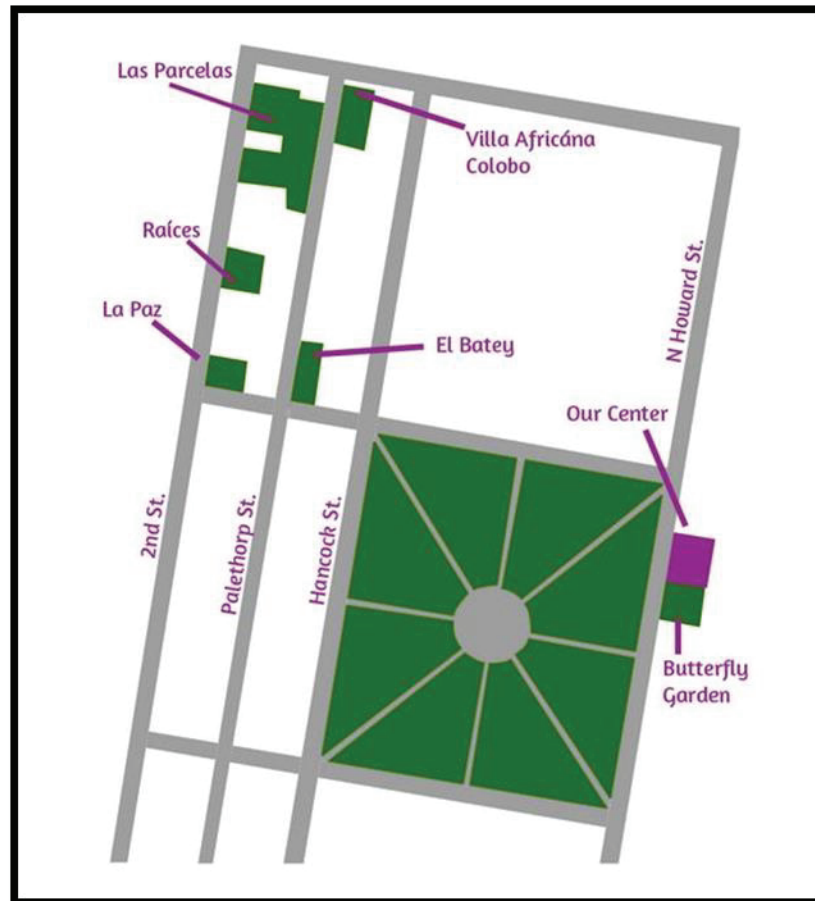


Figure 11: Map of NSNP’s multiple urban farm and the location of NSNP’s headquarters. Map created by NSNP and retrieved from NSNP website (<http://myneighborhoodproject.org/>)

Both of NSNP’s programs have a strong social justice focus and they are each deeply committed to teaching youth about LatinX culture and traditions. According to their agency history on their website, NSNP’s mission is “to educate community youth about gardening, the environment, and Puerto Rican culture as well as intercultural learning... it is in this grassroots activist work that Norris Square Neighborhood Project’s current programs are grounded” (“Our History”, 2017). While Semillas and Raices have different programmatic foci, they interact in novel ways. Once a week, the Raices urban farming youth lead the Semillas students to NSNP’s urban farm spaces where they teach them about urban farming and social justice while harvesting produce, planting, and weeding together. By putting the youth in leadership roles where they take charge of teaching each other, NSNP seeks to foster inner-confidence as well as a deep awareness of social justice. Alternatively, Semillas students often bring their art to the garden spaces, including painting murals, building sculptures, and hosting concerts or plays in these unique community spaces. Raices students also operate a weekly farm stand to sell the organic produce they grow to community members at greatly reduced rates.



Figure 12: NSNP's newest garden, the Villa Africana El Colobó, built in 2006 and designed to represent the African Diaspora and teach about the contributions of African people both in Puerto Rico and in the U.S. (photo credit: Arianna Hall-Reinhard)

4.5: La Finquita History



Figure 13: A La Finquita gardener holds a picture of La Finquita when it was initially founded by the Catholic Worker in 1988. (photo credit: Max Pulcini, retrieved from: <https://spiritnews.org/articles/you-gotta-fight-for-your-right-to-garden/>)

La Finquita, which means “the little farm” in Spanish, was founded in 1988 by a branch of the Catholic Worker organization in a predominantly Puerto Rican part of Kensington (see Figure 13 above). While the Catholic Worker was instrumental in facilitating its initial founding, they haven’t directly managed the farm since the mid-1990s. Instead, a committed group of neighborhood volunteers took over and while people have rotated in and out over time, this group has cared for the space for the past 20 years. Located precisely half a mile west of the LSH Farm, La Finquita sits in a quarter acre lot at the corner of Lawrence St and Master St (see Figure 1 on page 31). Like many of the vacant lots in the neighborhood, the space was once occupied by a business, the Pyramid Tire & Rubber Company, that shut down in 1956 and later burnt down in the 1970s. With over 60 years of delinquency on back taxes, La Finquita was established there because it seemed no one was interested in the vacant land.

La Finquita is a grassroots organization that doesn’t rely on grant funding to sustain itself, but rather on volunteers, donations, and a yearly fundraising dinner. The farm’s membership in the Pennsylvania Horticultural Society’s Grower’s Alliance program provides them with tangible donations like soil, mulch, and seeds, but no grant money. Mr. Clark lives a block away from the farm and has served as the volunteer farm manager since 2005. According to him, before he joined La Finquita, the space functioned as “more of a traditional community garden than like the community farm it is now.” There have always been individual community garden plots for neighbors to grow their own produce, but when Mr. Clark joined, the garden was somewhat neglected and there were a number of unused raised beds. It was under his guidance that volunteers transformed this fallow growing space into active food-production, growing 1,500 pounds of produce a year for donation to a nearby food pantry and soup kitchen. La Finquita volunteers retain some of this communally grown produce to sell at a weekly farm stand, but these sales generate very little income for the farm. According to Mr. Clark, “the main idea of the produce stand was just to have affordable, healthy local organic food in the South Kensington neighborhood... it was never really a profit driven enterprise.”

La Finquita’s neighborhood has gentrified dramatically since the farm stand was introduced and community need for affordable produce has decreased. This has led to a conscious choice to reduce the amount of produce sold at the farm stand to donate more to the food pantry and soup kitchen instead. Another effect of the gentrification is that the demographics of the neighborhood have shifted, becoming progressively less Puerto Rican and more white. Mr. Clark said in the past most of the farmers were Puerto Rican, but with increasing gentrification only a few older residents have remained. “Although the people in the neighborhood have changed,” he told me, “we don’t want to alienate older residents... so we try to grow a variety of Puerto Rican peppers for sofrito, we try to keep cilantro in production for as much of the year as we can.” But despite their best attempts for inclusion, it has been impossible to counter act gentrification’s displacement of long-term residents in the neighborhood.

Gentrification has also increased pressure for land in the neighborhood. According to Mr. Clark, the primary challenge for La Finquita is “trying to exist in a very changing, rapidly changing neighborhood [and] having to fight off developers [because] there’s development going on all around the farm” (see Figure 14 below). Mr. Clark described how in 2015 speculators tracked down the last remaining heir to the Pyramid Tire Company’s land in Chicago and paid him \$30,000 for La Finquita’s lot, which they promptly re-sold to a developer for half a million dollars. In January 2016 the developer, Mayrone, LLC, sued to evict the farmers and without notification cut the lock on La Finquita’s gate, replacing it with one of their own. The Catholic Worker, with pro-bono support from the Public Interest Law Center’s Garden Justice Legal Initiative, counter sued the developers on the grounds of adverse possession, claiming they were the land’s rightful owners because they had cared for it for over 30 years. When I asked Mr. Clark about the legal battle last summer, he seemed concerned but confident, assuring me that “a lot of people in the community would be really concerned to see La Finquita go...we have a ton of support in the community and in Philly in general.”



Figure 14: Top: La Finquita's large growing space in 2017. Below: new construction taking place next to the farm in 2017, the wall to the left of the building site is shared with the farm. Note the smokestack location in both photos for spatial reference (photo credit: Arianna Hall-Reinhard).

While the countersuit enabled La Finquita's farmers to continue growing food over the 2017 season, their respite was short lived. In March 2018, despite Mr. Clark's confidence, the Catholic Worker settled the lawsuit out of court and La Finquita's farmers lost their right to access or grow food on the land. While this is tragic for the current farmers, there may still be hope for La Finquita to sustain itself in some form. According to a board member of the organization, "the Catholic Worker would like the proceeds from this settlement to help secure the purchase of land for La Finquita and, if that's not possible, then we would like to invest in other gardens in the community" (Garden Justice Legal Initiative, 2018). Despite this, the immediate tangible result of the lawsuit is that La Finquita has lost its land, its many infrastructural investments in the space, and its

community no longer has a place to gather, talk, and grow food together. According to one of the lawyers involved in the suit, cases like La Finquita's "highlight the challenges faced by gardens in Philadelphia that are at risk of being lost to gentrification and land insecurity" (*ibid.*).

4.6: Emerald Street Urban Farm History

In 2008, Ms. Brooks and a few of her neighbors founded the Emerald Street Urban Farm (ESUF) as a grassroots community farming project in the historically Puerto Rican neighborhood of East Kensington. According to Ms. Brooks, her neighbors' original motivation was to clean up the vacant lots on the corner of Emerald St. and Dauphin St. (see Figure 1 on page 31) that were a haven for drug deals, prostitution, and illegal trash dumping (see Figure 15 below). While clearing out needles and other debris from the site, the group uncovered the bones of an old garden – raised beds long buried – that inspired them to resurrect the site as a space to grow food. Growing food in the lot might have been a novel idea for the neighbors, but it was Ms. Brooks' plan all along. Even while she still lived in her crowded South Philadelphia neighborhood, Ms. Brooks knew she wanted to start an urban farm somewhere in East Kensington's abundant vacant lots. In fact, she bought her house on Emerald Street because of its large side-yard and the five parcels of vacant land adjoining it which eventually became ESUF. Using the city's property database, Ms. Brooks discovered that three of the lots were city-owned and two had delinquent owners, meaning there was a chance her nascent urban farm wouldn't face immediate eviction. When she arrived in the neighborhood she got to work right away, and within a few months Ms. Brooks along with her coalition of neighbors had converted those five derelict vacant lots into the beginnings of an urban farm.

Ms. Brooks describes how in those early days the neighborhood was awash with children, many of whom spent their afterschool hours and summer days in the newly formed farm. The children all lived in a large low-income apartment building a block away from ESUF and, aside from the farm, there was no other green space in the neighborhood for them to play. Because ESUF was a community-based project, Ms. Brooks developed programming around the kids' needs. She told me "in the beginning... [the neighborhood] was really diverse and there were just lots and lots of kids, always out running around looking for things to do, so a lot of our early programming was geared towards the kids." At first Ms. Brooks focused on teaching kids how to grow vegetables and sell them at ESUF's weekly farm stand (see Figure 15 below), but over time she and other volunteers began to offer a plethora of activities. These included movie nights, nutrition classes, cooking classes, a weekly arts and crafts program called "craftivity," and a beloved haunted house every Halloween (see Figure 15 below). This wide diversity of programming remains a key part of ESUF's role in its community, and an array of activities continue in the farm today. According to Ms. Brooks, "we try to mix it up and engage with the community members in many different ways, so that if farming and gardening isn't really their thing there's still a reason to come [to ESUF]."



Figure 15: ESUF's lots before their cleanup in 2008. Part of the long cleanup process included removing this abandoned van from ESUF's lots that was used as a location for prostitution (photo retrieved from: <http://planphilly.com/eyesonthestreet/2012/06/06/situation-vacant-emerald-street-urban-farms-vacant-property-conundrum>)

Today, ESUF continues to operate as a communally managed farm where neighbors plant, weed, and harvest the 1500 square feet of growing space together (see Figure 16 below). According to Ms. Brooks, “by having a space where we crop plan and grow collectively, not only can we grow more food together, [but] if you can’t make it out, it’s fine because there’s always someone else who can.” Volunteers are encouraged to take home as much produce as they want and produce is also given away to anyone who needs it, regardless of their relationship to the farm. As Ms. Brooks characterized it, “it’s kind of this nice communist model of growing food together, participate as much as you can and take as much as you need.” Whenever there is surplus of produce it is donated to the local St. Francis Soup Kitchen on Kensington Ave. But Ms. Brooks’ goal was never just to grow and distribute produce. Mr. Brooks, Ms. Brooks’ husband and farm co-manager, told me “the mission of ESUF, I always like to say... is to educate and inspire and have fun... it’s basically an experiment [in] grassroots socialism.” And over ESUF’s ten growing seasons the farm has indeed become deeply integrated into its East Kensington community, even serving as a local event space where neighbors gather and kids play. According to ESUF’s GoFundMe campaign to raise money for a new fence in 2018, “every week of the growing season neighbors walk through the garden to grow and harvest food, drop off compost as part of Philly Compost, learn how to make natural medicine while kids play in the sprinklers... [or enjoy] our weekly farm workdays, music shows, movie nights, potlucks and workshops.”

Ms. and Mr. Brooks, along with ESUF’s core volunteers, keep the farm running without much funding. They receive occasional small donations from community members, sometimes in exchange for produce “purchased” through their farm stand, but the majority of their funding comes from their local East Kensington Neighborhood Association (EKNA). EKNA has regularly given \$500 to the farm each year through its community greening mini-grant program. Interestingly, Mr. Brooks served as EKNA board president from November 2015 – November 2017 and was voted into a two-year term as EKNA’s Treasurer beginning November 2017. According to him, there is no conflict of interest because he recuses himself from voting on ESUF’s application to EKNA’s annual mini-grant program. But it is impossible to know what influence his presence on the board has on ESUF’s funding. In early 2018 after Mr. Brooks stepped down as president, EKNA’s board voted to help pay for sidewalk improvements and the installation of a bike rack outside the farm. This may be simply an acknowledgement of ESUF’s importance to their neighborhood, but it could also stem from Mr. Brooks’ charismatic personality and his deep involvement with EKNA’s board.



Figure 16: Left: ESUF's "craftivity" class. Right: ESUF's beloved community haunted house event. (photos retrieved from ESUF's Facebook page)



Figure 17: An aerial view of ESUF's growing space in 2016. (photo retrieved from the ESUF Facebook Page)

Despite their annual support from EKNA, ESUF is still a grassroots urban farm, without 501(c)3 status or the ability to apply for grant funding outside of their local neighborhood association. Even so, ESUF is actively supported with technical and material assistance from a variety of organizations, and Ms. Brooks mentioned that "we've been so well supported by

Pennsylvania Horticultural Society's City Harvest [program], our councilwoman, and our neighborhood association." Outside of ESUF's annual fundraising event – typically a concert or dinner at the farm – they try not to solicit donations directly from their participants. Ms. Brooks told me this was a conscious choice because “we really want the farm to be free and open to anyone who wants to engage and we never want money to be a barrier” to participating at ESUF. However, in early 2018 they did mount a successful GoFundMe campaign to raise money for shorter more weed resistant fencing that was funded by individuals within only a few weeks. The Brooks were both surprised and pleased by the community's willingness to support farm infrastructure but don't want to rely on this type of funding on a regular basis.

In some sense, Ms. Brooks can be considered part of the first wave of gentrification into the East Kensington neighborhood in 2008. When she moved to the neighborhood, most of her neighbors were Puerto Rican and Dominican and there was no pressure from developers to build on the vacant land near her new home. Now, a mere ten years later, new developments have exploded in the neighborhood and its residents are primarily young white professionals, much like the Brooks. Ms. Brooks described how ESUF's neighborhood changed abruptly in 2014 with the loss of the large apartment complex across the street, where most of ESUF's families with kids lived. According to her, “the buildings got sold at once, so all those families were out and moved into other areas of Kensington...so that was a big loss...and now there's really no one from the beginning [left]... it felt pretty heart breaking and abrupt.” Shortly after the building sold, developers razed the apartment complex to build expensive condos in its place and new residents began moving in. The new population is significantly whiter and wealthier than ESUF's previous participants, and many seem uninterested in participating at ESUF. Mr. Brooks explained, “newer people moved in and I don't think anybody who moved in is doing anything at the farm...it was interesting that a whole group of people that were involved in the farming ended up moving out and everybody who replaced them just wasn't involved.”

Like many of the newer, wealthier residents, the Brooks own their own home so do not face eviction through gentrification, but ESUF's land is still at risk of being purchased and developed. As previously mentioned, ESUF's five parcels have a variety of owners. Three of the lots are city-owned, which makes it easier to lobby for their protection and more difficult to sell them without community approval. The other two privately owned lots are more actively threatened. They could be bought by speculators and re-sold to developers at any time without being subject to a community review process. According to Mr. Brooks, “we are feeling the developmental pressure...we've had a few scares...[including] somebody trying to purchase one of [ESUF's] privately owned lots at sheriff sale” in 2016. Luckily, the Brooks were able to stave off this sale with help from their pro-urban farming councilwoman, Maria Quiñones-Sanchez.

Because of ESUF's history of support from their neighbors, EKNA, and Quiñones-Sanchez, they are hopeful that they can preserve the farm's land long into the future. To do this, the Brooks are currently working with the Neighborhoods Garden Trust, a non-profit land trust that preserves and protects urban farms, gardens, and other community green spaces in Philadelphia. Conferring land ownership to the Trust will allow ESUF's parcels to be added to the Philadelphia Land Bank, through which they can be leased back to ESUF on a 99-year contract. Unless they can buy their land outright, a 99-year lease through the Trust is the closest Philadelphia's urban farms can get to permanent land protection in the city. However, despite being launched in 2013, Philadelphia's Land Bank is not yet fully operational and ESUF is still waiting for its land to be formally protected (Garden Justice Legal Initiative, 2018). In the meantime, the Brooks do their best to keep the farm running and stave off fears of development. When I asked Mr. Brooks if he was concerned about losing the farm he replied, “we like to joke that we have this crazy force field of goodwill around the farm just keeping developmental pressure away and we're able to keep moving.”

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I explore the interrelationships among Urban Agriculture (UA) project funding structures, gentrification pressures, and issues of food justice and racial justice. First, in section 5.2, I consider the diversity of funding structures employed by the UA projects in my case study – nonprofit, for-profit, and grassroots – and how these structures influence the farms’ goals and approaches. I contrast the different nonprofit approaches of the Lutheran Settlement House (LSH) Farm and Norris Square Neighborhood Project (NSNP), present the unique case of Greensgrow’s hybrid for-profit/nonprofit funding model, and explore differences in the longevity of grassroots UA projects by comparing Emerald Street Urban Farm (ESUF) and La Finquita. In section 5.3, I focus on the different impacts of gentrification on the five UA projects in my case study. I first consider how the process of gentrification in the Kensington neighborhood has resulted in changes for all five UA projects. Then I discuss how gentrification and land access are deeply interconnected and how Kensington’s UA projects negotiate land access in the context of rapid gentrification. Finally, in section 5.4, I consider the relationship between UA, justice, and race. First, I explore how each of the five UA projects in my case study define the term food justice and how they apply, or conspicuously do not apply, the term within their farms. Next, I consider how the varied racial histories of Kensington’s UA projects inform their ability to benefit (or not) from gentrification, with specific attention to the contrasts between ESUF’s and NSNP’s experiences with race and gentrification. I conclude with a broader discussion about race, racial justice, and UA. In this final section, I detail NSNP’s racial and social justice curriculum, and introduce Soil Generation – an innovative anti-racist UA organization in Philadelphia with connections to Greensgrow and NSNP. I weave interview quotes throughout this chapter to bring the voices of my participants to the fore and in doing so to represent their unique perspectives in their own words. The broad goal for this chapter is to explore the nuanced differences and similarities among the five UA projects that emerged during my fieldwork in Kensington, and to discuss the broader implications of the results of this comparison.

5.2 Funding Structures and Urban Agriculture

5.2.A. Nonprofit Industrial Complex

In our interview, ESUF’s co-manager, Mr. Brooks, described an odd trend he had noticed in Philadelphia. He said, “every time somebody has an idea to do something good in their community, they think it has to become a non-profit. Then there’s all this overhead and all this formality and... it just loses the essence of the community.” Mr. Brooks’ observation insinuates that if UA projects incorporate as nonprofits, they risk losing their essential connection to their community. However, this is not always the case. During my analysis, it became clear that UA projects do not all function the same way, and there are significant differences among even non-profit UA projects. In this section, I discuss the major differences between the LSH Farm and NSNP to highlight the range of discrepancies that often exist between UA projects operating within the Nonprofit Industrial Complex (NPIC) and those that claim a more radical, justice-oriented, nonprofit structure.

One of the key differences between the LSH Farm and NSNP’s farms is that the activities and evolution of the former have been primarily funder-driven rather than being shaped by the farm’s community, as is the case with NSNP. According to LSH’s former Executive Director, Ms. Evans, the biggest challenge of the LSH Farm was always “How do you get poor people involved? How do you integrate it with [LSH’s other] programming?” Her questions indicate that community members had no role in designing or implementing the farm project to address their actual needs. In addition to the lack of community buy-in, LSH’s non-UA, social service staff often characterize the farm as a form of “mission drift” for its parent agency. Multiple interviewees defined mission drift as the

process in which a non-profit receives funding which then precipitates the development of new programs that are not in line with the original goals or mission statement of the organization. Indeed, as discussed in the LSH Farm's organizational history, the LSH Farm was initially constructed as part of the agency's take-over of a previously active community garden that displaced its participants and resulted in ill will toward the agency. Essentially, the LSH Farm was built not out of community need, but instead as a result both of Ms. Evans's desire to build an urban farm and because LSH received a \$50,000 grant from Walmart in 2013 that was earmarked specifically for urban farming.

Ms. Evan's former role as LSH's ED was crucial in receiving this corporate funding. She told me, "we got that Walmart money because I had buddied up to the Walmart PR person, who then joined our board. We gave them good press and they gave us money... that's how that corporate-community relationship strokes each other's back." Ms. Evans elaborated on this, describing how she perceives Philadelphia's nonprofit funding-scape as a "cult of personality" in which "if you're not the hot young thing then you're not going to be getting any funding". In her view, nonprofits everywhere are part of a "personality-driven industry" in which agency leadership is required to nurture connections with the right people at corporations, private foundations, and City Hall just to be able to afford payroll, let alone successfully operate an UA program. This approach is common for nonprofits within the NPIC.

NPIC organizations, including LSH, are often so focused on the constant struggle to get and maintain funding that they can inadvertently compromise their agency's mission and values (Broad, 2016; INCITE!, 2017; McIvor & Hale, 2015). This is illustrated by Ms. Evans' belief that getting funding was so important to LSH's urban farm, it warranted portraying the project in ways that were not entirely accurate. According to Ms. Evans, in pursuit of getting or sustaining funding for the LSH Farm, "even [outcomes] can be necessarily fudged, right? Because you're trying to portray [your UA project] in the way that's most favorable to you" and therefore most likely to keep it funded. Ms. Evans justified her tactic of "fudging the numbers" by describing the insanity that commonly accompanies the grant-writing process for organizations deeply imbedded within the NPIC:

"The truth about making that sausage is that you have a grant due next Thursday and you're like, oh shit, I haven't really thought about that... what do we think we need and what do we think the funders will go for? And you're making stuff up on the fly. Because you're doing a million other things because you're in a non-profit, so you don't have enough staff."

There is a certain logic to Ms. Evans' perspective that is shaped by the specific nonprofit context of LSH; it is a large and complex social service agency with a nearly \$3 million annual budget that operates a vast array of programs hosted through four different, and often disconnected, departments. LSH's diversity of departments includes a homeless shelter and an emergency housing facility for Domestic Violence clients which are located outside of Kensington. Considering its size and multiple locations, it is much more challenging for LSH to be judicious about the kinds of funding the agency pursues simply because it requires such a large amount of grant funding to support itself. Even Walmart's \$50,000 grant to the LSH Farm represents less than 2%, of the agency's overall budget. While Ms. Evans' approach to funding can be explained by LSH's large and programmatically diverse nonprofit structure, her perspective is not emblematic of every non-profit UA project.

While LSH and NSNP are both nonprofits that engage in UA, they employ very different organizational strategies. After speaking with multiple people at NSNP and attending an organization-wide celebration, it became clear that urban farming was never the group's end goal. Rather NSNP views UA as the conduit through which to engage youth and teach them about social justice. According to Ms. Wilson, NSNP's development professional, "part of our pitch [to funders] is social justice as a whole... when I write about the Raices de Cambio program, the kids who are

actually growing food, I [always] bring up the fact that they're learning about food justice". Indeed, NSNP's social justice roots go deep and are closely intertwined with its desire to preserve and teach Puerto Rican culture, driven by their community's need to pass along its heritage to the next generation. Even the names of their youth programs – Raices de Cambio or "Roots of Change" and Semillas del Futuro or "Seeds of the Future" – indicate NSNP's commitment to Puerto Rican culture, urban farming, and furthering social justice through youth education.

In a sharp contrast to LSH, Ms. Wilson described how NSNP has consciously avoided pursuing corporate funding opportunities that might compromise their farms' social justice focus. She told me, "we're a little particular, more so than other [nonprofit] organizations that I've worked with in the past, about where our money comes from. I'm like, if we are talking about social justice, and we're teaching our kids about liberation, we're teaching our kids about food justice, then we're not going to take money from Monsanto or Walmart... that's one reason why our corporate funding is so low." She characterized this as a challenge for the organization, since it limits the grants they can apply for and therefore the pool of funding they can access. However, Ms. Wilson is hopeful for the future because even in her brief tenure as NSNP's development professional, she has seen the number of funding opportunities for social justice oriented nonprofit programs increase. In our interview, she ascribed these new funding opportunities to multiple foundations' reaction against the racism, sexism, and steep funding cuts for social programs under the Trump administration. According to her, NSNP's UA programs are especially attractive to these politically aware, social justice-oriented foundations because "no [other nonprofits] in Philly are focused on LatinX culture, youth gardening, and art... that combination is formidable." Indeed, NSNP's justice-orientation is a big part of what makes their farm so appealing to their funders.

Extending the comparison, where LSH is organizationally complex and geographically diffuse, NSNP is a much smaller place-based nonprofit that is firmly rooted in its local neighborhood and within its Puerto Rican community. Unlike the large scale of LSH, NSNP's urban farms and their Raices de Cambio program comprise approximately half of the organization's annual budget, which is just over half a million dollars in total. That means their lone development professional, Ms. Wilson, can devote approximately half of her time to seeking out and applying to only the most relevant and least compromising sources of grant funding for NSNP's urban farms. According to Ms. Wilson, "...one of [NSNP's] greatest strengths is its size as a nonprofit, because it is relatively small. I think [that] makes it really... the word I'm thinking of is 'lithe.'"

Despite LSH's much larger budget and variety of programs, they only employ one full-time and one part-time development professional to serve the funding needs of the entire agency. This means LSH's development staff are consistently overwhelmed with work and have no extra time to vet the funders willing to give their farm funding. While it can be tempting to idealize the work of NSNP and condemn LSH's approach to UA, this is perhaps unfair. They are different agencies with different operating realities and different goals. For instance, LSH excels at a vast array of social service programs, including domestic violence counseling and housing services for victims of domestic violence; reading, math, and technology-based education and training for adult learners; daily congregate meals and activities for impoverished seniors through their senior center; and an emergency homeless shelter that houses up to 29 mothers with children. While these programs are separate from the LSH Farm, they are desperately needed social services that LSH has provided to Philadelphians for over 115 years. A smaller urban farming-focused nonprofit of NSNP's size would be incapable of successfully delivering such a vast array of programming as LSH has for over a century. Even so, the LSH Farm could benefit greatly from adopting NSNP's careful and deliberate process of working alongside community members to develop urban farms that actually meet their community's needs. Additionally, NSNP could learn from LSH's long history about how to persevere and sustain their nonprofit organization long into the future.

NSNP has upheld their community-driven approach to UA for over 30 years through a concerted effort to prevent funding sources from dictating their approach to UA and by maintaining

a much narrower range of programs. In contrast, LSH's large size, diversity of non-UA programming, and acceptance of corporate funding has resulted in an LSH Farm that is constrained by the corporations and foundations that fund it, rather than being shaped by community engagement. Ultimately, NSNP and the LSH Farm demonstrate that UA projects operating within the NPIC must make conscious choices about the overall level of significance of urban farming to their organization and to what degree funders are allowed to shape the urban farm's development. The choices available to nonprofit UA projects are further restricted by their overarching nonprofit's size, mission, and scope of programming as well as by the nature and availability of UA funding where they are located.

5.2.B: "A Non-profit that Acts Almost Entirely as a For-profit"

Greensgrow's approach toward funding is unique among the five UA projects I considered. It operates within a fascinating for-profit/nonprofit hybrid structure that merits a thorough discussion on its own. As mentioned in their organizational history, 85% of Greensgrow's income is generated by direct sales through their CSA program, garden center and plant nursery, daily farm stand, and workshop fees. The additional 15% comes from grant funding, a corporate sponsorship with Subaru, and individual donations.

Before I began fieldwork, I had a biased view of Greensgrow. My bias first developed when I lived in Kensington and worked alongside renegade urban farmers who commandeered growing space in vacant lots. At the time, I perceived Greensgrow as catering primarily to the wealthier "hipster" crowd and thought their business-centric model made them a "corporate" urban farm. During my fieldwork, I was surprised to learn that Greensgrow supports a number of justice-related initiatives, including racial justice through hosting and encouraging employee involvement in racial justice workshops; social justice through the farm's commitment to paying a living wage rather than exploiting volunteer labor and through their mini-grant funds to support local community projects; and, food justice through their subsidized CSA program for SNAP users, low-income cooking and nutrition education program, and focus on financially supporting farmers within 150 miles of Philadelphia. Below, I elaborate on Greensgrow's commitment to social and food justice, and I discuss their involvement in racial justice work in section 5.4.C.

Greensgrow's relative freedom from the grant funding cycle and their ability to support their farm's operations through direct sales have resulted in greater self-reliance, progressively evolving programming, and organizational support for the more radical visions and activities of their staff. Greensgrow's Financial Manager, Ms. Adams, described how, "one of our greatest strengths is that we're willing to try new things and be innovative, we don't feel stuck in one model. And... because we have earned income, we're less reliant on foundations and grants and it gives us more flexibility in our work." Flexibility, adaptability, and innovation are all terms I heard applied to Greensgrow during my interviews with staff and leadership, especially in describing how the organization has weathered the vast changes in its neighborhood over its 20 years of existence. Even Greensgrow's origin story is a study in adaptation. First launched in 1997 as an entrepreneurial hydroponic lettuce operation on a re-claimed brownfield in a run-down part of Kensington, Greensgrow incorporated as a nonprofit just two years later. Their new non-profit status gave the fledgling operation access to grant funding and support that was desperately needed when lettuce sales alone could not support them. The decision to incorporate as a nonprofit also resulted in the early diversification of Greensgrow's operations. According to a longtime neighbor of the farm, "Greensgrow started as a wholesale grower, [but] when they became a nonprofit they realized they had to be a part of the community... to invite the neighbors in and not be something looked at behind a fence... and that's how their garden center got started."

Greensgrow's nonprofit status enveloped but did not replace their for-profit business model. Instead, the two were incorporated into what Greensgrow's late founder, Mary Seton Corby, described as her "triple bottom line" approach to meeting economic, social, and environmental goals through the farm's operation. Those two threads – nonprofit and for-profit – have remained a part of

the farm for over 20 years, complementing and supporting each other, helping Greensgrow persist through lean times when they received fewer grants or sold less than expected. Greensgrow's current director, Mr. Ward, described how the farm continues to leverage their two primary funding streams – income and grants – to remain agile as an organization and responsive to their community's needs. According to Mr. Ward, Greensgrow's "operating costs are covered by the for-profit activities, the retail sales, and then we use grants to innovate and grow new programs. ... I kind of think of it as GoogleX, that's our idea lab, our way to keep pushing the boundaries and stay relevant not only to our customers, but again to our community."

To grasp the specifics of Greensgrow's unique funding structure, it is instructive to consider their annual budget and how they allocate their finances. Ms. Adams described the farm's budget in these terms: "we have a 2 million dollar [annual] budget and... a third goes to pay employees and create sustainable jobs, a third goes to pay local farmers, and a third is just to run the programs, the expenses associated with doing business." It is interesting to note that Greensgrow only receives about \$80,000 or \$90,000 a year in individual donations and anywhere from \$100,000 to \$300,000 in grants each year; this represents only a tiny fraction of their overall income, the rest of which is generated through sales. The reduced reliance on grant funding is a conscious choice of the organization that enables it to operate outside of the restrictive structures of the NPIC. Greensgrow's director, Mr. Ward, drove this point home when he described how their funding structure "[provides] stability and flexibility in changing economic conditions, to have several stable sources of revenues or earned income activities... [it] means we are not chasing grants, not relying on fluctuating giving patterns to operate." This approach is also a tactic to avoid any potential "mission drift" arising from restrictions or specifications tied to grant funding that would otherwise redirect the farm toward funder-approved activities rather than allowing them to determine their own priorities and how best to achieve them. However, Greensgrow's funding model is not without its drawbacks. According to Mr. Ward, "being a non-profit that operates almost entirely as a for-profit has its limitations... we often are not very competitive on certain grants because our charitable mission is not well understood because of our earned income opportunities or activities." He elaborated on this by describing how they have lost grants in the past because certain foundations view them as solely an entrepreneurial urban farming venture while failing to consider their role as a community-based non-profit.

Regardless of how funders view them, the freedom provided by Greensgrow's hybrid for-profit/nonprofit funding structure is especially critical to support their goal of increasing both social and food justice within their community. Greensgrow's social and food justice mission is multifaceted and comprised of several different goals. First, they actively support food justice for local farmers within 150 miles of Philadelphia, by distributing their products via Greensgrow's CSA and farm stand sales. Greensgrow subsidizes the transportation of these local crops to their urban farm distribution center, thereby creating a stable pathway to market for farmers who could not otherwise afford to access Philadelphia's wealthy consumers. These new pathways also enhance food access in the Kensington neighborhood. Greensgrow further augments food access for its poorest neighbors by subsidizing a low-income CSA option that can be purchased using SNAP and is accompanied by free nutrition education and cooking classes at the farm. According to their financial manager, Ms. Adams, "Greensgrow is really trying to make sure that people who live in Philadelphia have access to food from within 150 miles of the city, that's grown in sustainable ways, and is directly supporting the farmers that are growing that food." In her view, the amount of money that Greensgrow channels back into these farmers' hands – nearly \$700,000 annually – is an important tangible result of their unique financial structure and approach as an organization.

Another key aspect of Greensgrow's triple bottom line mentality is job creation, specifically by creating environmentally sustainable jobs that pay a living wage for folks in the city. As the farm evolved from its initial two-person operation, it has expanded immensely and now employs 40 people in 19 year-round full-time jobs and 21 part-time or seasonal positions. Greensgrow's focus on providing living-wage employment is part of their social justice ideology. According to their

director, Mr. Ward, “we made a decision a long time ago that we weren't going to depend on volunteer labor. If there's a job to be done, we were going to pay someone a living wage to do it... volunteers are icing on the cake, but we don't rely on them.” Aside from job creation, Greensgrow also fosters social justice in their community by supporting neighborhood projects through Mary's Fund, a grant-funding program that honors Greensgrow's recently deceased founder, Mary Seton Corboy, and her vision for greener communities in Philadelphia. According to Greensgrow's website, “the Fund provides small grants to individuals or organizations... for projects that improve neighborhood public spaces; beautify the community; [or] nurture a shared sense of neighborhood identity and community pride.” While these grants are typically \$1,000 or less, they provide a way for Greensgrow to give back directly to the communities who have supported it through direct sales for over 20 years. It is striking to realize that Greensgrow's entrepreneurial roots and hybrid for-profit/nonprofit business structure provide the groundwork for the farm to pursue social and food justice goals. Greensgrow demonstrates that when UA projects can generate their own income, they reduce their reliance on the NPIC and can work toward achieving racial, social, and food justice goals as they see fit.

5.2.C: Gradations within the Grassroots

Both La Finquita and Emerald Street Urban Farm (ESUF) qualify as grassroots UA projects since neither farm is registered as a 501(c)3 organization, nor do they rely on significant grant funding or sales to support themselves. These farms are both deeply embedded within their communities and are funded and maintained by neighborhood volunteer crews. Considering their similar funding structures, it is interesting to note that the two farms have experienced vastly different outcomes in the context of gentrification. As of May 1, 2018, after 30 years of growing food, La Finquita's community was forced to hand over the farm's land to developers. Despite its much shorter 10 years of existence, ESUF is not facing the same consequences from similar gentrification processes in its neighborhood. In fact, ESUF recently gained partial protection for two out of three of its farm's lots with the help of the Neighborhoods Garden Trust, and protection of all five lots is pending. In this section, I outline the major distinctions between the farms' grassroots formats and operational realities. My goal is to understand more fully the range of possible grassroots UA projects and what tactics these projects use to help them persist in rapidly developing neighborhoods. Specifically, I discuss the main differences between the two farms, including their neighborhoods and City Council Districts, their approaches to publicity and marketing, and the extent of their leaders' connections to other supportive local agencies or nonprofits. Together, these differences have resulted in vastly different outcomes for La Finquita and ESUF.

First, it is important to note that there are significant differences between the farms' neighborhoods. Located about a mile southwest of ESUF, La Finquita is much closer to the Northern Liberties neighborhood that is considered fully gentrified because it has reached the saturation point for new developments. The current wave of gentrification rapidly re-shaping Kensington originated in Northern Liberties and has swept northward, affecting La Finquita long before it struck ESUF's neighborhood. This early and consistent pressure from developers is certainly one reason that La Finquita was destroyed while ESUF persists, but it is not the entire story. Another important consideration is the very different priorities and styles of leadership of the city council people who lead the farms' respective districts. La Finquita is located on the outer edge of Council District 5 (see Figure 18 for a map), which spans from Temple University to the art museum district, and includes the wealthy Rittenhouse square area as well as most of downtown Philadelphia's commercial core. La Finquita's location on the geographic periphery of its district has kept it largely hidden away, without the support of its district councilperson, Council President Darrell Clarke. Moreover, Councilperson Clarke is not known as a strong supporter of urban farms in his district. In fact, one of his major legislative priorities is the 2,000 New Affordable Housing Units Initiative that he created to “encourage the development of 1,000 rental units and 1,000 homeownership units for low-income households...built on city-owned land in blighted and gentrifying areas” (“Council President Darrell L. Clarke: District 5”, 2018). This initiative, while necessary to increase the affordable housing stock in Philadelphia, is in conflict with the

preservation of UA projects located in gentrifying neighborhoods like La Finquita. Because Councilperson Clarke’s stated priority is building affordable housing on vacant land, if the land in question is home to a UA project, he would be unlikely to support the farm instead of the development.

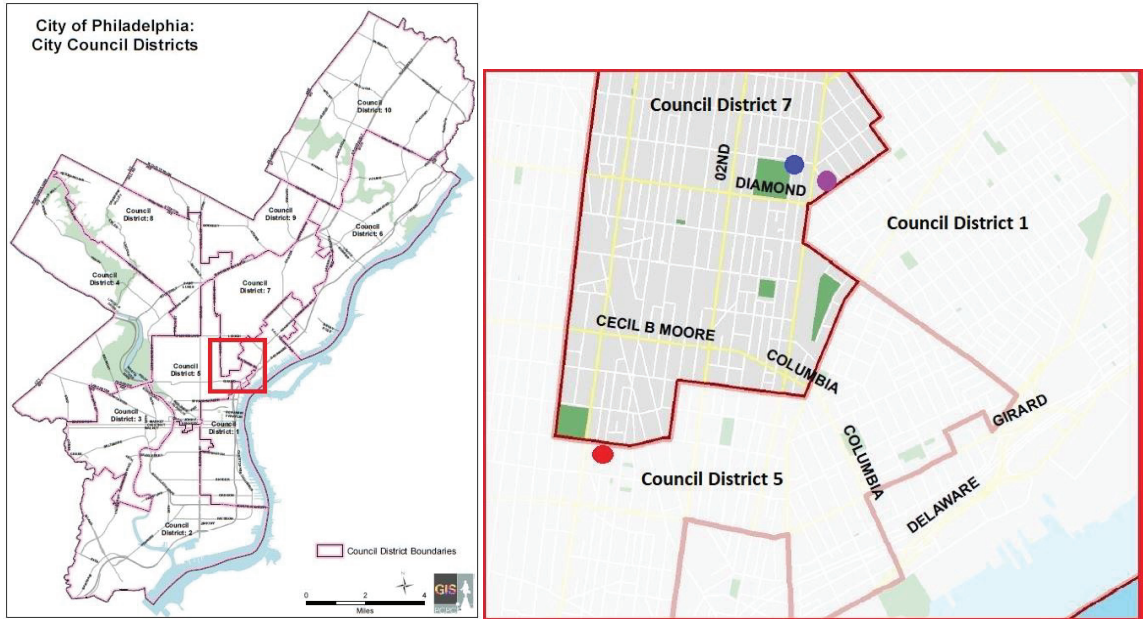


Figure 18: Left: Overview map of Philadelphia’s city council district boundaries, note the red square showing the location of the zoomed map. Right: Map zoomed in on the boundary between council districts 7, 5, and 1. The red dot represents La Finquita, the blue dot represents NSNP and the purple dot represents ESUF. (Both maps retrieved from the city council website: <http://phlcouncil.com/> and edited by author).

La Finquita is located on the outer-most edge of Council District 5, only a few feet away from the boundary with District 7 (see Figure 18 above). Council District 7 is home to ESUF, NSNP, and Councilperson Maria Quiñones-Sánchez. Both Council President Clarke and Councilperson Quiñones-Sánchez are Democrats, but the latter is widely regarded as a much more progressive politician. In 2008, after an impressive grassroots campaign, Quiñones-Sánchez became the first Latina woman elected to the council. Furthermore, she also has a strong record of supporting urban farms in her district. According to her webpage on the City Council website, “During her most recent term, Maria’s legislative achievements included the historic creation of a Philadelphia Land Bank” (“Councilwoman Maria Quiñones-Sánchez: District 7”, 2018). While this Land Bank is not yet functional five years after its creation, one of its stated goals is to provide a platform through which community groups can identify and gain access to vacant lots for urban farming projects (Garden Justice Legal Initiative, 2018). The Land Bank is also designed to provide a conduit through which to protect Philadelphia’s urban farmland by way of its collaboration with the Neighborhood Gardens Trust. Any existing urban farm lots added to the Land Bank can be purchased by the Neighborhoods Garden Trust, which will then lease the land back to the urban farmers under 99-year contracts. This is the closest Philadelphia’s urban farms can get to permanent protection. According to ESUF’s co-manager, Mr. Brooks, ESUF’s five lots “are ultimately on slate to be in the [Philadelphia] Land Bank at some point when it gets working... that’s how we’ll get the land [protected], so that’s what we’re holding out for.” The importance of Councilperson Quiñones-Sánchez’s support for ESUF cannot be overstated. ESUF was founded in 2008, the same year Quiñones-Sánchez was first elected, and she has been aware and supportive of the farm since its creation. According to ESUF’s founder Ms. Brooks, “we’re going the route of getting [ESUF’s land

preserved] through the Neighborhoods Garden Trust, because we have the support of our councilwoman to do so. She's always been very supportive of [ESUF] and her staff have been very helpful in navigating all of these different processes [associated with the Land Bank and the Trust]."

Aside from the support of their councilperson, ESUF also has the benefit of the charismatic leadership of Mr. and Ms. Brooks, ESUF's married co-managers. Both of the Brooks are highly visible members of Philadelphia's urban farming community and work within city government. Mr. Brooks is employed by the city to manage its high profile Zero Waste Philly anti-litter initiative and Ms. Brooks serves as Philadelphia Parks & Recreation's FarmPhilly Program manager, working to support and protect urban farms across the city. Both of these roles keep them in close contact with city leadership and key players in Philadelphia's broader urban farming community, while increasing their knowledge of the systems, procedures, and timelines of urban farm land preservation in the city. Ms. Brooks said, "you know, I work in city government so I understand [what] it takes... to get [urban farms] protected." ESUF is also deeply entangled with the East Kensington Neighborhood Association (EKNA), their local nonprofit neighborhood association that provides them with annual grant funding. As mentioned in ESUF's organizational history, Mr. Brooks served as EKNA's board president from 2015-2017 and is currently board treasurer.

In contrast to ESUF, La Finquita's leadership was not deeply integrated into city government, nor did they benefit from the support of a highly active neighborhood association. Instead, La Finquita's local neighborhood organization, South Kensington Community Partners (SKCP), serves more as a "community help desk" than a vibrant neighborhood association like EKNA. While SKCP has regularly posted notices of La Finquita's events in their newsletter, encouraging new volunteers and participants, they have never supported La Finquita financially and were not actively engaged in the fight to save the farm's land. This, in combination with the differential political support received from their council members, has led to vastly different outcomes for ESUF and La Finquita.

In addition, the two farms have radically different approaches to publicizing and marketing their activities. The Brooks are marketing experts, and together they have ensured that ESUF has a strong presence on social media, on its own website and blog, and in local publications. In fact, Mr. Brooks is also a small-scale publisher who founded Kensington's local Head & the Hand Press, meaning he can facilitate significantly greater access to Philadelphia's world of print media and journalism than anyone associated with La Finquita. While La Finquita consistently maintained a presence on Facebook, they never developed a blog or website for the farm. In a sense, La Finquita has remained much more grounded in their neighborhood, preferring to target advertising locally via fliers, the farm's chalkboard, and SKCP's newsletter, rather than online or in widely accessible print media sources. Of note, during conversations with urban farmers throughout my fieldwork, many more reported that they had heard of ESUF than La Finquita. I received multiple suggestions to interview the Brooks about ESUF, while no one mentioned La Finquita or encouraged me to interview its leadership, despite the fact that La Finquita was in the midst of a relatively high-profile court battle for its land. This is an indication of the different reaches of ESUF and La Finquita in Philadelphia's broader urban farming community.

La Finquita and ESUF represent two very different models for grassroots urban farms and their unique operational intricacies have contributed to their disparate outcomes in gentrifying neighborhoods. Differences between the farms' neighborhoods, the support (or lack thereof) of their Councilpeople, the broader support of their community, and their marketing approaches, have resulted in the complete loss of La Finquita after 30 years, while ESUF is on the cusp of permanent protection after only 10 years. Taken together, the stories of these two urban farms indicate that the longevity of grassroots UA projects in changing neighborhoods demands not only the support of farm neighbors, but that of city officials and local neighborhood associations as well. In order to garner this broad support, it is not enough for grassroots urban farms to only publicize themselves locally. By seeking a wider audience, grassroots UA projects can create additional visibility and

build a larger base of support for their farm, helping them to weather gentrification. Ultimately, although ESUF's and La Finquita's experiences contain lessons for how best to preserve grassroots urban farming projects, it is important to remain mindful that not all tactics are equally available to all UA projects, and that a farm's destruction is not necessarily an indication that the farm did something wrong.

5.3 Gentrification and Urban Agriculture

5.3.A: Changing Neighborhoods, Changing Needs



Figure 19: New home/condominium construction in a Kensington neighborhood. Note the brick houses to the left and right, these represent typical Kensington homes prior to gentrification. In contrast, the new developments are much larger and aren't brick, making them stand out immediately as a product of gentrification. The "Home Sweet Hope" sign advertising 2 bed/1 bath condos for under \$300,000 was hanging on yet another new development a few blocks away. (photo credit: Arianna Hall-Reinhard).

A Forbes article from May 2nd, 2018 declared that Fishtown – a common moniker applied to the whitest and most rapidly gentrifying portion of Kensington – is "America's hottest new neighborhood" (Taylor, 2018). The author, Peter Taylor, justifies his article's sensationalist title by describing how home values there have increased three-fold since the Great Recession. In this new neighborhood reality, single-family homes often sell in under four weeks, and the majority go for well above list price because of frequent bidding wars. According to Taylor's article, Fishtown's "current sale to list ratio is a scorching 98.8%, going toe to toe with Williamsburg (Brooklyn) and Washington, D.C. Two decades ago, Fishtown was a dirty Philadelphia real estate word. Now every realtor in the city is trying to bolt another neighborhood onto it." Taylor also paints a vivid picture of how these transformations have re-shaped Kensington's busiest commercial corridor, Frankford Ave, from its original dilapidated storefronts and derelict vacant lots to its current iteration as Kensington's gentrification ground zero. In describing the neighborhood's 'new normal' they write, "mothers pushing strollers window shop past Lululemon along Frankford Avenue's buzzing retail corridor fronted with wine bars, coffee shops, couture boutiques, yoga studios, a vintage motorcycle joint, and an Argentinian tango dance school" (Taylor, 2018). Most of these trendy new businesses

have only existed there for less than five years, and many were built in place of the dilapidated warehouses and vacant lots that preceded them.

As the lingering effects of the Great Recession faded, “outside money started pouring in [to Kensington] ... [and with] New York City developers snatching up every warehouse left for sale, demand shows no sign of slowing down. At the rate things are going, there won’t be an empty lot left by 2020” (Taylor, 2018). This is a sobering thought for the many UA projects whose very existence is predicated on access to vacant land in the neighborhood. The current story of gentrification in the neighborhood, with its resulting loss of green space, sits in sharp contrast to the previously neglected Kensington, rich in vacant land and short on interested developers, that attracted urban farmers to the neighborhood in droves throughout the 1990s and early 2000s. A longtime neighbor of Greensgrow told me, “I moved into the neighborhood [in the early 1990s] because I really liked it... I liked how grungy it was, the sense of anarchy and freedom. There were gardens everywhere, there were green lots everywhere. I had a huge garden that last year was bulldozed and is now the eight most hideous condos you’ve ever seen.” Her story is emblematic of the neighborhood’s rapid transformation from a place of neglect and disuse that supported many innovative UA projects, into a place that Forbes has identified as the “hottest new neighborhood” in America.

The same Lululemon store described in the Forbes article is located less than a block north of LSH’s urban farm (see Figure 20). The dramatic nature of the changes to LSH’s immediate neighborhood have not escaped their current executive director, Ms. Jones. She confided that, “a huge concern of mine... is where our clients are going to live? Because they can’t afford to live here anymore. So, how far out are they going? ...We need to think about that... [if] we’re going [to continue] to exist.” LSH’s dilemma is indicative of the issues faced by most UA projects in Kensington, and particularly the nonprofit and grassroots farms. The original neighbors these UA projects were developed to serve are being pushed further and further north, chasing the affordable rents that were once so abundant in Kensington.





Figure 20: Top: “The Local Fishtown” Lululemon store sign and store front along Frankford Ave. Note the mural attribution reads: “Unity” Mural created in conjunction with The Local Lululemon Fishtown and Penn Treaty High School #resist #thelocalshtwn. Bottom: The location of the Lululemon (new commercial construction to the right of the photo, just beyond the man on the ladder) in relation to the LSH Farm (green space to the left of the photo). (photo credit: Arianna Hall-Reinhard).

The northward migration of low-income residents due to gentrification’s advancing front is forcing many of Kensington’s urban farms to contend with a new identity crisis. This is especially true for the four nonprofit and grassroots UA projects – NSNP, La Finquita, ESUF, and the LSH Farm – that are deeply rooted in the desire to meet their original communities’ needs for healthy, affordable produce. Mx. Reyes, NSNP’s gender neutral garden coordinator and former youth participant, described the new mismatch between these UA goals and their changing neighborhood, telling me “with gentrification... people are moving in and then people are moving out, right? So the people we want to target are going to be forced out and we’re not going to reach that population anymore... and a lot of [the new] white folk they already know the stuff that we do, you know? They know what tomatoes look like when they’re growing.” UA projects with the stated mission of enhancing community food access have started questioning what purpose they serve when their neighbors are no longer struggling to access affordable, nutritious produce. ESUF’s Ms. Brooks lamented, “sometimes it feels like we’re growing food for people who could easily go buy food from Whole Foods.” These farms are actively working to assess if it is possible to continue meeting their original community members’ needs when these populations are being forced further and further north, out of reach of the stationary UA projects.

Of the five UA projects in my case study, the LSH Farm is closest to the epicenter of new development and is therefore keenly experiencing the effects of gentrification in the farm (see Figure 20 above). According to Ms. Green, LSH’s development professional, their location amidst the trendy new shops and condominiums is limiting who has access to the farm and its produce. Ms. Green said, “it’s hard because I think that [with] gentrification it’s not like there was a lot of low-income people coming into the garden... [it’s] more wealthy hipsters coming in wanting to grow their own vegetables... now it’s like, ‘I want to grow my own pumpkins for my children just to say I did’.” She described this as the LSH Farm’s evolution from a “sustenance thing” to a “privileged garden”

for the wealthy new residents of the neighborhood. LSH's current executive director, Ms. Jones, views the negative effects of gentrification more broadly. She expressed great concern about LSH's many low-income clients, including their fixed income senior center members and impoverished adult literacy students, who are experiencing a growing inability to access life-supporting social services at LSH. Ms. Jones said, "you can't just keep pushing people out... how do we keep some housing that is affordable for lower-income folks in all these places that we're gentrifying? ... Why [is] every building over here one million dollars?" The LSH farm's most vulnerable participants are facing drastic impacts from the neighborhood changes. When they are forced to move northward out of the neighborhood, they lose access to LSH's vital services, including counseling, education, food access, and financial support. As a result of Kensington's swift gentrification, LSH's clients are not only losing access to the LSH Farm and its produce, but they are losing their homes, their communities, and LSH's social services as well. In response, LSH's board and leadership are launching a new strategic planning process to determine if it still makes sense to remain in the same building that LSH has existed in for over 115 years. The strategic planning process is ongoing, but they may well decide that their clients are best served by selling LSH's land and moving the agency further north where it will once again be accessible to its clients who have been forced out of the neighborhood by gentrification.

The LSH Farm is not alone in being re-shaped by the effects of Kensington's rapid gentrification. Before La Finquita's land was lost, its leadership was aware that gentrification affected who was participating in and benefiting from the farm. La Finquita's director told me, "[gentrification] has affected who the clientele is at our gardens, who the volunteers are, and who the community garden members are. As the demographics of the neighborhood [become whiter], the demographics of the people who are involved in La Finquita [become whiter] as well." La Finquita represents one of the extreme cases, as their farm was completely destroyed due to gentrification, but other UA projects are also contending with their neighborhood's vast transformations and seeking ways to stay useful and relevant. NSNP's development professional, Ms. Wilson, suggested fostering a more positive outlook on the new residents. She told me, "you can't just work with specific people in a community if you're really a nonprofit that is community-based. You have to... try to engage everyone... [and] be willing to accept [neighborhood] change because it's happening whether we like it or not, and [NSNP is] not going anywhere." NSNP's garden coordinator, Mx. Reyes, expressed some hope about the transition, telling me, "I do think that ...the new folks coming in [are] gonna still show support for us... we will still get those people purchasing produce [from NSNP's farm stand] because they're gonna be like, 'oh my god, organic fruits and veggies!'"

ESUF's founder, described how, "as our community changes, we just try to adapt and try to engage as many people as we can... [but] our neighborhood has changed so much." Nonetheless, ESUF is still seeking ways to stay useful to their changing neighborhood and to meet the needs of their new neighbors, even if that looks radically different than the food access needs of earlier residents. Ms. Brooks told me that one of ESUF's biggest challenges today is "making sure it's relevant... ten years ago, this was really what our immediate neighborhood wanted to do with the space, and sometimes I wonder, [do] new neighbors want something else here?" Ms. Brooks' question underscores ESUF's commitment to their communal ethos and their desire to support the farm's community, including its newest neighbors, in taking ownership of the space and making it their own. At ESUF, this has manifested in a major adjustment to farm programming. Where they once taught low-income neighboring families about kale and how to grow and cook it, they now offer beer home brewing classes and elixir making workshops. They recently became their neighborhood's officially designated community compost drop-off site in an attempt to engage with new neighbors who are less interested in growing food themselves. Ms. Brooks provided a specific example of how ESUF is adapting to the needs of its new neighbors by collaborating with them to develop novel programming. She told me that, "with the newer neighbors a lot of them [have] babies and toddlers, so this year we started a holistic parenting class that's taught by a local midwife who helps manage our medicinal herb garden."

In contrast to the other four sites, Greensgrow is not suffering from the effects of gentrification forcing its core base northward and away from the farm. This is largely because Greensgrow is an entrepreneurial urban farm founded by two white individuals in one of Kensington's historically white neighborhoods. Because of that, Greensgrow does not face an identity crisis like the other four UA projects due to the loss of a core group of racially and culturally distinct participants who are integral to the mission and goals of the farm. In fact, as gentrification shifts Greensgrow's base of customers from lower-income white neighbors to higher-income white neighbors, Greensgrow's ability to profit remains uncompromised and has even expanded. Apart from these racial considerations, it is Greensgrow's unique for-profit model, in which 85% of the farm's income is generated through direct sales, that allows the farm to profit from gentrification.

Wealthy new residents moving into Greensgrow's neighborhood provide additional income for the farm. These recently arrived wealthy neighbors are often thrilled to support an urban farm in their new community, and they have the financial capacity to do so. Greensgrow's revenue increases when these new neighbors purchase plants from its garden center, or food from its daily farm stand, and especially when they sign up for its costly CSA program. Greensgrow's graphic designer described this succinctly saying where "there's new neighbors, there's new customers" and because of gentrification, they are now helping to support Greensgrow's bottom line and keep the urban farm in business. It is important to note that, much like Greensgrow, the LSH Farm can also benefit financially from the neighborhood changes wrought by gentrification. According to Ms. Green, LSH's development manager, gentrification has resulted in "[many more] neighborhood boosters who aren't clients in the traditional sense of the word." While this incoming wave of residents is still displacing LSH's core community of low-income clients and complicating service provision, it also provides the agency with a growing pool of volunteers and individual donors on which to draw for support.

While each of the five UA projects have adapted differently to their changing neighborhoods, it is obvious that they are all affected by the changes. In the most extreme case, La Finquita was forced to shut their farm down and is currently seeking new land where they can continue growing food. ESUF began offering "hip" new programming at the farm to appeal to the incoming whiter, wealthier neighbors. NSNP reached out to both their current clients and the newer residents to attempt to bridge the cavernous divide between the two groups and forge new connections among them. LSH recently entered a strategic planning process to determine if and how they can continue serving their clients who have been forced progressively northward. However, not all of the UA projects are negatively impacted by gentrification. For instance, Greensgrow has warmly welcomed their new wealthier white neighbors, recognizing in them a potent ongoing source of funding for the farm.

5.3.B: UA Land Access in a Gentrifying Neighborhood

As new developments have exploded in Kensington over the last five years, UA projects located on undeveloped lots in the neighborhood have experienced increasing pressure to vacate their farms' land. Out of the five UA projects I spoke with, only the LSH Farm owns its land outright. That means as housing prices have soared, and the demand for new construction on vacant land has ballooned, Kensington's urban farms are finding it increasingly difficult to maintain access to their land and protect their ability to continue growing there into the future. Mr. Ward, Greensgrow's director, described how, "[the neighborhood has] changed substantially...the value of housing has multiplied ten-fold in the ten years I've been there... [gentrification] is changing land-use patterns [meaning] a lot of green space has disappeared." In the context of UA projects' tenuous land access in Kensington, the services of Philadelphia's nonprofit Neighborhood Gardens Trust (NGT) have become increasingly important.

As previously mentioned, NGT is the organization that is at the forefront of assisting Philadelphia's UA projects to permanently acquire their farm's land while teaching these farms how to be good stewards of their land into the future. Originally founded in 1986, NGT has helped to

ensure the permanent protection of 38 urban farms and community gardens across Philadelphia since 2012, with a goal of preserving 55 more by 2019 (Neighborhoods Garden Trust, 2016). The Trust determines which farms to target for preservation using their Priority Acquisition Plan guidelines that assess UA projects based on several factors, including if the farm's neighborhood is gentrifying, if the majority of farm participants are low-income, and the degree to which the farm's neighborhood lacks access to food and green spaces (*ibid.*). Once the NGT identifies a farm as high priority, they do not simply help protect the farm's land, they also provide liability insurance, ongoing farm monitoring, and referrals to the Pennsylvania Horticultural Society's UA training and education workshops. NGT's process for protecting urban farms in the city is complex and is the result of Philadelphia's often-confusing property laws. First, the city grants NGT ownership of an urban farm's city-owned lots. The farm's corresponding District Councilperson can add any UA lots owned privately by delinquent landowners directly to Philadelphia's Land Bank. Assuming a functioning Land Bank, which is still not a reality five years after the Land Bank legislation was passed in 2013, NGT could then purchase these lots through the Land Bank at little to no cost (Gardens Justice Legal Initiative, 2018). Once the NGT owns an urban farm's lots, they lease the land back to the UA project on a 99-year lease term, guaranteeing the urban farm's protection from development over that time span.

Interestingly, only two of the UA projects in my case study are actively working with NGT to preserve their land. As discussed in its organizational history, La Finquita's land has already been lost to developers, meaning they are beyond the help of the NGT. LSH owns its farm's land outright, so NGT's protections do not apply there. New Kensington Community Development Corporation, another local nonprofit, owns Greensgrow's land and has a long-term contract granting Greensgrow access to the land. As such, of the five UA Projects in my case study, only ESUF and NSNP qualify for NGT protection and both of these UA projects are actively working with the NGT to protect their farms' land. According to ESUF's co-manager, Mr. Brooks, "Neighborhoods Gardens Trust is a very good example of a needed nonprofit that will take over if we do get the [farm's] land secured." He told me that without the support of the NGT and their approach to helping UA projects retain their own land, ESUF would not have been able to preserve two of its lots already, nor would they have the hope of preserving all five of their lots in the near future.

For NSNP, the Trust's help in preserving their land has also proved invaluable. According to Ms. Hill, NSNP's farm manager, their farms' integration into their community, cultural significance, and widespread acclaim helped NSNP move to the top of NGT's priority land preservation list. Ms. Hill told me that, "because [our farms] gained so much popularity and recognition, because of the work of Grupo Motivos... we've had a lot of support to preserve our land... [and] we're currently working with the Neighborhoods Garden Trust to put our gardens into their land trust so that they'll be preserved as green spaces" long into the future. Because of their illustrious history and the assistance from the NGT, Ms. Hill believes that NSNP's farms have been spared the worst of gentrification's land pressures. She told me, "I've been part of several other gardens that have been sold at sheriff sale, or been turned into apartments. So, I see that happening in other gardens, but I think because of our history and the role that we play in the city, in some ways we're a little more sheltered from that."

For UA projects that do not qualify for priority protection through the NGT, it can be difficult to ensure the preservation of their land. However, even if the Trust cannot protect a UA project's land, the chance for long-term preservation increases if a nonprofit organization owns the farm's land. Both LSH and Greensgrow demonstrates how farming on nonprofit-owned land is much more secure than simply squatting on privately- or city-owned lots. This is true even when the owning nonprofit is not directly responsible for operating or supporting the farm, as with Greensgrow. In the rest of this section, I discuss how both Greensgrow and LSH have benefitted from nonprofit land ownership and contrast their success stories against La Finquita's experience with squatting, unsuccessful case for adverse possession, and the eventual loss of La Finquita's land.

As mentioned in their organizational history, Greensgrow's land is owned by New Kensington Community Development Corporation (NKCDC), a local nonprofit that focuses on community development in Kensington and remains committed to renting Greensgrow their land for well below market value. NKCDC sees the benefit that Greensgrow brings to the neighborhood and because they are in the business of improving Kensington, they have a stake in Greensgrow's continued existence there. According to Ms. Adams, Greensgrow's financial manager, "I don't think we're threatened by [gentrification]...the land we use is owned by the New Kensington CDC, and we have a long-term lease with them so it's not like they're just going to call us tomorrow and be like, ya'll got to go, we're going to develop that land." NKCDC recognizes how over Greensgrow's 20 years in Kensington, the farm has become a well-supported neighborhood fixture whose loss would negatively affect the Kensington community. Mr. Ward, Greensgrow's director, confirmed NKCDC's commitment to providing Greensgrow with land indefinitely, simply stating, "no, [gentrification] doesn't threaten us in the sense of our current land is going to be taken away." Even so, gentrification and increasing pressure for land in the neighborhood still threaten certain aspects of Greensgrow, including its ability to grow larger in the future. Mr. Ward elaborated that, "[gentrification has] hurt our ability to expand. Now that we are growing and need to expand, we can't afford to anymore, and... it's [become] a lot larger of a proposition to figure out how we can grow our operation since we can't afford to purchase property near the farm anymore."

Apart from Greensgrow, the only other UA project in my case study that operates on land owned by a nonprofit is the LSH Farm. The LSH Farm's land is owned by the broader LSH nonprofit organization, which has increased land security for the farm despite its location in one of the most rapidly gentrifying portions of the neighborhood. In considering the nuances of the LSH farm's relationship with their land, it is instructive to juxtapose their situation with that of La Finquita. The LSH farm and La Finquita are located just half a mile apart on Master Street, an East-West street in the city, meaning that both farms are a similar distance north of the fully gentrified Northern Liberties neighborhood (see Figure 1 on page 31). Because of their proximity to Northern Liberties' many developers, these farms began experiencing pressures from gentrification much earlier than the other three UA projects sites. Despite their similar locations, gentrification has affected these two farms in radically different ways. La Finquita was effectively destroyed due to land pressures from gentrification, whereas the LSH farm persists. In the rest of this section, I draw a contrast between the relative security provided by LSH's nonprofit ownership of their farm's land and how La Finquita's lack of nonprofit land ownership and failed adverse possession argument contributed to the loss of their farm.

In our interview last summer, La Finquita's farm manager, Mr. Clark, told me, "the Catholic Workers own La Finquita through adverse possession because the land hadn't been cared for. It had been abandoned by its previous owners, who were pretty much impossible to locate and weren't willing to take care of the land or pay taxes or anything else like that. So, if you're asking me, I would say that we own the land." Mr. Ward's perspective succinctly sums up the adverse possession argument that the Garden Justice Legal Initiative's pro-bono lawyers attempted to make on behalf of the farm. However, the Catholic Worker never officially took ownership of the farm's land, meaning La Finquita's farmers were quasi-legal squatters there for 30 years. If the Catholic Worker had attempted and succeeded to take formal ownership of the lot before mounting land pressures from gentrification, it would not have been possible for a speculator to sell the land to developers and force the farmers out. Instead, Catholic Worker turned the farm over to neighbors in the 1980s and La Finquita never incorporated as its own nonprofit. These two factors invalidated La Finquita's adverse possession argument because they could not prove that a formal organization had managed the farm across its lifespan. The adverse possession argument is only valid when an urban farm can prove that a single formal organization provided land stewardship for 20 years or more. As it became clear to the farm's pro-bono legal support that they would likely lose their case, the Catholic Worker board, many of whom also participated in La Finquita as farmers, opted to settle the case out of court instead. Both La Finquita's grassroots status and the Catholic Workers' reluctance to provide land stewardship in the farm's past, resulted in a lack of the same kind of

nonprofit-owned land protection for La Finquita that has so benefitted Greensgrow and the LSH Farm.

The LSH Farm also faces similar pressures from gentrification, but unlike La Finquita, they can potentially leverage these pressures to benefit their organization. Despite LSH's formal nonprofit status and their ownership of the LSH Farm's land, the farm is still actively threatened by development. This threat originates not from external developers, but from within LSH's board and leadership who are eager for their organization to profit from the land sale. According to Ms. Jones, LSH's current ED, "we can't be forced out but, you know, money speaks too... we get offers three, four times a week for our land, so if somebody came in and [said] I'll give you \$10 million for it, I think the board and staff and everybody would have a hard time saying no to that... and [to] creating an endowment for the agency. I mean, you know, amounts like that are unheard of [for nonprofits], that's a big deal." Unlike the other UA projects in my case study, because LSH owns their farm's land outright its sale to developers would create an endowment for the entire LSH agency that could sustain their social service mission long into the future. Conversely, the grassroots La Finquita is without the support of a nonprofit landlord like Greensgrow or the LSH Farm and had no opportunity to benefit from the loss of their farm's land.

The differential experiences of these UA projects demonstrate that gentrification's negative impacts on land access are unevenly distributed to UA projects that do not own their land, have the support of a nonprofit landowner, or have protection through the NGT. In Philadelphia, the unjust distribution of gentrification's 'benefits' is weighted heavily toward more formalized UA projects, like Greensgrow and the LSH Farm. For farms without secure land access, like ESUF and NSNP, the work of NGT is critical in helping them preserve near permanent access to their land. While NGT has been historically slow to preserve farm land (only 38 farms protected over six years), once the Philadelphia Land Bank is fully functional NGT's land preservation process should become much faster (Gardens Justice Legal Initiative, 2018; Neighborhoods Garden Trust, 2016). That is vitally necessary to help NGT reach its goal of preserving 55 more farms by the end of 2019. While all the UA projects in my case study are affected by gentrification, the specifics of a farm's land-ownership status can either mitigate against or encourage the loss of the farm's land due to gentrification. As such, my research demonstrates that gentrification's pressure for land can be moderated through outright ownership of the land by the urban farm organization, the provision of a 99-year lease through the NGT, or when the farm's landlord is a sympathetic nonprofit.

5.4 Justice, Race, and Urban Agriculture

5.4.A: The Many Shades of Food Justice

Food justice is an amorphous term frequently applied to UA projects that is defined differently by nearly everyone. There are substantial distinctions between UA projects grounded in authentic food justice and those that adopt the tactics of the Alternative Food Movement without a strong focus on justice. As discussed in the conceptual framework section, UA projects within the Alternative Food Movement (AFM) often echo food justice approaches – building urban farms, teaching nutrition and cooking skills, and distributing food to their community – but AFM projects are typically much less aware of and committed to justice as their end goal (Broad, 2016). In contrast to the AFM, food justice projects are often deeply imbued with the ideals of justice, and seek to ameliorate injustices in the food system by fostering transformative change (*ibid.*). One manifestation of these ideals is that food justice projects are developed from the bottom-up within communities by community members to address specific community-identified needs or issues. La Finquita and the LSH Farm represent two very different iterations of UA projects – the former is food justice oriented and the latter driven is by the Alternative Food Movement approach. In this section, I first discuss the key aspects of La Finquita and the LSH Farm in order to highlight some of the major distinctions between the AFM and food justice that emerged in my research. Specifically, I explore how these farms' different levels of community integration influence how they relate to food justice. Then, I end the section by expanding this discussion to consider how the other three UA

projects in my case study define food justice, how they do or do not utilize the term within the context of their farms, and why these choices matter.

La Finquita, exemplifies a grassroots food-justice oriented farm. It was established by community members to answer their own needs, including cleaning up a vacant lot and providing a space to garden and gather as a neighborhood. Over the years it has been continuously shaped and changed via the investment and involvement of its neighbors. In contrast, the LSH Farm's current iteration was imposed upon the community by LSH's non-profit leadership fulfilling their particular vision of UA. LSH's approach is representative of the AFM's tendency to provide well-funded, neoliberal, top-down "solutions" to food access issues that are externally imposed upon communities without input from those in need (Broad, 2016; Meenar & Hoover, 2012). In making sense of the wide gulf between these two UA projects, it is instructive to consider their key difference in more detail.

As mentioned, the major discrepancy between these two farms is that La Finquita is community driven while the LSH Farm is not. Although the LSH Farm has access to many more financial resources than La Finquita, it struggles to engender the same degree of community buy-in as La Finquita. Indeed, while many LSH employees and neighbors question the reason for the LSH Farm's very existence, before its destruction, La Finquita had near total support from its community. The LSH agency's top-down approach to their urban farm creates a barrier to authentic community collaboration in the space, especially in the wake of the farm's appropriation from the community-led Friends of the Settlement House Garden (FSHG) group. As discussed in their organizational history, LSH developed and imposed their vision for a new urban farm onto the neighborhood without soliciting input from FSHG members or LSH's broader community. Indeed, many of the FSHG members who formerly grew food in the LSH Farm were so upset about LSH's abrupt reclamation of their growing space that they refused to participate in the future farm in any capacity. La Finquita, in contrast, was always a community driven project that was developed and run by neighbors and remained responsive to the changing needs and interests of their community.

Another important distinction is how each of the five UA projects defines food justice and how they do or do not apply that term within their farm's programming, marketing, and fundraising. When I interviewed LSH's former ED – whose vision of UA and fundraising efforts were responsible for the initial creation of the LSH Farm – I asked Ms. Evans if she had intended for the farm to actively change the food system or achieve food justice goals. Ms. Evans responded that the LSH Farm's relationship to food justice was always "more in symbolism than in reality" and went on to explain how she pursued food justice-specific grant funding for the farm by staging "food justice spectacles" for potential funders:

"The Patricia Kind [foundation], they're Catholic Workers so I know [food justice] is important to them... they came on a summer day when the Senior Center was at the church. It was pretty cool, we had like all these heirloom tomatoes, and we had seniors holding tomatoes, you know, it was powerful. Powerful imagery and symbolism... it attracted their food justice side, I'm sure."

This statement illustrates how LSH's former ED marketed their farm as a food justice UA project to solicit additional grant funding from food justice-oriented foundations, but without any real commitment to achieving food justice goals. By the summer of 2017, a year and a half after Ms. Evans' departure from LSH, her approach of pitching the LSH Farm to funders as a food justice project seems to have been abandoned. In my interview with Ms. Green, LSH's current development professional and the person now responsible for pursuing farm funding, I asked her if she still characterizes food justice as an integral part of the LSH farm's mission when communicating with funders. In response, Ms. Green told me, "I think that urban farms... [are] about food justice [but] that is not necessarily where it came out of for us... I don't think that was ever the main flame in the LSH Farm's fire."

Interestingly, La Finquita, Greensgrow, and ESUF all employ similar definitions of food justice rooted in their communities' equitable access to fresh, healthy food. While they have applied the term differently within their farms over the years, what each of these three UA projects have in common is that they explicitly avoid using the term "food justice" to describe the activities or goals of their farms to neighbors and participants. Independently, but universally, these three UA projects have determined that regardless of the degree to which food justice is part of their farms' approach, they do not want to use the term because of its potential to alienate farm participants. According to Ms. Adams, Greensgrow's financial manager, "we're very careful around language and trying to make sure that we're using language that's accessible to people... and I think food justice is this loaded term that is vague. So instead of using that terminology, I think we just say what we're trying to do [at the farm]." But Greensgrow's reluctance to label their work food justice stands in opposition to their food justice efforts, including increasing neighborhood food access, subsidizing sustainable pathways to market for local farmers, and offering low-income CSA options for those relying on SNAP. In ESUF's case, their co-manager, Ms. Brooks, told me that she avoids using the term because she thinks it is too grandiose to describe ESUF's small-scale operation. Ms. Brooks said, "we're happy to be a part of the food justice movement... but I think there's many other examples of farms and gardens in Philadelphia where it is more central to them. We are supportive of those efforts but we're just small and volunteer run and trying to grow food for our neighborhood." In the case of La Finquita, the farm's director, Mr. Clark, acknowledges food justice as a clear goal of the farm, but is still reluctant to use it on the farm's marketing materials. He described how, "food justice is definitely one of our motivators here at La Finquita... we feel that healthy, local, organic food should be cheap and should be available to everyone... and we do what we can to make that happen." Despite his assertion that food justice is a central motivation for La Finquita, when I asked Mr. Clark if he explicitly uses "food justice" to describe the activities or mission of the farm, he told me, "I don't think we... [pause]... I don't think it's on any of our fliers or anything... No we don't use it." Mr. Clark went on to describe that this is because he wants La Finquita to be open and accessible to all and he does not want the term "food justice" to limit who feels welcome and comfortable to participate there.

Of the five UA projects I researched, only NSNP explicitly uses the term food justice to describe their farms. For NSNP, an organization deeply imbued with the ideals of food justice, their decision to use the term is connected to their larger goal of educating their youth participants about social justice more broadly. NSNP's farm manager, Ms. Hill, described how she introduces the term to the Raices de Cambio youth by explaining how "food justice is basically the food aspect of social justice issues. So [I teach about] fighting for racial and economic equality and reparations for injustices in the past and [about how] the food system was built on the backs of black and brown people in this country, through enslavement and through migrant labor through guest worker programs." What her description makes clear is that NSNP openly embraces the term food justice, not only using it in their farms, but also exploring its deeper history and meanings within their youth education. By interviewing Mx. Reyes about their experiences as a former youth participant in NSNP's Raices de Cambio program, it became clear just how nuanced NSNP's food justice lessons are, ranging far beyond a simple discussion of food access. According to Mx. Reyes, NSNP taught them about the many facets of food justice, including:

"Informing the public about the harms [of] traditional food systems, talking about people who work in the food system and about their rights. Now I know [that] the food system that we have right now, it's like our modern-day form of slavery, right? A lot of migrant workers aren't getting paid, right? So, food justice to me is kind of battling that, right? Just making sure that everybody has a fair chance, and everybody has access to clean food, and food that isn't processed with GMOs and stuff like that, you know? That's a lot, a lot can fit into food justice."

Mx. Reyes also described how the depth of education they received around food justice, coupled with the “realness” of NSNP’s approach to teaching youth is what keeps their teenage students engaged. They told me, “[food justice is] something [the Raices youth] actively talk about... and I think that’s what keeps the students here. Because when we talk about food justice, they realize its importance” within their own lives and the lives of their families. Beyond the educational component, food justice is an important guiding principle for NSNP’s entire organization. According to Ms. Hill, NSNP’s farm manager, “[food justice] drives all the work that we do, for instance, hiring local people to support the work in the gardens, compensating people if they teach classes in the garden to share their skills, the fact that we’re supporting people to grow their own food.” This indicates the depth of NSNP’s commitment to the ethos of food justice, especially in relation to the other four UA projects.

Together the five UA projects in my case study represent a spectrum of engagement with the concept of food justice. While not all of them embrace food justice to the extent of NSNP, they were each aware of the term. Aside from NSNP, the UA projects in my case study tend to define food justice solely as food access, without including its broader connections to social justice and its goal of creating transformative change within the food system. It is interesting to note that both grassroots UA projects are reticent to use the term food justice in their farms, even though their community-driven UA model is widely considered a more reliable approach to food justice than projects within the AFM (Alkon, 2014; Cadieux & Slocum, 2015). In Greensgrow’s case, their reluctance to use the term can be construed as a form of marketing, attempting to sell their “farm business” to as wide a range of potential customers as possible. This choice stands in sharp contrast to the extensive behind-the-scenes work that Greensgrow does to achieve food justice goals, including increasing food access for their neighbors, especially those living in poverty; creating pathways to market and income opportunities for local farmers; and providing living wage, sustainable employment. Finally, the contrast between the use of food justice in the LSH Farm and at NSNP indicates that even within the nonprofit realm, there are vastly different levels of commitment to food justice. NSNP’s social justice ethos requires them to provide food justice education and to design their work around food justice goals. Conversely, LSH’s former director, Ms. Evans, had no issue leveraging a “food justice spectacle” to generate additional farm funding without putting any effort into incorporating food justice ideals or methods in the LSH Farm. Her approach is indicative of how the language of food justice is often employed as a smoke screen within AFM projects, giving them the appearance of pursuing food justice without requiring them to embrace its broader ideology or transformative goals (Broad, 2016). It is possible that by not explicitly using the term food justice, or only using it to represent food access, the majority of these UA projects are further obscuring the meaning of the term for their broader communities. Ultimately, however, the UA projects in my case study demonstrate that it is more significant that a farm embodies food justice principles through a community-driven, social justice-oriented approach to UA, than it is for them to attach the term to their work or use it to describe their farm.

5.4.B: The Complex Interplay of Race & Gentrification at NSNP and ESUF

Race was not my original object of inquiry when I initially designed my research project. However, during my fieldwork, race emerged as an important component of the differential effects that gentrification has on the UA projects. While it is outside the scope of my research to provide a thorough analysis of race and gentrification, it is important to consider how UA projects’ different racial histories and neighborhood demographics have influenced their ability to benefit, or their likelihood to suffer, from the pressures of gentrification. To that end, I focus my discussion of this topic on the racial histories of ESUF and NSNP and their immediate neighborhoods. I contrast the racial histories of these two UA projects to indicate how they each have had different opportunities to benefit or suffer due to gentrification’s reshaping of their neighborhoods’ racial demographics.

First, it is important to understand that while Kensington is a racially diverse neighborhood, its African American population is far outnumbered by its white and Puerto Rican residents (see Figure 21 below). Within Kensington, the racial makeup of any given neighborhood can change on

a block-by-block basis. Pockets of majority white residents are interspersed with pockets of majority Puerto Rican residents, but people of the same race tend to live on the same blocks. Kensington's racial checkerboard configuration means that even UA projects that are sited close together can have vastly different racial histories and experiences of gentrification. Due to their proximity to each other and their different racial legacies, ESUF and NSNP make for a particularly interesting comparison. Currently, gentrification is altering the racial demographics of both farms' neighborhoods. As with La Finquita's neighborhood, the dial is shifting from brown to white as wealthier white residents replace long-standing Puerto Rican residents forced further north in search of affordable rents. Because ESUF and NSNP are both located about a mile north of La Finquita, gentrification's advancing wave has reached them more recently, meaning they are in the midst of contending with gentrification's racial reconfiguration of their communities right now. In contrast, LSH's and Greensgrow's neighborhoods have traditionally been mostly white, and incoming new residents are distinguished more by their greater levels of wealth than by a different skin color or set of cultural traditions. For that reason, I have chosen to discuss only NSNP's and ESUF's relationships with race and gentrification within this section.

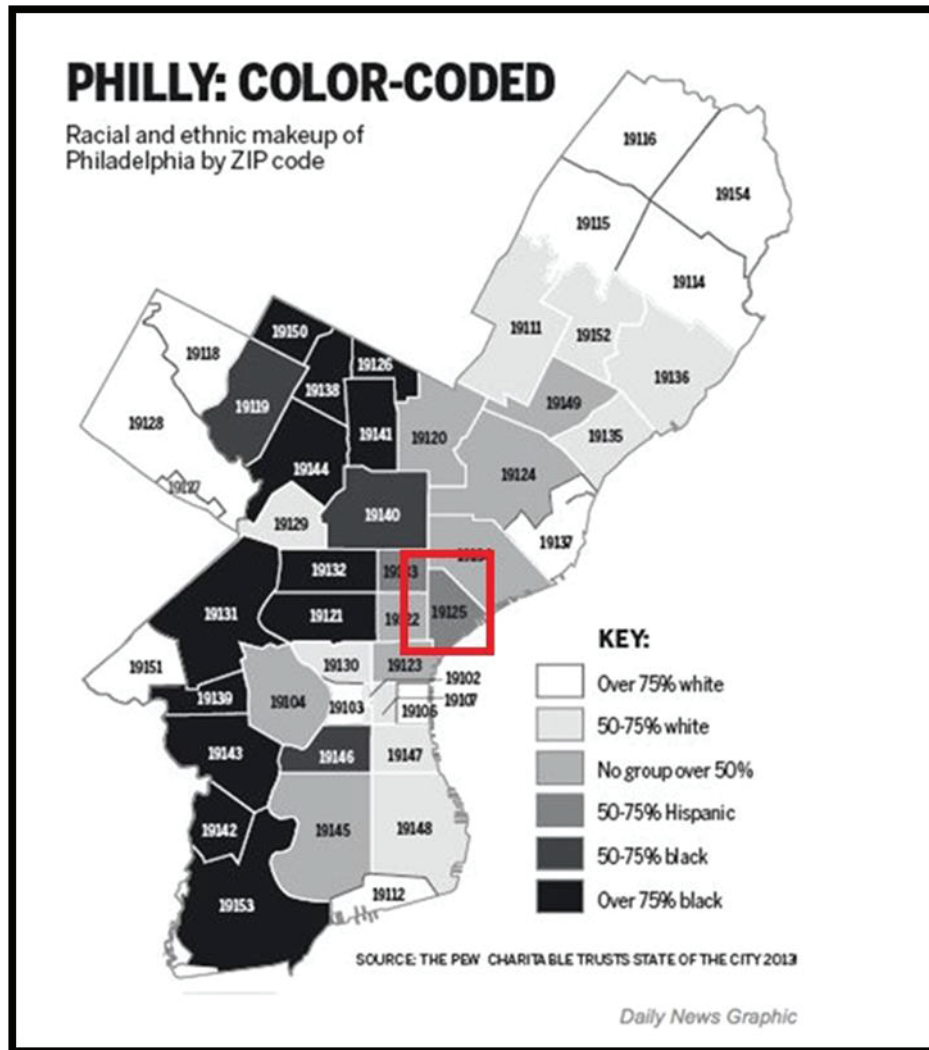


Figure 21: Map of Philadelphia's racial demographics created by the Pew Charitable Trusts for their State of the City 2013 report. Note the red box indicating the Kensington neighborhood as defined within this project. (Pew Charitable Trusts, 2012).

Kensington's currently encroaching wave of gentrification shows no signs of slowing and is raising major concerns for the place-based NSNP, with its deep Puerto Rican roots and mission of preserving the LatinX cultural heritage shared by its founders and its original neighbors. It is not so much that NSNP's farmland is threatened, because they are well into the process of protecting their land with the help of Neighborhood Gardens Trust. Instead, NSNP faces losing its Puerto Rican cultural community, the very foundation of, and reason for, its urban farm spaces. When I asked NSNP's farm manager, Ms. Hill, about these concerns, she replied that, "the culture of the gardens is threatened because they are so rooted in place and in the Puerto Rican community. As the Puerto Rican community migrates north because of gentrification pressures, that's going to affect the ability of people to maintain those healthy spaces when the community, the surrounding community no longer reflects the gardens and is no longer essentially Puerto Rican."

The process of racial displacement due to gentrification is already well underway in NSNP's community. Mx. Reyes, former NSNP youth participant and current farm program coordinator remarked that, "there is [sic] more white folk than before... gentrification is a thing happening right now. I remember 10 years ago I wouldn't see somebody jogging around Needle [Norris Square] Park... but now I see white people jogging... and I know that the rent's getting more expensive here [because of them]." Rising rent costs are an all too familiar story for NSNP's youth participants, many of whose families have been forced out of NSNP's immediate neighborhood as a result. NSNP's development manager, Ms. Wilson, described how one urban farming youth participant now walks a three hour roundtrip every day to reach NSNP's farms because his family was forced to move out of the neighborhood and they cannot afford to pay his bus fare. Ms. Wilson's story was confirmed by Ms. Hill, NSNP's farm manager, who works directly with this particular youth and told me, "[gentrification is] affecting [NSNP] as far as our youth that are working with us, they have become very well versed in gentrification and how it's negatively affecting their lives."

Located less than 0.2 miles away from NSNP, ESUF's neighborhood has experienced many of the same racial demographic changes due to gentrification (see Figure 1 on page 19 and Figure 21 on page 61). The original group of Puerto Rican neighbors who worked together with ESUF's white founders to clean the lot and build the farm, have long since been forced northward by increasing rental costs. According to Ms. Brooks, the farm's founder, "for a while we had a lot more Puerto Ricans and Dominicans living nearby so we were growing all the ingredients to make sofrito." As these residents were forced out of the neighborhood, wealthier white neighbors moved in to replace them. However, this is where ESUF's comparisons to NSNP stop. Mr. and Ms. Brooks, ESUF's white married co-managers, own their home located next to the farm, so they do not risk eviction like their former Puerto Rican neighbors, most of whom rented their homes nearby. However, Mr. and Ms. Brooks do stand to benefit financially from gentrification's changes to their neighborhood, not only through their own rising home value, but also through increased financial support for the farm through their local neighborhood association, the East Kensington Neighborhood Association (EKNA). As more and more wealthy, white people move into the neighborhood, the number of residents paying annual dues to EKNA has increased significantly. That means EKNA has more funding available to award to neighborhood projects, like ESUF, through their community mini-grant program.

While EKNA has consistently given ESUF \$500 a year, they have recently increased that amount by drawing on additional funds generated through gentrification. In 2018, in addition to their normal annual \$500 grant, EKNA helped ESUF pay for a new sidewalk and bike rack for the farm. ESUF's co-manager, Ms. Brooks, discussed this recent financial boon with me, saying, "EKNA in the last few years has been able to help more financially. I don't know if that's due to neighborhood changes or how they manage their money now... [but] EKNA never seemed to have that capacity in the beginning when we were getting started." The increased funding for ESUF is a clear example of how gentrification has benefited the farm and its white founders, while it has actively harmed the farm's original Puerto Rican and Dominican neighbors. While it is likely that ESUF's land will be preserved through the help of Neighborhoods Garden Trust, just like NSNP's, it is also true that

ESUF has benefited from gentrification in ways that NSNP, with its deep ties to their displaced Puerto Rican community, never will. The stories of these two farms serve to further unpack the complex effects of gentrification on UA projects and specifically how the racial legacies of these projects and their neighborhoods help determine how they can benefit (or not) from gentrification.

5.4.C: Racial Justice through Urban Agriculture

I have already discussed some facets of UA's connections to race and racial justice, including in section 5.4.B in relation to gentrification, and in the conceptual framework chapter in relation to the extensive literature on race and UA. In this section, I hone in on the specific connections between UA and racial justice that emerged within my case study. Specifically, I explore more deeply the unique model that NSNP provides for culturally rooted, youth-based UA projects that use urban farming as the entry point for complex conversations around race, cultural identity, and social justice. I then broaden the conversation to describe connections between NSNP and Philadelphia's larger community of urban farmers of color. I also use this section to introduce and describe Soil Generation, an organization doing innovative racial justice organizing, education, and policy work in Philadelphia. I discuss both Soil Generation's fascinating model for racial justice work rooted in UA and its deep connections to two of the UA projects in my case study, Greensgrow and NSNP.

NSNP's social justice youth curriculum is deeply steeped in LatinX culture, making it unique among the UA projects in my case study. This curriculum is born of NSNP's history and draws on the legacy of the Grupo Motivos activists who originally founded the organization and its farms in the 1970s. According to Mx. Reyes, their current garden coordinator and former youth participant, "I think it's amazing what we do with our culture and how all of our gardens are kind of dedicated to an aspect of this community, right? Because North Philly is highly populated by black and Puerto Rican folk, right? So, a lot of our gardens are dedicated to the Puerto Rican Tainos or the African Diaspora in Puerto Rico" (see Figure 12 on page 35 and Figure 22 on page 64). None of the other UA projects in my case study makes such a concerted effort to integrate cultural education and artifacts into their farm sites as NSNP does. For their youth participants, NSNP's culturally based approach to UA provides them with a platform on which to build their own cultural identity while firmly grounding them in the activist tradition of Grupo Motivos. NSNP's farm manager, Ms. Hill, described how in the Raices de Cambio program NSNP has developed a formal "youth apprenticeship program to learn about Puerto Rican culture, youth leadership, and food production and food justice issues." By offering workshops on topics like liberation and social justice, NSNP helps their youth participants learn how their Puerto Rican cultural identity is closely intertwined with activism and the radical ideas, principles, and values of social, food, and racial justice. In fact, NSNP takes their approach to education a step further by requiring their youth to practice what they preach and teach the justice concepts they are learning to their peers. Raices de Cambio youth teach food justice to the Semillas del Futuro students, and they in turn teach social justice to the Raices youth. This is emblematic of NSNP's commitment to fostering transformative change within the food system.



Figure 22: Top: a building in NSNP's Villa Africana El Colobó garden with a painted message that reads: "Amoul ThioSSane Amoul Dara' – Swahili Proverb... 'Sin Tradiciones Tu Tienes Nada'... 'Without Traditions You Have Nothing'." Bottom: inside of the same building displaying colorful items, cloth, and books representative of the African Diaspora that are made available to NSNP's participants

NSNP's work is particularly important in light of the lengthy and often obscured and ignored history of urban agriculture in communities of color. NSNP's farm manager relayed to me how, "I've seen people have the wrong assumption that urban gardening is a new trend and that it's a white

trend. But our gardens really stand as evidence that ever since people have been immigrating to cities... [they] have always grown food where they live... it's really important that our gardens have their 40-year history... and [their] strong cultural foundations to teach that." The message of UA's deep history in communities of color is being conveyed loud and clear to NSNP's youth participants. When I asked former youth participant Mx. Reyes what NSNP's farm spaces mean to them, they responded:

"For me it's kind of another thing with my culture, right? I'm Puerto Rican and growing the foods that people of Puerto Rico would traditionally grow... or just [knowing] the reason behind of Grupo Motivos starting the gardens... that all heals a lot of things that I have questions about, like colonialism and what happened to the Tainos... so it's education, it's healing... it's a lot, it's a lot [laughing]... I can't frame it into just one word."

NSNP's Raices students also collaborate with other UA and justice-oriented groups in the city to help expand the scope of the justice-based education and training they receive at NSNP. The organization's partnership with the Urban Creators farm – another justice-focused UA project for youth in North Philadelphia – has provided some of the Raices participants with the opportunity to learn about food and racial justice outside of the city. In July 2017, four Raices youth, along with Mx. Reyes, traveled to Preston, MD to attend the 2017 Mid-Atlantic Agroecology Encounter. Designed as a gathering for black and brown farmers from all across the region, this event hosted both rural and urban farmers with the goal of fostering new connections and opportunities for inter-learning. Significantly, the conference takes place about 80 miles southeast of Baltimore at the Black Dirt Farm Collective. This farm is built on land once owned by Harriet Tubman that served as the Underground Railroad's first safe house where Harriet freed nine of her own family members. This farm's deep connections to the history of black agriculture and liberation in America is a vital part of what the Raices youth were exposed to by attending.

Apart from providing an opportunity to learn about historical liberation and to meet other farmers of color, the event also taught the Raices youth agroecology tactics to improve the land while they grow food. According to Mx. Reyes, the Raices youth learned, "how to use the resources in our own environment to better the way that we grow... and to grow food [but] not destroy the soil." Of note, a few months after attending the event, the Raices youth got word about the Black Dirt Farm Collective's unique connection to the people of Puerto Rico. In the aftermath of Hurricane Maria in the fall of 2017, members of the Black Dirt Farm Collective travelled to Puerto Rico to work alongside Puerto Rico's Boricúa Organization for Ecologic Agriculture, which is a member of La Via Campesina that has supported small farmers fighting for food sovereignty on the island for nearly 30 years. This hurricane had a significant impact on the Raices youths' extended families on the island, some of whom remain without power to this day. By learning about the Black Dirt Farm Collective's work in Puerto Rico, the Raices youth learned about the power of solidarity and mutual aid among farmers of color, an important lesson for these young activists. Because the Raices youth attended the 2017 Mid-Atlantic Agroecology Encounter along with the Urban Creators youth participants, they were exposed to the rich history and international scope of black and brown farmers' movements and they began to draw parallels between this global struggle and their own UA work in Philadelphia.

The person responsible for connecting NSNP's budding urban farmers of color with the Black Dirt Farm Collective event is Kirtrina Baxter. Ms. Baxter is a prominent member of Philadelphia's urban agriculture and racial justice communities and serves in multiple capacities, including as the Urban Creators farm's manager and as a community organizer for the Garden Justice Legal Initiative. Ms. Baxter facilitated the connection between NSNP's youth and the Black Dirt Farm Collective through her role as Urban Creators' farm manager. But it is in her other role as a community organizer that she co-founded Soil Generation (SG), a black and brown urban farmer-led organization comprised of a "diverse body of urban ag advocates & food justice activists who help inform policy and provide community education and support to gardeners in the city" ("Story of

Us...”, 2018). SG is a fascinating organization that connects urban farmers of color across Philadelphia and organizes them to re-shape UA policy in the city. During my fieldwork, it emerged that both NSNP and Greensgrow have deep connections to the anti-racist UA organization. SG provides an innovative model, grounded in Philadelphia’s long tradition of UA, for how to enhance racial justice in the AFM and how to begin dismantling white supremacy within the broader food system.

I first encountered SG during my interview with Ms. Adams, Greensgrow’s financial manager, when she described a recent Uprooting Racism training that she had organized and led at Greensgrow. This training was designed to explore the many connections between race, urban agriculture, food justice, systemic racism, and white supremacy. Ms. Adams has a leadership role in SG’s white solidarity group, and according to her, “the uprooting racism workshop came as an ask from [Soil Generation’s] black and brown leadership... [who] asked the solidarity group if we would put together a training and offer it to other white growers in the city.” SG’s white solidarity group exists to help support the black and brown leadership of the organization without displacing them or installing white people in SG’s leadership positions. Essentially, any white person who wants to join SG must first educate themselves about how white supremacy and systemic racism affect America’s food system. They do this by attending two meetings of SG’s white solidarity group, in which peer education takes place around these difficult topics, and only then are they welcome to join the broader SG meetings. This is a concerted tactic by SG’s black and brown leadership to foster the voices of urban farmers of color that are so often drowned out by the cacophony of white voices in UA spaces. This meticulously maintained racially graduated organizational structure, works to remove the “white noise” from SG’s meetings, and provides a space in which their own voices, the voices of black and brown urban farmers, can take center stage.

As previously noted, NSNP and Greensgrow both have deep connections to SG and its racial justice work. NSNP’s involvement is unsurprising as there is an obvious link between SG’s network of black and brown urban farmers and NSNP’s urban farming and justice program for youth of color. However, the connections between Greensgrow and SG are more unexpected. Greensgrow is a for-profit/nonprofit hybrid entrepreneurial urban farm with majority white staff, built in a majority white neighborhood. Moreover, Greensgrow’s leadership consciously avoids using the words “food justice” within the context of their farming operation to avoid alienating their base of white, middle class customers. At first glance, Greensgrow does not appear to be a prime candidate to collaborate with a radical, racial justice-based UA organization like SG. Despite its less than revolutionary appearance, many of Greensgrow’s staff, including Ms. Adams, are deeply involved in Soil Generation and its UA-based racial justice workshops. Greensgrow gives tangible support to SG by providing their farm as a site for the white solidarity group’s anti-racism trainings and workshops. In addition, it was Ms. Adams, Greensgrow’s financial manager, who designed and co- led SG’s daylong Uprooting Racism workshop, which was attended by other members of Greensgrow’s staff as well. Ms. Lewis, Greensgrow’s volunteer and event coordinator, spoke about her experience at the Uprooting Racism workshop in our interview. She described how the training took place in, “an entirely white space [in which] all of the facilitators have taken it upon themselves to educate themselves” about white supremacy and systemic racism in the food system. Ms. Lewis continued by explaining how, “it’s really important that white people take the responsibility to teach themselves as opposed to being like, oh you’re a person of color... explain this to me, explain this potentially traumatic experience in your life to me... it is not the responsibility of people of color to educate us.” This perspective is rare within most of the UA projects I researched and is emblematic of the painstaking efforts that SG’s white solidarity group makes to do the work of educating themselves on the important racial issues that emerge both within UA and in American society more broadly. Ms. Adams helped me understand SG’s motivation behind developing the training and her commitment to leading it by describing how:

“The purpose of the workshop was to talk about how we could dismantle white supremacy and the relationship between white supremacy and food and access to food... [but it] was specific to urban agriculture, specific to Philly...”

and there were three separate parts: the history of white supremacy, the history of urban ag in Philadelphia, and then agricultural history generally... For us, centering the work to where we are located, where we all live and work is really important... [because] most of these white [urban] farms, their white farmers are working in neighborhoods of color and working with black and brown youth and... it's really important to talk about that... about what that dynamic looks like and what our reasons are for doing that work.”

Through the potent medium of UA, SG is organizing diverse groups of people to have conversations about, and re-think their perspectives on, white supremacy, racism, and food justice in ways that could not occur without the common ground of UA. For SG, UA is the starting point, the gathering point, the initial point of connection and similarity, but it is also only the jumping off point for a much broader conversation around white supremacy, the legacies of slavery, and systemic racism in America at large.³ The efforts of SG and their white solidarity group are a vital part of beginning to dismantle white supremacy both in Philadelphia’s UA community and more broadly. No other UA organizations in Philadelphia have even attempted what SG has achieved in constructing and maintaining a racially aware leadership structure that consciously operates to resist the vast tide of white voices that so often drowns out black and brown voices of leadership. According to Ms. Adams, “I think urban agriculture somehow became this hip, cool thing [laughter]... and I think that because of that, the way that it shows up in peoples’ lives is rather problematic...so just being able to talk about... how [white people are] taking up space in the city is really important.” UA offers a particularly potent grounding for SG’s racial justice work by providing a tangible and relatable platform from which to explore challenging aspects of race and racism. SG is working to leverage UA as a point of connection around which to foster vital conversations about racism and white supremacy that ultimately help bridge, rather than widen the divide among urban farmers of all colors. The work of SG demonstrates how UA does not have to remain an insular practice, but instead can act as a medium through which to educate many people about racism, inequalities, and justice, while remaining grounded in the tangible realities of urban farms. For these reasons, it is especially appropriate that this chapter concludes with a mention of the outward-facing focus of the food and racial justice-based SG.

This Discussion Chapter demonstrates that ESUF, La Finquita, NSNP, the LSH Farm, and Greensgrow represent a complex array of non-profit, for-profit, and grassroots UA projects, all of which have been impacted differently by Kensington’s rapid gentrification over the last five years. These projects exist within a range of shifting racial contexts and neighborhood backdrops that, together with the farms’ funding and leadership structures, contribute to each UA project’s unique set of challenges and opportunities within their gentrifying neighborhoods. Together, they illustrate how the dynamic interactions between funding, land access, gentrification, and race affect urban farms in Kensington. The depth of information provided by studying these five UA projects facilitates

³ Beyond UA, SG has recently begun to take their innovative approach outward and to share it with other groups within the broader Alternative Food Movement. Specifically, in April of 2018 SG’s co-founder Kirtrina Baxter joined the board of Co-Fed, a national youth organization that works to build and support co-ops on college campuses. Not long ago, Ms. Baxter’s presence would have been an anomaly on Co-Fed’s mostly young, white board. But she was invited to join in 2018 as part of Co-Fed’s new campaign to help its organization in evolving “to better reflect the leadership, vision, and needs of young people of color and poor people... [and become] an organization that is intentionally multiracial, multicultural, and multiclass and one that is led by people of color, Native people, poor people, LGBTQ individuals, immigrants and women” (“About Co-Fed”, 2018). Co-Fed’s campaign for racial justice is the brainchild of their new executive director, Hnin Hnin, whose ongoing mentorship with Ms. Baxter pre-dates, but certainly contributed to, Ms. Baxter’s addition to Co-Fed’s board. By drawing on her extensive background with SG and its deliberate anti-racist structure, Ms. Baxter is educating Co-Fed’s board members about how working toward black liberation can result in liberation for all. This is emblematic of SG’s message of and template for racial justice that, while rooted in UA is now reaching an entirely new population through Ms. Baxter’s work with Co-Fed.

outward extrapolation to contribute to the broader discussion around UA dynamics outside of Kensington as well. As discussed in the next chapter, the experiences the five UA projects considered in this research also contribute to a deeper understanding of the broader entanglements among gentrification, food justice, racial justice, the AFM, and the NPIC for UA projects across the Global North.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

6.1 Introduction

Throughout this research project, I have sought to understand the complex interrelationships among Urban Agriculture (UA) projects, gentrification, and UA funding structures using a case study comparison of five UA projects in Philadelphia's Kensington neighborhood. Focusing on these particular UA projects – La Finquita, the Lutheran Settlement House (LSH) Farm, Emerald Street Urban Farm (ESUF), Norris Square Neighborhood Project (NSNP), and Greensgrow – enabled me to compare grassroots, for-profit, and nonprofit urban farms and to consider how each farm is affected by the pressures of a rapidly gentrifying neighborhood. I also explored how the five UA projects in my case study each define and apply the concept of food justice within their farms. Based on information that emerged during my fieldwork, it became evident that race and racial justice play a large role for several of the UA projects. Expanding on this revelation, I explored NSNP's and Greensgrow's connections to social and racial justice through their collaborations with the racial justice UA organization Soil Generation (SG). By considering how these complex factors interact with and shape the five UA projects I studied, I have come to a deeper understanding of the intricacies of UA projects, including their diversity of funding structures, goals, and community relationships. In this conclusion chapter, I first provide a summary of my research's major contributions by summarizing the key arguments in the discussion chapter and connecting my findings back to the broader literature in the conceptual framework. I then consider how my shifting role(s) as past UA participant, nonprofit employee, and Kensington neighbor contributed to my understanding and analysis of the findings, including my development of a new perspective on the role of UA within gentrification. Finally, I return to the topic of environmental gentrification, as promised in the conceptual framework chapter. I conclude this chapter with a discussion of UA's relationship to environmental gentrification, which I use to suggest potential pathways for future research on the complex interplay between Urban Agriculture, race, and gentrification.

6.2 Summary of Key Research Findings and Contributions to the Literature

As mentioned in the thesis's introduction, Tornaghi (2014), writes that UA "remains a very marginal and almost unexplored field of human geography." Building on this observation, my thesis research was designed to advance human geography's understanding of UA in a general sense. Specifically, I contribute to the field through eight key arguments that I developed during my research analysis, which can be applied more broadly to understanding UA projects in Kensington, Philadelphia, and many other cities in the Global North as well. The eight key arguments that emerged from my research are as follows:

1. **Funding choices in the NPIC:** Nonprofit UA projects operating within the Nonprofit Industrial Complex (NPIC) must make choices about the significance of food justice to their organization and to what degree they allow funding sources to shape their urban farm's development (Broad, 2016; Eliasoph, 2009; INCITE!, 2017). These decisions are informed by the size, mission, and scope of programming of the project. The choices of the LSH Farm's leadership have deeply entrenched their farm within the NPIC, whereas NSNP's different choices have enabled them to retain their farms' radical, justice-orientation even while relying on funding from within the NPIC (Alkon & Mares, 2012).
2. **Sources of income outside of the NPIC:** Like Greensgrow, UA projects that generate the majority of their own income through sales or other similar avenues, can reduce their reliance on NPIC funding and its potential restrictions, allowing them to independently determine and pursue racial, social, and food justice goals as they see fit (Alkon, 2014; McIvor & Hale, 2015).
3. **Community support:** The longevity of grassroots UA projects in gentrifying neighborhoods, like ESUF and La Finquita, is not guaranteed through the support of

neighbors alone, but can be enhanced with the support of city officials and local neighborhood associations (Eliasoph, 2009). To that end, it is important that grassroots urban farms publicize themselves widely and through a variety of mediums, as ESUF does, to ensure additional visibility and build a larger base of support for their farm.

4. **Effects of gentrification:** UA projects are each affected by the processes of gentrification in their neighborhoods. These effects include changing wealth and racial demographics, increasing land pressures, and loss of access to their projects' original community. While, most UA projects are negatively affected by gentrification's changes, those that collect revenue or donations from individuals, as done by Greensgrow and the LSH Farm, can benefit from the new influx of wealthy neighbors (McClintock, 2018).
5. **Land access:** Gentrification's pressures on UA projects' land can be mitigated if the UA project owns its land outright (like the LSH Farm), has the protection of a local land trust (as ESUF and NSNP are in the process of securing), or if the farm is owned by a nonprofit landlord that is supportive of UA projects (like Greensgrow) (Freeman, 2011).
6. **The role of food justice:** The five UA projects in my case study represent a spectrum of engagement with the concept of food justice (Hoover, 2013; McClintock, 2014). Greensgrow, ESUF, and La Finquita each embody aspects of food justice principles but consciously choose not to use the term within their farms so as not to alienate participants. NSNP and the LSH Farm both apply food justice to their farms, but NSNP fully embodies food justice ethos and works to transform the food system through justice-based youth education, while the LSH Farm has a history of superficially employing the term food justice to attract funders without embracing its deeper ideals (Broad, 2016; Holt-Giménez & Wang, 2011; McIvor and Hale, 2015).
7. **Race and UA:** Contrasting the nuanced racial histories and present realities of UA projects helps to unpack the complex interactions between gentrification and race within UA projects (Hoover, 2013; Kirkland, 2008). Specifically, the different racial legacies of ESUF (white founders and current participants) and NSNP (Puerto Rican founders and current participants) have contributed to how ESUF benefits from gentrification in ways that NSNP cannot (Kirkland, 2008; Ramírez, 2015).
8. **Racial Justice and UA:** UA offers a particularly potent grounding for racial justice work by providing a tangible and relatable platform through which to explore the many challenging effects of white supremacy and racism in the food system and society in general (Guthman, 2014; Slocum, 2006). Soil Generation's deliberate anti-racist structure and workshops demonstrate how UA is not merely an insular practice, but can also serve as a medium through which to educate people more broadly about racism, inequalities in the food system, and food justice (Sbicca, 2012).

My research also demonstrates how the integration of Urban Political Ecology (UPE) and Food Justice (FJ) offers a unique conceptual framework through which to study urban agriculture and its complex relationship to both gentrification and food justice. UPE contributed to my understanding of UA projects' different outcomes in gentrifying neighborhoods (Quastel, 2009) because it helps elucidate "who gains from and who pays for, who benefits from and who suffers from particular processes of socioenvironmental change" (Swyngedouw & Heynen, 2003:910). Swyngedouw and Heynen confirm UPE's utility for my research by characterizing its inherent practical and critical agenda and its focus on justice as "[enhancing] the democratic content of socioenvironmental construction by identifying the strategies through which a more equitable distribution of social power and a more inclusive mode of environmental production can be achieved" (*ibid.*, 914). The addition of Food Justice's analytic lens allowed me to clarify the major differences between food justice-oriented UA projects and those rooted in the AFM that Reynolds (2015:243) characterizes as the "distinction between alleviating symptoms of injustice (such as disparate access to food) and disrupting structures that underlie them". The Food Justice framework also enabled me to distinguish between the out-of-touch, top-down, "solutions" to unequal food access imposed on communities by UA projects lodged within the AFM and NPIC and how

authentic food justice UA projects empower traditionally marginalized people to organize, identify concerns, and define their own transformative solutions for racial, social, and food justice in the broadest sense (Allen, 2010; Holt-Giménez & Wang, 2011; Sbicca, 2012)

Gentrification and urban agriculture are the overarching processes of socioenvironmental change that I focus on within my research to understand how they interact to shape Kensington's UA projects (Swyndegouw & Heynen, 2003; Slater, 2006; Tornaghi, 2014). By examining these processes using core concepts from both UPE and FJ, I have constructed a deeper understanding of social, racial, and food justice in the context of UA projects, and UA projects in the context of both the NPIC and gentrification pressure (Agyeman and McEntee, 2014; Keil, 2003; Quastel, 2009). These deeper understandings are a critical component of my research and demonstrate how my work contributes to the diverse bodies of literature addressed within my thesis's conceptual framework, including literature within the fields of food justice, UPE, and gentrification studies.

One of the primary contributions my research makes to the food justice literature is a clearer and more nuanced understanding of the vast array of different types of urban agriculture projects in the global north. In the food justice literature, UA is often treated as a static monolith in which UA projects operate under similar missions and goals, typically related to increasing food access (McIvor & Hale, 2015; Reynolds, 2015). Conversely, what my research demonstrates is that even UA projects located within the same neighborhood can have vastly different end goals, mission statements, and approaches to their urban farms. These differences exist within grassroots, nonprofit, and for-profit UA organizations and contribute to whether an urban farm is helped or hurt by gentrification. One of the key differences is whether the urban farm is conceived of as the means (tools) or the ends (outcomes) by the UA organization. In some cases, like the LSH Farm and La Finquita, the urban farm itself is the goal with a related goal of producing and distributing food to the farm's participants. In other cases, the urban farm is the means or the tool that allows its participants to work toward a new goal, such as building community, or providing racial justice education, or teaching youth about activism and history. This distinction has implications for the kinds of funding available for the farm, the farm's layout, the degree of farm acceptance within the community, and who is welcome to participate there.

My research also contributes to the food justice literature's understanding of UA by demonstrating that within the multiplicity of UA project types, the UA projects themselves are not static entities, but rather are continuously shifting and evolving over time. This evolution may include changes to farm location, participants, mission and goals, types of food grown, activities provided, funding accessibility, and even shifting farm relationships to gentrification. In many cases, shifts within UA projects are driven by the individuals responsible for coordinating the farms and are representative of these individuals' UA preferences and their specific urban farming goals. The role of a charismatic leader in shaping an urban farm cannot be underscored enough, especially for fledgling farms that are vying for funding, land, and volunteers in neighborhoods rich with competing UA projects. My research demonstrates how vital it is to pay attention to the nuances among different urban farms to more fully capture the heterodox and variegated nature of UA within the food justice literature and to delineate how the specific iteration of each farm intersects with their relationship to a food justice ideology.

The contributions of my research findings' to the UPE literature is less obvious. While UPE provided a vital foundation for my research project through its theorization of change in the urban environment, my research contributes more directly to the food justice literature than that of UPE. However, my findings do represent an extension of UPE's utility by applying the framework to the novel topic of gentrification in the context of UA projects. Within this context, my research takes up Lawhon's call to further develop "second wave" UPE with a feminist theory-inspired deployment of a situated UPE that starts from the everyday lived experience of often-overlooked urban residents. By focusing on the lived experience of urban farmers in Kensington, my research contributes to the emergence of a situated UPE which provides an important counterpoint to the typical UPE focus on

larger-scale processes and grand metabolic flows through urban environments. The small-scale, situated form of UPE that I engaged with in my research contributes to an enhanced understanding of how UA projects interact with and are shaped by gentrification. The array of connections between UA projects and gentrification that emerged throughout my research has previously been absent from the gentrification literature and is a clear contribution of my findings to that body of scholarship. According to Slater, this is particularly important in light of the dearth of critical gentrification scholarship, especially qualitative scholarship focused on the effects of displacement, including the gentrification-induced displacement of urban farmers forced to move away from their urban farms.

During my fieldwork, race emerged as another potent lens through which to examine the differential effects of gentrification on Kensington's UA projects. While a critical race analysis was outside of the scope of this project, my limited examinations of race did contribute to my understanding of the differences between gentrification's effects on ESUF and NSNP. Kirkland (2008:28-29) observed that "the argument may be made that gentrification and displacement represent not an anomaly but a continuation of a longstanding pattern of the dislocation and subjugation of people of color in this nation." I investigated this by exploring the disparate racial histories of these two UA projects, through which it became clear that these differences underscore the projects' abilities to benefit, or their likelihood to suffer, from current gentrification pressures. This inquiry was also inspired by Heynen's creative tactic of merging urban political ecology with abolition ecology, which he defines as particularly useful to further "elucidate and extrapolate the interconnected white supremacist and racialized processes that lead to uneven development within urban environments" (Heynen, 2016:839).

Together, urban political ecology and food justice provide a compelling framework through which to analyze the complex interactions among UA projects' funding structures, access to land, integration into their broader communities, racial histories, degree of commitment to food justice, and how these factors affect UA project outcomes in a rapidly gentrifying urban environment. Kirkland's observation that "although racial identity is frequently acknowledged in gentrification literature, race as a subject of direct inquiry and serious concern is conspicuously absent from many investigations of gentrification" (Kirkland, 2008:18) asserts race as an important and understudied subject to consider in future research about gentrification's effects on UA projects. I reiterate how race represents an important component of future research on UA and gentrification in section 6.4 below.

6.3 A Return to Reflexivity – Resituating Myself Within the Research

I went into the field asking how gentrification affects UA projects and I left asking how UA projects affect gentrification. In this section, I attempt to tease out how this shift in my perspective is connected to related shifts in my perceived role(s) during my fieldwork. First, I explore how my actual experiences of familiarity (or lack thereof) in the field differed from my expectations before I got to the field. I also consider how the many nuanced, shifting roles that I inhabited and embodied as a researcher during my fieldwork affected my interactions with the UA projects and the types of information that I received. Finally, I discuss how throughout my fieldwork I developed a new vision for the relationship between UA and gentrification in Kensington, and how I left the field asking different questions than when I entered it. This leads directly into section 6.4 and my discussion of new directions for UA and gentrification research that is inspired by Melissa Checker's concept of environmental gentrification (Checker, 2011; McClintock, 2018).

As discussed in the methods chapter, I blended feminist theory with political ecology scholarship by incorporating a self-reflexive awareness of how my shifting memories, experiences, and roles affect my research (England, 1994; Kohl & McCutcheon, 2015; Rocheleau, 1995). I explored this by maintaining a reflexive field diary to record my thoughts, feelings, and emotions during my fieldwork (Caretta & Jokinen, 2016; Smith, 2016). This diary provided me with a platform to reflect upon how my role and perceptions as a researcher changed over time, and how those changes influence my research (Latham, 2008). Before fieldwork, I understood that I had complex

insider/outsider positionality born of my previous 5-years of experience living in Kensington and working with UA projects there (Smith, 2016). However, once I got to the field, I realized my positionality was much more nuanced than I originally thought, including the effects of my race, gender, age, and how these changed the way I was perceived and treated by others. While I did not fully analyze my researcher positionality in keeping with traditional feminist methodology, I did pay careful attention to how my research was influenced both by my previous experiences in the neighborhood and by my interpretation of the vast changes currently re-shaping Kensington.

My complex and shifting role as a researcher, including the influence of my past experiences with UA and nonprofits in Kensington, is clearly illustrated through my relationship with the LSH Farm. Of all five UA projects in my case study, I had the longest and most complex connection to the LSH Farm, having previously served as their grant writer and as the volunteer co-founder of the Friends of the Settlement House Garden group that was later destroyed to make way for the LSH Farm. During my fieldwork, I leveraged my past experiences with the farm and the agency to gain access to interviewees, and to information within the interviews, that would not otherwise have been possible. One clear example is my interview with Ms. Evans, LSH's former Executive Director (ED). Because Ms. Evans stepped down from her role as LSH's ED a year before I started fieldwork, it is likely that if she had not been my former supervisor, I would not have known to interview her and I would have missed her remarkable perspective on the farm's evolution. My interview with Ms. Evans proved vital for gathering "insider" information about LSH's deep embeddedness within the nonprofit industrial complex and how that embeddedness has resulted in contradictions within the LSH Farm, including the gulf between the reality of the farm and how it was marketed and reported on to funders. Because of our past relationship, Ms. Evans was comfortable speaking frankly with me about the LSH Farm's contradictions and broader issues within the LSH Agency, including the lack of staff buy-in to the UA project. In addition, many other LSH interviewees treated me as the "expert" about the farm and perceived me as knowing much more about the LSH Farm than they did. Because staff turn-over is high and institutional memory is short at LSH, several interviewees read me as more of an "insider" at the LSH farm because my past relationship with it was more extensive than any current LSH employee. This perception of me as the real "expert" or "insider" to the LSH Farm certainly colored the information I received because interviewees were reticent to voice their perspective when they thought it might contradict my own.

While my complex and shifting relationship to LSH and the LSH Farm was particularly apparent, I also experienced a multifaceted and evolving relationship to the other UA project sites as well. I went into the field thinking that my history with many UA projects in the neighborhood would grant me limited "insider" status at most farms. However, when I got to the field, I realized that was not a safe assumption to make. I have not lived or worked in Kensington for the past five years, and over that time there has been significant turn over in the volunteer and staff populations within the UA projects in the neighborhood. Even the UA projects that I had closely collaborated with in the past had only a few remaining familiar faces, most of whom were the farm founders and/or long-time managers. Because of this, I was perceived more as an outsider in these spaces than I had anticipated. More interviewees seemed to view me as an outside researcher from West Virginia University than they did as a former neighbor of and/or volunteer within their particular urban farm space. While this may have prevented me from getting certain deep "insider" information like I was granted at LSH, it also allowed me to be treated as a novice and receive thoughtful answers to even my most basic questions. This foundational information derived through my perceived outsider role as a researcher was critical in constructing a thorough understanding of most UA projects in my case study, aside from the LSH Farm.

During fieldwork, I uncovered a third unexpected facet of how my prior experiences within the neighborhood shaped my perception of it as a researcher. The rapid gentrification in Kensington and its utter re-shaping of the neighborhood landscape, made me feel as though I were an outsider in a neighborhood where I had previously lived for five years. It is not an exaggeration to say that in some places the neighborhood had changed so much that I struggled to recognize it. Strikingly, the

Rocket Cat Café building which was my home for three of my five years in Kensington was torn down just weeks before I began my fieldwork. The Rocket Cat building was completely demolished, despite its original Sheppard Fairey mural that once made it a neighborhood icon (see Figure 23 below, page 74-75). Throughout my summer of fieldwork, I observed as new condos were constructed on the site of my old home, in what proved to be a discombobulating and dislocating experience (see Figure 23 below, page 74-75). As I came to terms with my new role as an outsider in the neighborhood, I experienced a commensurate shift in my perspective on my research topics more broadly. Indeed, just by walking around and observing the massive changes wrought by gentrification in my old neighborhood, I was inspired to develop a new conception of how gentrification and UA projects interact. This new line of questioning was only possible as a result of my existing knowledge of the neighborhood and it spurred me toward a deeper, more personal understanding of gentrification in Kensington.

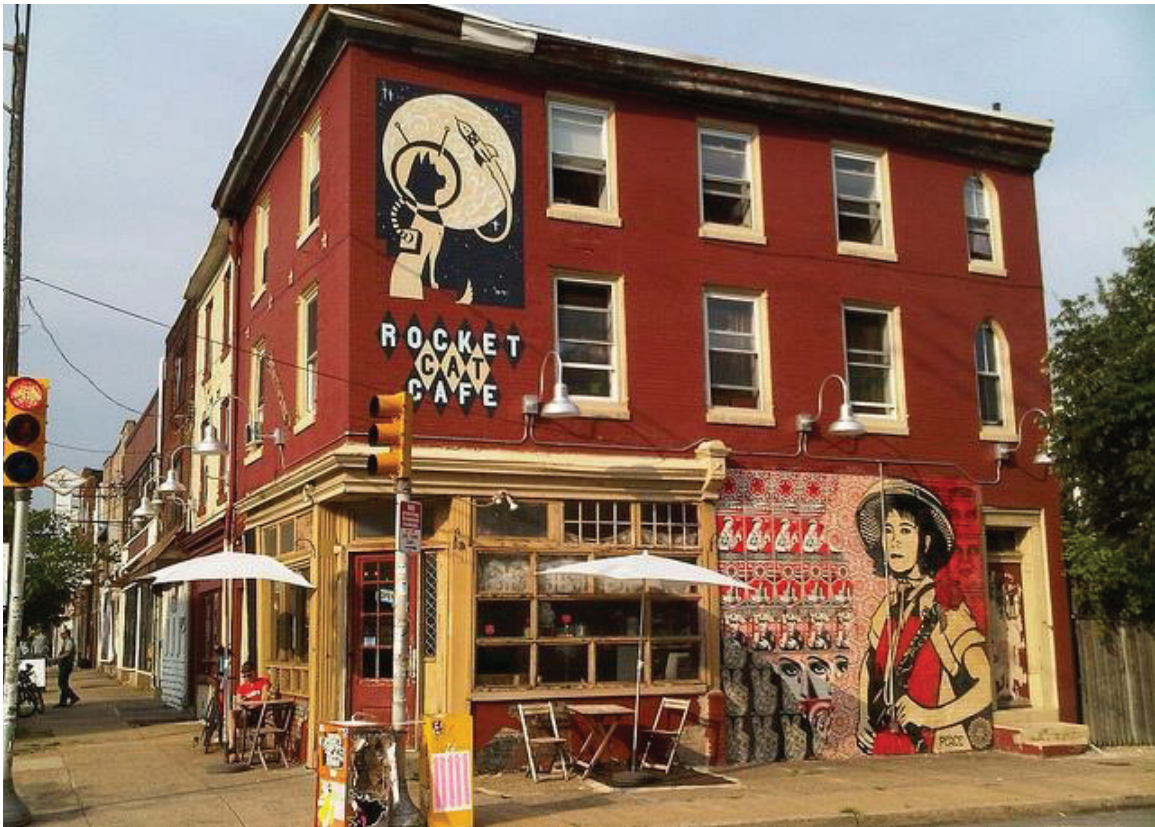




Figure 23: Top: The Rocket Cat Café in all its former glory, including its iconic Sheperd Fairey mural (photo credit: Jefferey Bussmann, retrieved from: https://www.flickr.com/photos/j_bussmann/4672316691/). Bottom: The new condos being constructed in Rocket Cat's former location during my fieldwork in summer of 2017. (photo credit: Arianna Hall-Reinhard).

As I walked around my old neighborhood, I began to imagine gentrification as a flood. I observed how commercial corridors provide the earliest and most obvious conduits for gentrification, acting like the streambeds and river basins that fill up first during a flood. These large and busy streets, like Frankford Ave and Girard Ave, with their commercial zoning and constant flows of traffic, were the first areas in Kensington to begin gentrifying. In the predominantly residential areas surrounding these corridors, I observed how Kensington's UA projects act as topographical low-points where the "flood" of gentrification tends to collect before inundating further into these neighborhoods. In my vision, the appealing attributes that UA projects provide for potential gentrifiers (e.g. local organic produce, a sense of community, and access to green space) serve to focus developers' eyes on the neighborhoods immediately surrounding existing UA projects, resulting in a concentration of gentrification's effects near these sites. Essentially, I was so jarred by the drastic changes that had reshaped Kensington a mere five years after I moved away, that I was forced to re-examine my conception of UA projects and how they contribute to accelerating nearby gentrification. My re-examination suggests that UA projects can spur additional development in their surrounding neighborhoods because they allow developers to easily leverage the highly marketable "amenity" of an urban farm and its associated community. The urban farm becomes a selling point to convince gentrifiers to move into otherwise unknown and unappealing neighborhoods. This perspective came to me in a flash while I was recording my thoughts in my reflexive field diary in a café during my fieldwork. Later, when I returned home from the field, I discovered that my new vision of UA projects' role in accentuating gentrification, is echoed within Melissa Checker's environmental gentrification argument, a link that I consider in the next section's discussion of future research on the relationship between UA and gentrification.

6.4 Environmental Gentrification or UA as a "Gateway Drug" to Gentrification

In a recent study, Davidson and Lees explain how new-build developments in London "have acted like beachheads from which the tentacles of gentrification have slowly stretched into the adjacent neighborhoods" (Davidson and Lees, 2005:1186). There are parallels between this

vivid imagery and my observations of the gentrifying effects of UA projects in Kensington. UA projects in my research area appear to play the role of Davidson and Lees' 'beachheads' by exposing middle class whites to these previously hidden neighborhoods, and thereby providing a conduit for gentrification. This is directly in line with Checker's description of the process of environmental gentrification in which the "unintended consequences of environmental justice activism [including food justice activism within UA projects] ... gets swept up in the multiplicity of factors that foment gentrification and displacement" (Checker, 2011:212).

Melissa Checker's work on environmental gentrification has additional congruence with my observations of how UA projects serve as focal points for the advancing "flood" of gentrification in Kensington. Checker describes environmental gentrification as existing in the convergence of urban redevelopment, ecologically-minded policies and initiatives, and environmental justice activism (Checker, 2011; Dooling, 2009). Checker describes the process of environmental gentrification as one in which "materially, the efforts of environmental justice activists to improve their neighborhoods (i.e. the removal of environmental burdens and the installation of environmental benefits) now help those neighborhoods attract an influx of affluent residents." (*ibid.*:212). In so doing, environmental gentrification opens the floodgates for wealthy, often white, residents to move into areas that have recently benefited from community-based environmental justice activism, often led by local residents of color. Ironically, these are the same residents most at risk of displacement as a result of increasing gentrification. Indeed, Heynen writes that "postindustrial urban greening and market-based planning function as technologies of erasure [of people of color] in the creation of a new [white, urban] frontier" (Heynen, 2016:842). Interestingly, although Checker makes clear parallels between "the efforts of environmental justice activists to improve their neighborhoods" and the efforts of food justice activists to improve their neighborhoods through building urban farms, she does not explicitly discuss the relationship between UA projects and environmental gentrification. As such, this opens up an important new avenue of research – one that can construct a deeper understanding of the complex role UA projects play in attracting, and extending the reach of, gentrification.

As mentioned above, I view Kensington's urban farms as topographical low spots that attract the attention of developers and gentrifiers in advance of gentrification's "flood." In the context of a rapidly gentrifying neighborhood like Kensington, urban farms can serve as points of interest, places around which like-minded communities form, and are therefore easily leveraged by developers to market neighborhoods that would otherwise remain on the outer fringes of gentrification. By making these otherwise unappealing neighborhoods seem vibrant and hip, urban farms draw gentrifiers outward from the city's core toward its peripheral neighborhoods. The very presence of these urban farms encourages wealthy new homebuyers to settle in neighborhoods they might not have even visited, let alone moved to, if it weren't for the allure of the urban farm and its community. I discussed this phenomena at length with Ms. Adams, Greensgrow's financial manager who also organizes social and racial justice workshops for white urban farmers through her involvement with Soil Generation. Ms. Adams summed up her perspective on the relationship between urban farms and gentrification by saying:

"I think in Greensgrow's 20-year history it's changed a lot... this neighborhood has been completely gentrified and the housing market has completely changed, the residents have completely changed. And I think that is an unintended consequence of having a farm here honestly... what happens to communities when urban farms come in, coffee shops come in, it really prices people out and it's negative. I think urban farms are often a gateway drug to gentrification... And not just here, not just in Philly, but nationally. You could say the same thing in, like South Central LA has changed a lot due to urban farming. Detroit, Baltimore, same things are happening in those places. And I think it's this really hard thing because everyone needs access to food and access to growing space, and so I think this is another reason why talking about racism [in the food system and urban agriculture] is really important..."

how do we make sure that [food and land] access exists without changing the whole neighborhood? That's really hard to figure out... [because] it makes the neighborhood more attractive to other people if there's [an urban] farm. The folks that are already there might also love it. They might have been gardeners for generations, right? But because [the urban farm] then makes the neighborhood more attractive to other people, then it increases the cost of property and other things go up, and that creates a segregation in the population.”

Ms. Adams' observations suggest that UA project's role in environmental gentrification is particularly true in gentrifying neighborhoods, like Kensington, that rely heavily on hip new urban “greenwave” developments to entice wealthy young professionals to move to the area. Kensington's many new “sustainability-themed” condos and row-homes appeal to gentrifiers who have been convinced to move into until recently run-down neighborhoods by the promise of joining an authentic “green” community there. This promise is much easier for developers to make in the presence of a nearby urban farm that can be marketed to potential gentrifiers as the locus of that authentic “green” community.

Although UA's multifaceted role in enhancing gentrification began to emerge during my fieldwork, it was not the primary topic of inquiry with which I began my research. Additional research on this topic is required to better understand the complex intersections between environmental gentrification and UA projects. I argue that Heynen's recent work to integrate UPE with abolition ecology provides a robust framework through which to understand the relationship between environmental gentrification and UA projects (Heynen, 2016). Making connections to abolition ecology is especially important because of the often racially-based nature of gentrification in which wealthy white gentrifiers colonize recently re-developed communities of color (Kirkland, 2008; Lees, 2016). Indeed, environmental gentrification, including its racial component, is exactly the kind of process that UPE is poised to investigate with its focus on “tracing the powers of government planners, real estate developers, consumers, and social organizations as they act in relation to urban ecologies and discourses of the environment” (Quastel, 2009:719). Further developing an urban political ecology of environmental gentrification, and applying it within the context of UA projects, will help contest the obscene new reality of “the poor rendered homeless so that urban professionals can feel altruistic” (Quastel, 2009:719) about growing food in their newly gentrified neighborhood's urban farm (Broad, 2016; Checker, 2011; Classens, 2005; Dooling, 2009; Slater, 2006). By incorporating the work of Heynen, Quastel, and Checker, I suggest a path forward for future research that applies a UPE-based investigation of environmental gentrification to elucidate how this process is both associated with and differentially impacting UA projects in gentrifying neighborhoods. Furthermore, as discussed above, this research would benefit from more explicit consideration of race as suggested by the work of Kirkland and Lees. Quastel provides a powerful summary of my goal for this future research, writing that “studying the political ecologies of gentrification is ultimately a critical project, enjoining us to confront the dilemmas of reconciling our practices and customs of urban living with values of social justice and ecology” (Quastel, 2009:719).

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Appendix A – Semi-Structured Interview Guide

1. In your opinion, why was the group/project founded? What were the founders' motivations to start the group/project?
2. What is the overall mission or goal of the group/project?
3. In what Philadelphia neighborhood(s) is/are your project site(s) located? Was this neighborhood chosen for a specific reason?
4. Where exactly is the project site located? How/Why was that site chosen?
5. Does your project have multiple sites? If so, where are they in relation to each other (same neighborhood, different neighborhoods, close together, far apart?)? And why were these sites selected?
6. Does the project own its own land?
7. If not, who owns the land where your project is located? Is the owner aware of the project? Do they support it?
8. Does your group/project have a contract granting access to the land? Is there an end date to the contract? How are the terms of the contract upheld/enforced and by whom?
9. Is there a cost to access and use the land where the project is located?
10. How is the project site zoned by the city? Does the zoning affect what you can grow or build there?
11. Have you had any interactions with your district councilperson about the project site? If so, what about? What was the tone of the interaction?
12. What do you think your group/project's strengths are? What are the challenges?
13. How do you think the nearest neighbors to your urban agriculture project site perceive it? Are they casually supportive? Antagonistic? Neutral? Actively involved?
14. Does your urban agriculture project have workdays? Are they open to the public? Who participates in project workdays? How are project workdays advertised and/or marketed?
15. How have you seen your project's local neighborhood change in the time you've worked there? What do you think about the changes?
16. How do you think neighborhood changes affect the project?
17. Generally, is the project's neighborhood getting better or worse? Why?
18. Do you think the project's neighborhood is gentrifying? Why or why not?
19. Do you feel like the project threatened by development? How so? What kind of development (commercial, residential, nonprofit, etc.)?
20. What is your group's response to perceived threats of development?
21. Is your group/project actively working to change the food system? How?
22. Are you familiar with the term food justice? What does food justice mean to you?
23. Does the group or project use the term "Food Justice" to describe its activities or its mission? If so, how does the group/project define "Food Justice"?
24. Does the concept of "Food Justice" ever come up with your fellow group/project participants? If so, in what context is it discussed?
25. Is your urban agriculture group/project a registered 501c3? If so, why did the group choose to incorporate as a nonprofit? If not, why did the group decide not to incorporate?
26. Is your group/project controlled or managed by an external organization with 501c3 status? If so, which organization(s)? Is this organization responsible for providing funding to your group/project?
27. If not explicitly managed by, does your group/project partner with an external nonprofit entity? If so, how much influence over the project does the nonprofit partner have? (Do they influence what is grown and how it is distributed? Do they influence how funding is sought and secured? Do they influence who can participate in the space and how?)
28. What are the benefits to your group/project of working with external nonprofits? What are the challenges?
29. Are you involved in fundraising for your urban ag. group/project? (if yes, ask the following Qs... if no, ask: Who in the group is responsible for fundraising and/or grant writing? AND are they willing to speak with me? Can you put me in touch with them?)

30. How does your group fund itself generally?
31. How did your group pay for the site's initial construction and installation of infrastructure (i.e. building raised beds, or initially cleaning the vacant lot, or fencing, etc.)?
32. How does your group pay for ongoing costs (i.e. seeds, fertilizer, water, maintenance, equipment, etc.)?
33. Does your group/project receive donations (in-kind, monetary, or volunteer hours)? What kind of donations? Who donates?
34. How do you identify and make contact with potential donors? How do you communicate with donors?
35. Has your group applied for grant funding? If so, what funders have you applied to?
36. Which funding applications were successful? Which were unsuccessful? And why do you think that is?
37. How does your group search for and identify which funders/grants to apply to?
38. Has the group/project received grant funds that changed or restricted the mission/goals/activities of the group/project? How so?
39. Does the group pursue funding opportunities designated for food justice projects? Can you share any food justice focused RFAs with me?
40. Does the group explicitly address concepts of food justice within funding applications?
41. Has the group/project received grant funds that affected its ability to achieve the food justice mission/goals/activities of the group/project? How so?
42. Are there any questions I didn't ask that you think I should be asking?
43. Is there anyone else associated with your urban agriculture project who I should talk to?
44. Are there any other urban agriculture projects in Philadelphia you think I should get in contact with?
45. Do you have any questions for me?

Appendix B – Initial List of Provisional Codes

- Non-profit Industrial Complex
- Food Access
- Intra-agency conflict/tension
- Urban agriculture motivations
- Urban agriculture goal
- Corporate
- Private foundations
- Funding
- Grassroots
- Gentrification
- Volunteers
- Food Justice
- Race
- White Supremacy
- Neighborhood
- Community
- Partnerships
- Uncertainty
- Land
- Urban environment
- Profit

Appendix C – Edited Provisional Coding Schema Used for Structural Coding

(In Vivo codes are displayed in quotations)

- Land access
- Gentrification
- Grassroots
- Nonprofit
 - Radical non-profit
 - Non-profit Industrial Complex
- “go where the money is”
- For-profit
- Project history
- Food justice
- “privileged garden”
- Race
- Project motivation
- Project goals
- “Mission Drift”
- “cult of personality”
- Uncertainty/unknown future
- Conflict
 - External conflict
 - Internal conflict
- Youth
- Social justice
- Partnerships
- “pitching to funders”
- “fudging the numbers”
- Open to public
- Closed to public
- UA as “gateway drug to gentrification”
- Resistance to Urban Agriculture
- “Community buy-in”
- Poverty
- Funding
 - Corporate funding
 - Foundation funding
- Farm Education
- Volunteers
 - Volunteers as labor
 - Volunteers as public relations

Appendix D – Discussion Section Headings and Sub-Headings Generated Through Pattern Coding

1. Funding Structures and Urban Agriculture
 - Nonprofit Industrial Complex
 - “A Non-profit that Acts Almost Entirely as a For-profit”
 - Gradations within the Grassroots
2. Gentrification and Urban Agriculture
 - Changing Neighborhoods, Changing Needs
 - UA Land Access in a Gentrifying Neighborhood
3. Justice, Race, and Urban Agriculture
 - The Many Shades of Food Justice
 - The Complex Interplay of Race & Gentrification
 - Racial Justice through Urban Agriculture