Proceedings of the annual meeting of the Southern Anthropological Society

Volume 43
Number 1 *Recovery, Renewal, Reclaiming: Anthropological Research toward Healing*

Article 4

2015

"The Revolution Will Be Community Grown": Food Justice in the Urban Agriculture Movement of Detroit

James C. Tolleson

Follow this and additional works at: https://egrove.olemiss.edu/southernanthro_proceedings

Recommended Citation
Tolleson, J. C. (2015). "The Revolution Will Be Community Grown": Food Justice in the Urban Agriculture Movement of Detroit. Recovery, Renewal, Reclaiming: Anthropological Research toward Healing, Proceedings of the Southern Anthropological Society, 2013, 43, 45-84.

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the Southern Anthropological Society at eGrove. It has been accepted for inclusion in Proceedings of the annual meeting of the Southern Anthropological Society by an authorized editor of eGrove. For more information, please contact egrove@olemiss.edu.

"The Revolution Will Be Community Grown": Food Justice in the Urban Agriculture Movement of Detroit

James C. Tolleson

> What is going to happen to cities like Detroit, which was once the "arsenal of democracy," and others whose apex was tied to manufacturing? Now that they've been abandoned by industry, are we just going to throw them away? Or can we rebuild, redefine, and respirit them as models of twenty-first-century self-reliant and sustainable multicultural communities?
> —Grace Lee Boggs, *The Next American Revolution*

In recent years, Detroit, Michigan, has become a national and international focal point for urban agriculture. While the city works to address the effects of its decades-long economic decline, some have named Detroit a potential model for cities dealing with parallel issues of deindustrialization and joblessness (Runk 2010). However, some Detroiters are concerned about the direction of urban revitalization. In this predominantly African American city, many residents are the descendants of migrants from the rural US South and have known family and community gardens for generations. However, during the summer of 2012, plans for a large agricultural project called "Hantz Farm" prompted Detroit food activist Malik Yakini (2012b) and others to ask the question, "What kind of urban farming will Detroit have?" Yakini and other members of the Detroit Black Community Food Security Network (DBCFSN) challenged the Hantz Farm

project, which aimed to purchase over two thousand vacant lots on the east side of Detroit to establish a ten-thousand-acre private farm with the express purpose of creating "land scarcity" (Holt-Giménez 2011; Dolan 2012). The Hantz Farm controversy offered an opportunity to highlight the vision of food justice activists with a different plan for urban agriculture and rebuilding Detroit, one based on grassroots development and alternative economic structures built by and for historically oppressed Detroit residents.

When I began looking at the different organizations involved in urban agriculture in Detroit, I focused on the Feedom Freedom Growers (FFG), a small family-based organization associated with the Detroit Black Community Food Security Network. During the limited time (eight weeks) that I spent with the FFG conducting interviews, participant observations, and document collection, I started with two primary questions: (1) How is the food justice activism of the FFG influenced by traditions within the Black Freedom Movement? (2) What is the role of community building in the FFG's work?

Early on, I was intrigued by how one of the cofounders, Wayne, described his experiences as a member of the Black Panther Party (BPP) in the 1970s. He frequently referenced the BPP in relation to his current work with the FFG. Due to his leadership in the FFG, Wayne's experiences with the BPP and other facets of Black Freedom Movements were a strong influence on many FFG participants. In this paper, I identify several ways that the BPP influences the work of the FFG and discuss the significance of this influence for food justice activism.

Another early observation was that members of the FFG often mentioned community and community building in descriptions of their work, including building relationships with neighbors and using a communal or collective process for liberation. I wanted to

understand where this tendency to focus on community building came from and, again, what it meant for food justice activism.

In the following sections, I will provide a historical backdrop for the food insecurity that exists in Detroit today and discuss the perspectives of the FFG's farmers, activists, and educators in relation to the concept of *food justice*, a term used to describe food activism arising largely out of communities of color and in contrast to some of the norms within the mostly white, middle-class dominant food movement (Alkon and Agyeman 2011). *Food justice*, while a relatively new term in academic and activist work, describes food activism that uplifts the issues of equity and justice that often get marginalized in the dominant food and environmental movements. The food justice elements of the urban agriculture movement in Detroit articulate the need for a historically and culturally rooted social movement, a grassroots approach to engaging community members in a collective manner to solve problems, reclaiming land from public and private entities who do not use the land for common benefit, and new ways of measuring justice and sustainability in development.

Detroit: Motor City to "Food Desert"?

On July 18, 2013, the city of Detroit, Michigan, hit front-page news around the world for verging on "the nation's largest public sector bankruptcy" (Isidore 2013; Maynard 2013; Rushe 2013). Several prominent Detroiters responded, including City Councilmember JoAnn Watson (2013), who wrote an article entitled "THE CITY OF DETROIT HAS NOT FILED BANKRUPTCY!" in which she explained that Michigan Governor Rick Snyder had actually been the one to file bankruptcy via the "unelected, non-resident, appointee" Emergency Financial Manager in what she called a hostile act unprecedented in US history. Longtime resident and ninety-nine-year-old activist Grace Lee Boggs (2013) added, "Detroit's financial

bankruptcy didn't happen overnight—or by accident. Racism played a huge role."

This historical summary of Detroit begins with these topical vignettes because that is where many readers may connect with the troubles of Detroit. Indeed, the spectacle of Detroit's economic decline, including its many abandoned, crumbling buildings and high rates of poverty and crime, tends to consume the image of the city and its people. However, for the sake of truly understanding the challenges of food justice, a minor goal of this article is to dispel the historical amnesia concerning Detroit's decline.

Today, Detroit is still known by the monikers "motor city" or "motown." This is due to the vast expansion of Detroit's automobile and defense industries in the early twentieth century. During World War II, it formed part of the US "Arsenal of Democracy," producing vast amounts of military machinery (Sugrue 2005). A few decades prior, Detroit was starting to receive attention for job opportunities like Henry Ford's 1914 promise of five dollars per day for autoworkers. Northern cities such as Detroit gained a great deal of economic prestige, especially amongst European immigrants and African Americans in the US South. Due largely to migration from the South, Detroit witnessed a boost in the African American population from 5,741 (1910) to 40,838 (1920) to 120,066 (1930). Overall, the city's population doubled between 1910 and 1920, from 465,766 to 993,678, and then doubled again to reach almost two million at its peak in 1950 (Martin 1992; White 2011a). The en masse movement of African Americans northward, later called the Great Migration, had an enormous influence on the future of northern cities like Detroit.

Many African American migrants in the early twentieth century were influenced by both the push of southern oppression and the pull of northern promise. Migrants journeyed north in search of a better livelihood and relief from the economic, social, and political

restrictions of the Jim Crow South. In the Reconstruction Era following legal emancipation from slavery, African American farmers overcame many barriers to obtain landownership and economic independence. Indeed, by 1910, African Americans had acquired fifteen million acres of land—a great feat considering the underdevelopment experienced under slavery and that, by that same year, nearly every southern state had succeeded in disenfranchising black males who had received the right to vote with the fifteenth amendment (C. Gilbert 1999). In addition, the white southern elite used coercive violence and the agro-economic systems of tenancy, sharecropping, and the crop lien to maintain dominance and keep African Americans in states of indebtedness and dependency to white planters. African American farmers also faced discrimination from the US Department of Agriculture (USDA) and white-owned banks (Green, Green, and Kleiner 2011). Racial oppression and economic depressions in the 1920s and 1930s pushed many African American farmers off the land and to seek employment in the urban industries of the South and the North (C. Gilbert 1999).

When northern industrial cities began hiring labor agents to attract skilled and unskilled workers, black southerners were particularly drawn to the dual promise of economic opportunity and social equality (Martin 1992, City of Opportunity section). However, upon arrival, they found that where Jim Crow de jure (law-based) segregation was absent, the de facto segregation of "separate but unequal" was the norm (Tyner 2007, 223). Carter G. Woodson, remarking on the mass movement of African Americans in the Great Migration, suggested that "the maltreatment of the Negro [would] be nationalized by the exodus" (Martin 1992, City of Opportunity section). Indeed, black southerners encountered a world that perpetuated racial inequality by barring African Americans from access to coveted industrial jobs. Even when industry was booming

and hundreds of factory workers were being hired each day, many African Americans suffered from racial discrimination in employment (Sugrue 2005). Then, with the onset of economic restructuring, economic inequalities became even more pronounced.

In the 1940s, deindustrialization began to shrink factories and leave thousands of workers unemployed. The economic downturn contributed to an "uncertain postwar social order" that white elites negotiated by facilitating the highly racialized movements of people, known as suburbanization or "white flight" (Tyner 2007, 224). The decline of the industrial economy coincided with the redesign of the city and the construction of a highway system to allow middle- and upper-class access to the suburbs. The new highways carefully avoided middle- and upper-class neighborhoods in favor of devastating low-income black areas, such as when the Chrysler (originally Oakland-Hastings) Freeway blasted through the Paradise Valley and Black Bottom neighborhoods, which were the residential, commercial, and cultural centers of Black Detroit up until the 1950s. Large public housing schemes were developed (often late) for displaced residents, but "urban renewal" failed to revive economies or even improve living conditions. Accordingly, James Tyner (2007, 225) argued that urban renewal schemes emerged "not out of any genuine concern for the welfare of inner-city residents, but rather as a means of recapturing urban economic bases and tax bases." The highway and urban renewal projects may have been deemed "slum-razing" tools for removing "blight," but, in reality, they displaced thousands of people and destroyed the social fabric of many black communities (Sugrue 2005, 47-48).

Whites continued to maintain separate social and economic spheres and to isolate economic decline in many low-income and black neighborhoods through tactics such as discriminatory real estate practices (i.e., homeowners associations, zoning, and

redlining), restricted access to loans and economic opportunity, and inadequate public transportation systems (McClintock 2011; Tyner 2007). Across the United States, “black ghettos” became defined by debilitating social circumstances: “Joblessness, welfare dependency, and single parenthood become the norm, and crime and disorder are inextricably woven into the fabric of daily life” (Massey and Denton 1993, 118). The intentional economic and social degradation of the inner city through “ghettoization” severely limited the self-determination and self-sufficiency of these communities and caused many economic institutions, including food retailers, to flee the city.

In 2010, Detroit was recognized as the most segregated city in the United States and continues to reflect the trend of “chocolate city and vanilla suburbs” popularized in Parliament’s 1975 hit song, “Chocolate City,” about Washington, DC (White 2010). These trends signal the failed project of integration, but, more importantly, they directly link to conditions known as “food deserts.” According to the USDA (2009), food deserts are areas with “limited access to affordable and nutritious food” (1). A 2007 study by Mari Gallagher on food deserts in Detroit found roughly 550,000 residents—over half of the city’s population—living in areas with high degrees of food imbalance. Gallagher refined the concept of food deserts by measuring food imbalance as “the distance to the closest grocer divided by the distance to the closest fringe food location.” Furthermore, Gallagher found that food imbalance increased the rates of diet-related health problems and premature death in a given area (4-5). Detroit-based scholar Monica White (2010, 197) elaborated on the spatial significance of this study: “The places where healthy food is found tend to be financially inaccessible and . . . geographically out of reach for local residents, many of whom have limited access to reliable transportation.” Essentially, the concept of food deserts demonstrates the spatial elements of food insecurity.

Proceedings of the annual meeting of the Southern Anthropological Society, Vol. 43 [2015], No. 1, Art. 4

While this spatial analysis can be helpful, its emphasis on the built environment of a particular area can sometimes simultaneously work to gloss over the agency of local folks and ignore the larger structural issues that produced the food insecurity. Therefore, in this article, I will use the term *food insecurity* most frequently, due to its potentially more apt and less distracting description of the challenge faced by low-income families in parts of Detroit. Through taking a historical perspective, we can see that the structural inequities of systemic racism and concentrated poverty (i.e., "ghettoization") via real estate and planning practices, economic divestment, and inadequate public transportation contribute directly to food insecurity in Detroit.

Racial injustice and the economic development strategies led by white elites went hand-in-hand to deprive many black communities of access to economic, social, and political power. It is no mistake or coincidence that marginalized farming people, who arrived in northern cities after being refused equal citizenship and an equitable place in the southern agricultural economy, were ghettoized and forced to continue living as second-class citizens. Systemic racism and uneven development are the roots of Detroit's troubles. Therefore, any attempt to construct a more sustainable and just food system must reckon with this history.

Justice in the Food Movement

> For black farmers, it is not a matter of going back to the days of yesteryear, for how can a system based on slavery and sharecropping be considered idyllic? Instead it is a matter of continuously striving to achieve justice in the future.
>
> —John J. Green, Eleanor M. Green, and Anna M. Kleiner, "From the Past to the Present"

https://egrove.olemiss.edu/southernanthro_proceedings/vol43/iss1/4

In the "food deserts" of Detroit and elsewhere, residents have long-standing traditions of using small available plots to grow food. However, only recently has it been termed *urban agriculture* and associated with the burgeoning food movement. Popular writers such as Michael Pollan (2008) and Barbara Kingsolver (2007) have articulated some of the main tenets of the food movement, including organic, local, and slow food. These values often take the form of participation in farm-to-table restaurants, farmers markets, community gardens, and community-supported agriculture, or CSAs. To a large degree, the food movement has been dominated by middle- to upper-class white/European American values and, oftentimes unknowingly, has silenced the histories of nonwhite ethnic groups in relation to food and agriculture, dominating the discussion about how to deal with the problems of hunger, diet-related disease, and the environmental pollution of industrial agriculture (Alkon and Agyeman 2011). This section will introduce the concept of food justice and the existing scholarship on food movements within communities of color and poor communities.

Food justice activism has emerged from communities of color suffering directly from marginalization in the food system and various diet-related diseases. Given the cultural diversity involved in food justice, the broad definition provided by veteran organization Just Food is most appropriate: "Food justice is communities exercising their right to grow, sell, and eat [food that is] fresh, nutritious, affordable, culturally appropriate, and grown locally with care for the well-being of the land, workers, and animals" (Alkon and Agyeman 2011, 5). Within this definition, one can find attributes of what Agyeman (2008, 752) calls "transformative sustainability or *just* sustainability," which is the idea that sustainability, with its conventional environmental focus, undergoes a paradigm shift to a more redistributive framework in which "justice and equity must move centre stage."

In the next section, I will further unpack the characteristics of the emerging food justice movement, including its critiques of the food movement and its roots in communities of color in the United States.

One of the foremost problems of the food movement is the great irony with which it claims progress toward a more sustainable food system, and yet declines to address issues of equity and justice for all people. Michael Pollan notably stated, "Not everyone can afford to eat high-quality food in America, and that is shameful: however, those of us who can, should." Guthman (2011, 276) criticizes the exclusivity of his statement by observing that "what at first appears to be a compassionate statement . . . assumes the persistence of inequality and, for that matter, ignores that the racialized land and labor relationships embedded in the U.S. food system continue to contribute to structural inequality." The larger point here is that, despite its good intentions, the food movement often lacks attention to issues of equity and justice, even when ostensibly attending to unequal access. Part of the problem lies in the exclusionary practices of the food movement, which appeals most strongly to the white, middle- to upper-class clientele that comprise its ranks.

While the food movement often focuses on a universal goal of "knowing where your food comes from," the disregard for historical differences in experience with agriculture endangers the food movement's ability to truly correct or improve upon the abuses of the past. It assumes that all peoples are willing and able to participate in alternative food practices, including paying higher prices for food. Indeed, Guthman (2008b, 394) argues that asking marginalized communities to "pay the full cost" of organic food, for example, means "asking people who might have historical connections to those who have more than paid the cost with their bodies and livelihoods in U.S. agricultural development—who in certain respects have themselves subsidized the production of cheap food—*to pay even more*"

(my emphasis). What Guthman pinpoints here is the great privileged inattention with which the dominant food movement has regarded the histories of systemic and structural inequalities that have historically impeded working class and nonwhite groups of people from full participation in various aspects of US society. Even in attempts to be sympathetic or, more actively, “fix” communities suffering from food insecurity, food movement activists tend to overlook these stories and focus on the largely white and middle-class strategies for change outlined above.

In response to the dominant food movement narratives, groups such as the Growing Food and Justice for All Initiative (GFJI) have developed a focus on issues of racial inequality that stem from the relative absence of people of color in the food movement. For example, one GFJI member, Ben Yahola of the American Indian-based Mvskoke Food Sovereignty Initiative, describes the work of reclaiming food and cultural sovereignty (Morales 2011, 163). By tying food to the history of European colonization, he asserts an agrarian vision based on his own cultural heritage. In another case, Malik Yakini (2012a) of the Detroit Black Community Food Security Network (DBCFSN) described the dominance of whites within the food movement as “a disturbing trend rooted in the on-going legacy of white supremacy and privilege that characterizes American society.” While American Indian experiences of inequality in the food system is certainly distinct from that of African Americans, the numerous examples of communities of color addressing both food *and* justice demonstrate the need for cultural and historical awareness in the food justice movement.

Finally, the food justice movement has demonstrated a clear need for marginalized communities to have control over their own food systems, not only for the sake of sovereignty but because a growing body of literature shows that contemporary food systems are both

socially unjust *and* environmentally unsustainable (Green, Green, and Kleiner 2011). Julian Agyeman (2008, 752), who investigates the compatibility of environmental justice and sustainability traditions in what he calls "just sustainability," writes unequivocally that "human inequality is bad for environmental quality." Various examples show that the industrial agri-food systems that have privileged large-scale farms and driven many small-scale and nonwhite farmers off the land have also been environmentally unsustainable (Berry 1977; Magdoff, Foster, and Buttel 2000; Alkon and Agyeman 2011). Various ethnic groups, such as the Karuk people in what is now California, Asian immigrant farmers, and Latino immigrant farmworkers, have been displaced from traditional ethnic forms of agriculture and incorporated into food systems that foster food insecurity and unsustainable practices (Norgaard, Reed, and Van Horn 2011; Minkoff-Zern et al. 2011; S. Brown and Getz 2011). African American farmers, in particular, have lost control in the food system via land displacement and an astounding "98 percent loss of black farm operations between 1900 and 1997 compared with a nearly 66 percent loss among white operations" (Green, Green, and Kleiner 2011, 55). Clearly, the increased mechanization, industrialization, and consolidation of food systems prevent many communities from defining and creating food systems that meet their needs, especially low-income and nonwhite communities. The remainder of this article is devoted to how one organization, the Feedom Freedom Growers (FFG), cultivates just sustainability, or the intersection of justice and sustainability, in the local food system through a model of black cultural capital and grassroots development.

Black Cultural Capital and Community in the Feedom Freedom Growers

> Nobody wants to live through a depression, and it is unfair, or at least deeply ironic, that black people in Detroit are being forced to undertake an experiment in utopian post-urbanism that appears to be uncomfortably similar to the sharecropping past their parents and grandparents sought to escape. There is no moral reason why they should do and be better than the rest of us—but there is a practical one. They have to.
>
> —Rebecca Solnit, "Detroit Arcadia"

As this article has shown, the decline of industrial Detroit and enduring racial inequality devastated African American communities socially, economically, and environmentally. Therefore, in grassroots responses that seek popular participation in social change, community building is a key component. In an example specific to postindustrial contexts, Helen Matthews Lewis (2009) articulated community building as the defining feature of grassroots or participatory development in post-mining industry towns of Appalachia. In her "Twelve Step Program for Recovering from Industrial Recruitment," Lewis begins with "1. Understand your history—share memories" and "2. Mobilize/organize/revive a sense of community" (74). Lewis demonstrates how a sense of community, as generated through storytelling and recognizing the value of traditional methods of "raising and preserving food and home remedies," is vital to grassroots development (81).

Similarly, in response to the question of how to redevelop Detroit following the decline of the automobile industry and the reality of increasing "social alienation, violence, and insecurity within black communities" in the 1980s and 1990s, the activists James and Grace

Lee Boggs recognized the need for community building (Ward 2011, 318). Through a variety of projects and activities, such as "community gardens, . . . recycling projects, . . . neighborhood responsibility councils, repair shops, skills banks, panels to resolve disputes between neighbors, and community bakeries," they hoped communities would develop "collective self-reliance through which citizens could rely on themselves—and not city (or state or national) government—to revitalize Detroit and other cities" (319). Likewise, the Feedom Freedom Growers (FFG) has committed to the long-term process of community building by developing personal relationships with neighbors, bonding over common experiences and cultural backgrounds, and collectively proposing alternatives in the pursuit of food justice.

The FFG is a small organization of mostly African Americans on the east side of Detroit dedicated to fostering food justice. The organization operates programs in art, education, growing food for the purpose of "cultivating self-reliance that sustains the life of our developing communities" (Feedom Freedom Growers 2012). Cofounders Myrtle Thompson and Wayne Curtis began in 2008 with a small vegetable garden beside their home. In the years that followed, the organization grew to involve many of their children—Kezia, Tyrone, Monique, Travis, and Shereece—all of whom were in their early twenties to early thirties. In addition to family members, the FFG has relied on like-minded people who work or volunteer for the organization for varying periods of time. The organization has steadily developed youth programs for the many unexpected children who regularly visit the garden and attend community programs such as block parties and roundtable discussions (see appendix A). As a predominantly black organization serving a predominantly black neighborhood, the FFG has built its programs, philosophies, and strategies for food justice using elements of black culture and history.

In order to facilitate community building, the FFG has used black cultural capital to help create bonds and guide the content and form of their activism. The term *cultural capital* describes how shared identities, consciousness, and behaviors function for instrumental and expressive purposes. For example, an instrumental purpose might support the social and economic development of a community, whereas an expressive purpose might demonstrate in-group affiliation (Carter 2003). Bettye Collier-Thomas (2004) provides an example of how black women used various fundraising skills and techniques (such as bake sales, rummage sales, and dinners), imbued with a sense of group consciousness and collective identity, as cultural capital to support educational and charitable institutions in the black community. While food preparation skills are only a minor point in Collier-Thomas's analysis, I want to point out the integral nature of agricultural and food preparation practices, or agri-food practices, to the identity and survival of a culture. For African Americans, agri-food practices began on the African continent (e.g., rice farming on West African coast) and have evolved through different experiences with land, agriculture, and food in the United States (Carney 2001).

The revolutionary nature of growing food in historically oppressed areas of Detroit rests on the FFG's understanding of black cultural capital and grassroots development as integral parts of their food justice activism. As articulated in their slogan "grow a garden, grow a community," FFG members talked frequently about the need to involve community members in their grassroots efforts. Why? Tyrone suggested succinctly that "Baba [Wayne] always says that revolution is impossible without the community. . . . And that's one thing that Huey [Newton] taught too: you can't survive without the support of your community." This response captured a few of the main characteristics of FFG's strategy for social change: a dedication

to community building and the history of the black freedom movement. Wayne's experiences as a member of the Black Panther Party (BPP) in Detroit during the 1970s served as a major inspiration for the organization.

When Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale founded the BPP in Oakland in 1966, they aimed to address "the historical unwillingness of the U.S. government to provide viable welfare services to unemployed African Americans and other minorities living in inner cities" (Heynen 2009, 410). The BPP used a combination of grassroots organizing and mutual aid "survival programs" to pool resources from the community in order to help satisfy immediate needs in health care, education, and food. The BPP responded to their observation that many children went to school hungry by establishing the Free Breakfast for Children Program, which fed thousands of children each day before school (Heynen 2009). The community building tactics used by the BPP demonstrate how black radical organizations have, for generations, fought against inequality in the food system by building spaces of collective self-reliance.

In acknowledging that black people in the United States have "never had the support of institutions [run by the nation-state]," Wayne emphasized the BPP's relevance in black history: "We [black Americans] have always had to build the space . . . always had to build this entity in which we could determine our destiny and resolve our problems, and create the structures that *we* would sustain, to take care of and perform certain duties for us in certain areas: education, housing, medical . . . because we were lacking that connection with the so-called institutions under capitalism. So we had to do this ourselves." Wayne's description of the insights he gained in the BPP regarding autonomous spaces feed directly into the goals of the FFG to reclaim land for urban agriculture and use community building as the framework for grassroots development (Tyner 2006). In contrast

with the "industrial recruitment model" discussed by Lewis or a model overly reliant on government services, the BPP built parallel institutions to satisfy community needs. Thus, Wayne's discussion of self-reliance to meet community needs resonates strongly with the radical politics of the BPP.

Another prominent reference to the BPP appeared in the FFG's newsletter publication, entitled "Feedom Freedom: The Interagricultural News Service" (see illustration above). As a Black Panther, Wayne often worked as a salesman for the BPP's newspaper called the *Intercommunal News Service* in order to raise money for projects in his Detroit chapter and the developing base in Oakland, California. The idea of intercommunalism promoted self-determination in local communities while linking the efforts to the larger struggle for black communities in the United States and around the world. The news service served as a communication tool between BPP chapters across the country and also to keep BPP members informed about revolutionary movements throughout the African Diaspora and Third World, like Samora Machel's in Mozambique, which Wayne noted as an important influence. Similarly, the FFG newsletter has helped inform others about their work and link them to other groups fighting for food justice in Detroit and elsewhere.

Finally, a reference to the BPP appeared in a youth's creative work entitled, "A Food Justice Poem," published in the Winter 2012/2013 newsletter:

Creepy, crawly, flying insects
Eww . . .
Compost, touching it
Gross . . .
Justice over food??
Whatever . . .

Fighting for what's right
Hoping for a new Wall Street
The government may ignore our cries
But like the Black Panthers,
We will NOT be beat by our own fight!

Then came Us kids
Who believed we could change the world
We closed our old ways and ideas
And we were opened to a new life
We knew it didn't come without a price!

Using experiences with the FFG, the young person drew a comparison between the activism of the BPP and the FFG. Specifically, the description of having to "[close] our old ways and ideas" resonates with how Wayne described "working through contradictions" in the BPP—making personal and collective changes in ideas and behaviors when necessary to address community needs. The poem provides evidence of how the content and form of activism by the BPP is passed down to the FFG's youth participants in the form of black cultural capital. Their example and common black identity serve as encouragement for the FFG's youth participants to also struggle dialectically for justice.

In contrast to the inspiration drawn from the black cultural capital of the BPP, the collective memory of slavery poses the challenge of reframing agriculture as a potential source of power. Monique,

discussing her frustrations with getting people involved with the FFG, said, "There are a lot of people who don't wanna work in the garden because they feel like slaves working in the field." Yakini of the DBCFSN described the problem in a similar way: "Part of the challenge we have with organizing African Americans for this work is that many of our people associate this work with enriching somebody else, associate it with slavery or sharecropping, both of which enriched whites through our labor. And part of what we're doing is reframing agriculture for African Americans, so that we can again see it as an act of self-determination and self-empowerment." (Democracy Now! 2010) Indeed, the stigma attached to agriculture for some in the black community is a strong indication of an enduring association between agriculture and the conditions of slavery and of the ongoing challenges facing small-scale and minority farmers. However, evidence of a positive reframing of agriculture is evident in Myrtle's declaration that the example set by the DBCFSN as a well-organized and "unapologetically black" organization helped her to attach a positive racial sentiment to food justice activism.

Another important part of the FFG's reframing strategy was establishing connections with Detroiters who have southern roots. Although geographically outside of the US South, the FFG can maintain cultural connections with the South through food. Myrtle related how many of the people who have "stopped [by]" or who "appreciate the food that we raise here are from the South." She pointed out that a nearby pastor "from the South" was one of their biggest supporters and had helped them till the soil during the first growing season because he had "always grown his own food." Not only that, he also had chickens, which Myrtle assured me was not rare: "People have had chickens forever in Detroit. Chickens don't make noise. They neighbors know but they don't bother anybody." She also described an "elderly, beautiful little lady" who, although

she did not get out of the house much anymore, walked down the street on a walking stick to see the garden and share stories about how she used to grow "her food by the moon." This encounter, in particular, Myrtle described with a sense of utter appreciation and love: "For her to come down here, it was just like, it was too much . . . little things like that." Overall, Myrtle drew connections between the current urban agriculture movement, a longer history of Detroiters (including her grandparents) growing food in the city, and an even longer heritage of agriculture rooted in southern African American communities and, even, African communities. The connections seemed to give her a sense of pride and cultural continuity: encouraging her not to frame agriculture as a shameful practice despite its association with the oppressive and inhumane conditions of chattel slavery and sharecropping systems.

I also found that the FFG framed agriculture in a longer historical view reaching back to their African ancestors and to food issues on the continent of Africa. For example, at the block party event in July, they provided pamphlets about food and politics, including a short essay entitled "African State of Mind," by James Sheely, which critiqued the lack of recognition for African contributions to agriculture: "It's hard to imagine how someone could talk about agriculture and fail to bring up Africa, especially when addressing a room full of African descendants." The article went on to describe the birth of agriculture in Kush (modern-day Ethiopia) and how agriculture sustained the development of culture in areas of "mathematics, language, music . . . government, medicine, religion." By providing an alternative narrative about the history of agriculture and development, the FFG challenges the dominance of the white agrarian story in the US food movement.

Throughout the FFG's community building, the organization focuses on cultivating relationships and avoiding top-down

instructions about food choices. When I asked Kezia about their strategies for outreach, she replied that she did not think of it as outreach but as community building. She related how when they passed out flyers or talked to people about food and health, they were not seeking to impose a new diet on people. Rather, Kezia asserted how face-to-face dialogue and long-term commitment allowed people to trust the organization: "People know that they're not just gonna up and disappear. Mama Myrtle and Baba Wayne, they live in the community, they love this community, they a part of this community, so it's not just somebody trying to come in and exploit me or my family or my community. . . . How do you expect them to get onboard with you if you're not willing to support them and listen to what they have to say?" Kezia also stressed the importance of allowing people to "formulate their own questions and their own thoughts about something versus saying, 'this is a food desert. You should be pissed,' [without addressing the basic questions], like, why don't we have any food? What is really going on in this community? . . . The food that we do have access to, why is it not good?" As a grassroots organization whose members also live in food desert conditions, the FFG has developed grassroots participation by carefully dialoguing with community members in order to build relationships and collectively name the barriers to food justice.

One evening while several FFG members and I were playing Apples to Apples, a card game based on making humorous connections between words, an association was proposed between the words *fast food* and *fake*. Myrtle interjected by reminding us that fast food often seemed like the only option for many people and that we shouldn't disparage those food choices. This topic reemerged a few weeks later at a roundtable discussion that the older youth facilitated on the topic of food justice. Since the event had drawn neighborhood youth, parents, and other urban growers and supporters in

Proceedings of the annual meeting of the Southern Anthropological Society, Vol. 43 [2015], No. 1, Art. 4

Detroit, the discussion presented a good opportunity to recognize the multiple meanings of food justice. Interestingly, the group was clearly supportive of an urban grower who disliked the way people were criticized or insulted for certain food choices, especially fast food choices, when there were economic reasons or even sentimental reasons behind the choice. Therefore, instead of emphasizing a sense of moral superiority over people who choose fast foods, the FFG encourages an atmosphere accepting of all food choices while attempting to create new, healthier attachments to foods by teaching people how to grow, cook, and introduce new foods into their diet.

This perspective on fast food reflects essential elements of dialogue in that, as Paolo Freire (1970, 90) suggests, "Dialogue cannot exist without humility. . . . How can I dialogue if I consider myself a member of the in-group of 'pure' men, the owners of truth and knowledge, for whom all non-members are 'these people' or 'the great unwashed?'" Whereas the dominant food movement tends to valorize local, organic food production over industrial food production without considering issues of equity, the FFG acknowledges the limited food choices of Detroiters who live in food deserts and enacts a more grassroots approach to identifying and responding to food needs.

Overall, the use of black cultural capital throughout the various components of grassroots development formed a powerful framework for engaging and building community. The FFG's food justice activism rejected the unrelenting attention to expensive local and organic food and focused on encouraging the cultural attachments that community members make with specific foods. The FFG used black cultural capital to connect with everyone from elderly black southerners to Detroit-born youth on the importance of food justice and self-reliance in gardening and cooking.

https://egrove.olemiss.edu/southernanthro_proceedings/vol43/iss1/4

A Vision of Just Sustainability in Detroit

> The revolution to be made in the United States will be the first revolution in history to require the masses to make material sacrifices rather than acquire more material things. We must give up many of the things which this country has enjoyed at the expense of damning over one-third of the world into a state of underdevelopment, ignorance, disease, and early death.
>
> —James and Grace Lee Boggs, *Revolution and Evolution in the Twentieth Century*

As demonstrated in the previous section, the FFG manifests some of the most important attributes of food justice activism in the African American community: the use of black cultural capital to root themselves within the predominantly African American community and a grassroots development style that prioritizes popular participation and community relationships. This last section will delve further into the idea of grassroots development by looking at the concept of just sustainability in contrast to conventional economic development.

The vision of grassroots development in the Detroit urban agriculture movement begins with reclaiming land that has been abandoned by private owners and city officials. Like the lyrics of Detroit rapper Danny Brown's 2012 song "Fields," the landscape of Detroit is replete with the recurrent images of "house, field, field / field, field, house / abandoned house, field, field." According to the Detroit Food Policy Council (2012), there are 106,000 vacant lots in the city, 60 percent of which are owned by the city government. Travis described the City of Detroit's lack of responsibility in taking care of the vacant lots it owns and the unfairness of its practices regarding land: The city "ain't even cutting the grass on this land they talking about people can't get or grow some food on or play a game of football

on without the police pulling up telling people they can't play. . . . What they trying to do with the land is not benefitting the people that live on the land and that don't make no sense to me." Despite the city's unfair practices, people had been reclaiming vacant land for urban agriculture for decades. Taking matters into their own hands, Detroiters have bypassed the city to make use of the land for personal and communal benefit.

The city government and prospective developers, however, often do not recognize urban gardens as legitimate contributions to the city and its communities. Kezia related the uncritical process of the city government labeling lots as vacant: "As far as the city is concerned, without looking at this [pointing to the FFG garden], this is a vacant lot in the city. And so on paper, people that are outside the city read that there are 300 or however many vacant lots. It's not really a true statement, but there's no one to say different. They don't have any other voice there to say, 'no'." Whereas individual communities and families had already made joint decisions to use the land for self-help purposes, the city government then had the potential to (and often did) take back land in accordance with obsolete food and land-use policies. This type of conflict has emerged in many cities across the country where urban agriculture is on the rise (Voigt 2011).

A major conflict over food and land-use policy soon emerged over the Hantz Farm/Woodlands proposal to purchase two thousand city-owned lots (at $300 each) in order to eventually create a ten-thousand-acre "farm" (see appendix B). Despite how the owner of the project, John Hantz, masqueraded the proposal in progressive urban agriculture terminology, the urban agriculture community soon recognized his real intentions to raise property values by creating "land scarcity," which some compared to "a classic land grab—with all its disastrous consequences" (Holt-Giménez 2012). In opposition to the top-down style of development employed by Hantz, members

of the Detroit Food Policy Council (DFPC) and DBCFSN created a counterproposal for a community land trust, which was designed to "ensure community benefits and keep land in the hands of the people who have been here for generations." Their argument is based on the "the grounds that there exist no clear processes for buying land and that this transaction only exacerbates the land inequality status quo amongst the haves and have-nots" (Thompson 2012). The community land trust ultimately presented a larger vision of community landholding as part of a grassroots development approach (see appendix C).

Part of the problem existed in how, according to Myrtle, a local organization called the Lower Eastside Action Plan (LEAP) acted as a "gatekeeper" for Hantz to suggest that his organization had "community buy-in." Meanwhile, Hantz had actually avoided the DFPC and other urban agriculture organizations, including the FFG, throughout the planning process (Holt-Giménez 2012). Wayne reinforced this idea by asserting that the urban agriculture community was not heard and contrasting the two models: "To me, they don't care anything about our response. . . . They're just steady going forward to get the land. They don't care what we say, what we want . . . [but] the community land trust says that we want to use the land for our benefit." For Wayne, the community land trust is only part of a larger vision for a grassroots approach to just sustainability:

> Legally we have to have access to the land—pure and simple—and that's what the fight is over. Land is private property to make money for the economy and that's what they talk about. One of the mayoral candidates supports Hantz and he said it's good for the economy, for the GDP (Gross Domestic Product). Hantz is good for that. But the things we want to do is not good for the GDP: we're talking about riding bikes . . . riding bikes to the store to

> buy a tomato that was grown in the neighborhood. That's not doing much for the GDP. I didn't buy gas. The car's not gonna break down. I'm not contributing to the global agricultural system . . . where that money goes—I'm studying that—how that money circulates within Wall St. We're not good for that. . . . That's what the contradiction is. So, automatically, without even understanding who we are, what we represent, without even understanding the degrading of human beings and non-human beings, they're against [us]. They have no consciousness of what bio-centrism is: a culture that considers *all life* instead of being centered on the survival of human beings.

Wayne's analysis of the Hantz proposal and the goals of the FFG demonstrates the vast differences in how they envision the (re)development of Detroit. I share this extended quote not only because of how Wayne seamlessly links social, economic, and environmental concerns into a single vision of change but also for how the complexity of such issues indicates the need for a slower process and a fundamentally different vision of development.

The FFG's vision of a slower process of development demonstrates a commitment to more fundamental changes and a long-term relationship with the community. Myrtle specifically critiqued the pace with which the Hantz proposal was pushed through: "It didn't have to be a rushed job. It wasn't necessary. They [the city government] could've charged and made so much more for that land. They could've made him [Hantz] come out with a really detailed plan." But what does the FFG offer as the alternative? "We gotta much slower process . . . more tedious but more sustainable overall. It's more equitable and fair for everyone . . . if you really wanna shift it [the status quo], you gotta be willing to change some things." The slower pace seemingly allows for more consideration of different opinions and a more equitable process.

The FFG also demonstrates the interconnectedness of various movements for just sustainability. The work of the FFG also depends on the work of organizations like Fender Bender, "a women, transgender, and queer justice-based bike shop and mechanic training experience," with which Kezia is an active participant (Fender Bender Detroit). Fender Bender's work may appear unrelated to the FFG's, but these organizations complement each other, from an ecofeminist perspective, by connecting "the oppression and pollution of the earth with their own oppression and view[ing] the earth as an ally," and by addressing just sustainability in key aspects of community livelihood (food and transportation, respectively) (White 2011b, 25). But can these movements accumulate enough power to challenge the dominant systems? If so, how?

Some of the FFG described the challenge of developing self-reliance while fulfilling daily needs or, as Tyrone described it, some people staying "on the plantation while some dig a hole to help get out." Myrtle elaborated further about this array of problems for activists:

> Ok, we got these [activist] organizations but we also have to keep ourselves afloat because 9 times out of 10 these non-profit organizations are not able to sustain what I'm doing: my lifestyle, my income, my bills, my gas, my lights, my rent. But it's the work that keeps me going . . . [but] there might be two different things going on . . . [until] my life and my work are synched up. . . . There are lots of folks that would like to just come out here and build with us, but "look, I gotta go do dah-dah-dah." And until we can figure out a way to unplug ourselves from Detroit Edison, the gas company, the rent mortgages, and stuff like that, and spend our time building, then that's what we have to deal with. And that's where I'm thinking a lot of the time: how do I unplug and get with the alternatives so that the real-life can happen?

Proceedings of the annual meeting of the Southern Anthropological Society, Vol. 43 [2015], No. 1, Art. 4

Like other members of the FFG, Myrtle described a desire for self-reliance in making a living for herself and her family. Similar to how Wayne diminished the importance of GDP in measuring economic stability, Travis offered another vision of how urban agriculture produces self-reliance and wealth: "I'm putting all this life back in the earth and when it comes out the ground I get to harvest all this fresh food that I can't get from the store because even the fruits and the vegetables at the stores doesn't have all the nutrients as when I go outside and get the food from the side of my house." Travis continued by saying that the work of urban agriculture went "deeper than dollar signs," and explained, "just 'cause I'm not getting paid for it doesn't mean I'm not getting rich from it." Therefore, the vision of food sovereignty involves redefining economics not only in terms of keeping money in the local area but also in terms of the metrics used to calculate economic stability. By gradually "unplugging" from conventional economic development, turning to self-reliant alternatives, and consolidating wealth in forms such as nutrition and health, the FFG offers a nuanced understanding of changing the food system to generate more just sustainability.

Overall, we begin to see a vision of food justice that incorporates several different elements of just sustainability. First, the FFG's food justice activism has strong roots in the justice-oriented politics of black radical organizations like the BPP and their Free Breakfast for Children Program. Second, the FFG showed commitment to bottom-up grassroots development by not making value judgments on food choices, centering the work of community building, and by engaging people in culturally relevant ways. Third, the reclaiming of vacant land for urban agriculture by historically oppressed people signals a movement toward a more sustainable and just food system. And, fourth, measuring the success of food justice activism not only by the pounds of fresh, nutrient-dense foods grown but by the ability

https://egrove.olemiss.edu/southernanthro_proceedings/vol43/iss1/4

to “unplug” from conventional economic development indicates a deep commitment to both justice and sustainability.

Appendix A

Community Roundtable Discussion

The revitalization of Detroit through the speeches of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Saturday, January 15th
11am-1pm

Hope Community Church
14456 E Jefferson

Feedom Freedom hosted its first roundtable discussion in October to open conversation around how we can continue to rebuild our communities through its best resource - the people. We intend to build on that conversation at this follow-up roundtable discussion, with a focus on how to rebuild Detroit through a selection of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s speeches.

Appendix B

BLOCK BY BLOCK BY BLOCK BY BLOCK BY BLOCK BY BLOCK BY BLOCK BY BLOCK BY BLOCK BY BLOCK

Detroit Land Grab!

This proposed sale of public land to Hantz Woodlands would sell over 1900 lots of vacant land for $300 a lot without any accountability around future development. There is concern that this sale, if approved, could set a precedent for future large-scale land sales.

It is reported that Hantz Woodlands is also attempting to purchase about 128 lots from the Michigan Land Bank Authority, lots located in this same footprint.

Please call City Council and, if possible, **attend the Council meeting on Tuesday, Nov 20th at 10 AM at Coleman A. Young Municipal Center** and participate in Public Comment.

#HANTZOFF
#LANDGRAB
#DETROITFUTURE

Stared lots are included in the proposed sale

$300! $300! $300! $300! $300! $300! $300!

MACK AVE

VAN DYKE ST

ST JEAN

JEFFERSON AVE

$300! $300! $300! $300! $300! $300! $300! $300!

WE NEED A PUBLIC HEARING ON THIS SALE!
WE NEED TO KNOW WHAT IS GOING TO BE DONE WITH THIS LAND!
WE NEED A CITY LAND BUYING PROCESS THAT IS FAIR AND JUST!

BLOCK BY BLOCK BY BLOCK BY BLOCK BY BLOCK BY BLOCK BY BLOCK BY BLOCK BY BLOCK BY BLOCK

'JUST FEED DETROIT' HOTLINE
313.355.3121

Please Call for regular Updates and to 'share your story'

$300! $300! $300! $300! $300! $300! $300!

Blocks add up to Acres!

The number of acres about to be sold to **ONE MAN?**
180 ACRES!
One Hundred and Eighty Acres
= more than **1800 Lots!**

That's Lots of LAND!
Were YOU aware of this deal? Many are not!

Block this injustice with community action!

Resist this land grab right from under our noses!

Are you concerned about this preferential treatment?
Are you concerned that some are able to bypass the system?
Are you concerned what will be DONE with this land?

Did you know that, **as a resident, you have the right to purchase the land adjacent (next to) your home if its vacant?**

Did you know that making a call to City Council is one way to make your concerns known about YOUR RIGHTS as a citizen and community member? **CALL TODAY!**

$300! $300! $300! $300! $300! $300!

Call Detroit City Council Members Today!

CHARLES PUGH
313.224.4510
CouncilPresidentPugh@detroitmi.gov

GARY BROWN
(313) 224-2450
councilmemberbrown@detroitmi.gov

SAUNTEEL JENKINS
(313) 224-4248
councilmemberjenkins@detroitmi.gov

KENNETH V. COCKREL, JR
(313) 224-4505
Kenneth.Cockrel@detroitmi.gov

BRENDA JONES
(313) 224-1245
bjones_mb@detroitmi.gov

ANDRÉ L. SPIVEY
(313) 224-4841
CouncilmanSpivey@detroitmi.gov

JAMES TATE
(313) 224-1027
councilmembertate@detroitmi.gov

KWAME KENYATTA
(313) 224-1198
K-Kenyatta_MB@detroitmi.gov

JOANN WATSON
(313) 224-4535
WatsonJ@detroitmi.gov

BLOCK BY BLOCK BY BLOCK BY BLOCK BY BLOCK BY BLOCK BY BLOCK BY BLOCK BY BLOCK BY BLOCK

Appendix C

COMMUNITY! LAND! TRUST!

John Hantz is attempting to purchase 1900 lots (180 Acres) of public land in your neighborhood for use as an industrial tree farm - **HANTZ WOODLANDS.**

The alternative to Hantz Woodlands? Set up a Community Land Trust (CLT) to ensure community benefits and keep land in the hands of the people who have lived here for generations. "CLT's balance the needs of individuals to access land and maintain security of tenure with a community's need to maintain affordability, economic diversity and local access to essential services."

Main Issues with this ever-changing deal between Hantz Woodlands and The City of Detroit

1. Hantz is purchasing land for $300 per lot. THIS LAND, the community's land, which is right next to the Riverfront on an international border, in close proximity to Downtown, Belle Isle and City Airport, is of great value and importance, especially to the people who currently live there.
2. Sets a precedent for future land sales. This is the biggest land sale in Detroit history!! Hantz's original plan was 2,000 acres – will he stop at 180 acres?
3. Priority given to corporations over community. Citizens meet resistance from city when buying lots, while Hantz is dangerously close to buying up 1900 lots in one deal.
4. No commitment to community benefits for those most impacted. Hantz has no obligation to the long-term wellbeing of the community, this generation or the next.
5. Negative health effects. Exposure to pesticides can cause cancer, birth defects, and increase asthma symptoms!! Also environmental risks.
6. Lack of awareness. The community has intentionally been kept in the dark. This plan has been in the works for 3 years yet most residents are unaware. Now you know, don't be silent!
7. Continues tradition of displacement and disenfranchisement!! At this point homeowners are not being directly forced out, but there are concerns that this could be a long-term displacement strategy. Think South Jefferson.

PLEASE JOIN US TO SUPPORT A COMMUNITY LAND TRUST

MONDAY DECEMBER 10TH PUBLIC HEARING

East Lake Baptist Church (12400 E. Jefferson at Conner)

Rally at **5pm** Hearing at **6pm**

SAY NO TO HANTZ WOODLANDS!

SAY YES TO COMMUNITY LAND TRUST!

Works Cited

Agyeman, Julian. 2008. "Toward a Just Sustainability." *Continuum: Journal of Media & Cultural Studies* 22 (6): 751-56.

Agyeman, Julian, Robert D. Bullard, and Bob Evans. 2002. "Exploring the Nexus: Bringing Together Sustainability, Environmental Justice and Equity." *Space and Polity* 6 (1): 77-90.

Alkon, Alison Hope. 2012. *Black, White, and Green: Farmers Markets, Race, and the Green Economy*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.

Alkon, Alison Hope, and Julian Agyeman, 2011. "Introduction: The Food Movement as Polyculture." In *Cultivating Food Justice: Race, Class, and Sustainability*, edited by Alison Hope Alkon and Julian Agyeman, 1-20. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Berry, Wendell. 1977. *The Unsettling of America: Culture & Agriculture*. San Francisco: Sierra Club Books.

Boggs, Grace Lee. 2011. *The Next American Revolution: Sustainable Activism for the 21st Century*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

________. 2013. "Detroit's Bankruptcy and Resilience." *Michigan Citizen*, August 1. http://michigancitizen.com/detroits-bankruptcy-and-resilience.

Boggs, James, and Grace Lee Boggs. (1974) 2008. *Revolution and Evolution in the Twentieth Century*. 2nd ed. New York: Monthly Review.

Bowers, Chet A. 2001. *Educating for Eco-Justice and Community*. Athens: University of Georgia Press.

Brown, Danny. 2012. "Fields." On *XXX*. Brooklyn, NY: Fool's Gold Records, compact disc.

Proceedings of the annual meeting of the Southern Anthropological Society, Vol. 43 [2015], No. 1, Art. 4

Brown, Elaine. 2007. "The Significance of the Newspaper of the Black Panther Party." In *The Black Panther: Intercommunal News Service 1967-1980*, edited by David Hilliard, ix-xi. New York: Atria Books.

Brown, Sandy, and Christy Getz. 2011. "Farmworker Food Insecurity and the Production of Hunger in California." In *Cultivating Food Justice: Race, Class, and Sustainability*, edited by Alison Hope Alkon and Julian Agyeman, 121-46. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Carney, Judith. 2001. Black Rice: *The African Origins of Rice Cultivation in the Americas*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Carter, Prudence. 2003. "'Black' Cultural Capital, Status Positioning, and Schooling Conflicts for Low-Income African American Youth." *Social Problems* 50 (1): 136-55.

Collier-Thomas, Bettye. 2004. "'Sister Laborers': African American Women, Cultural Capital, and Educational Philanthropy, 1865-1970." In *Cultural Capital and Black Education*, edited by V. P. Franklin and Carter Julian Savage, 97-115. Greenwich, CT: Information Age Publishing.

Democracy Now! 2010. "Detroit Urban Agriculture Movement Looks to Reclaim Motor City." Democracy Now! Video, June 24, video. http://www.democracynow.org/2010/6/24/detroit_urban_agriculture_movement_looks_to.

Detroit Food Policy Council. 2012. "Public Land Sale Process in Detroit: A Community Perspective." http://detroitfoodpolicycouncil.net/Reports.html.

Dolan, Matthew. 2012. "New Detroit Farm Plan Taking Root." *Wall Street Journal*, July 6. http://online.wsj.com/news/articles/SB10001424052702304898704577479090390757800.

https://egrove.olemiss.edu/southernanthro_proceedings/vol43/iss1/4

Feedom Freedom Growers. 2012. Feedom Freedom Interagricultural News Service, Winter.

Fender Bender Detroit's Facebook page. 2013. Accessed January 24. https://www.facebook.com/FenderBenderCollective.

Freire, Paulo. 1970. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. New York: Continuum International Publishing Group.

Gallagher, Mari. 2007. "Examining the Impacts of Food Deserts on the Public Health in Detroit." Chicago: Mari Gallagher Research and Consulting Group, Chicago. http://www.marigallagher.com/projecs/2/.

Gilbert, Charlene. 1999. *Homecoming: Sometimes I am Haunted by Memories of Red Dirt and Clay*. San Francisco: California Newsreel. DVD.

Gilbert, Jess, Gwen Sharp, and M. Sindy Felin. 2002. "The Loss and Persistence of Black-Owned Farms and Farmland: A Review of the Research Literature and its Implications." *Southern Rural Sociology* 18 (2): 1-30.

Green, John J., Eleanor M. Green, and Anna M. Kleiner. 2011. "From the Past to the Present: Agricultural Development and Black Farmers in the American South." In *Cultivating Food Justice: Race, Class, and Sustainability*, edited by Alison Hope Alkon and Julian Agyeman,47-64. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Guthman, Julie. 2008a. "Bringing Good Food to Others: Investigating the Subjects of Alternative Food Practice." *Cultural Geographies* 15:431-47.

———. 2008b. "'If They Only Knew': Color Blindness and Universalism in California Alternative Food Institutions." *Professional Geographer* 60 (3): 387-97.

Proceedings of the annual meeting of the Southern Anthropological Society, Vol. 43 [2015], No. 1, Art. 4

———. 2011. "'If They Only Knew': The Unbearable Whiteness of Alternative Food." In *Cultivating Food Justice: Race, Class, and Sustainability*, edited by Alison Hope Alkon and Julian Agyeman, 263-81. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Heynen, Nik. 2009. "Bending the Bars of Empire from Every Ghetto for Survival: The Black Panther Party's Radical Antihunger Politics of Social Reproduction and Scale." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 99 (2): 406-22.

Holt-Giménez, Eric. 2011. "Food Security, Food Justice, or Food Sovereignty?: Crises, Food Movements, and Regime Change." In *Cultivating Food Justice: Race, Class, and Sustainability*, edited by Alison Hope Alkon and Julian Agyeman, 309-30. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

———. 2012. "Detroit: A Tale of Two . . . Farms?" *Huffington Post*, July 10. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/eric-holt-gimenez/a-tale-of-two-farms_b_1660019.html.

Holt-Giménez, Eric, and Yi Wang. 2011. "Reform or Transformation?: The Pivotal Role of Food Justice in the U.S. Food Movement." *Race/Ethnicity: Multidisciplinary Global Contexts* 5 (1): 83-102.

Isidore, Chris. 2013. "Detroit Files for Bankruptcy." CNN, July 18th. http://money.cnn.com/2013/07/18/news/economy/detroit-bankruptcy/index.html.

Kingsolver, Barbara, with Steven L. Hopp and Camille Kingsolver. 2007. *Animal, Vegetable, Miracle: A Year of Food Life*. New York: Harper Collins.

Lewis, Helen Matthew. 2009. "Rebuilding Communities: A Twelve-Step Recovery Program." In *Participatory Development in Appalachia: Cultural Identity, Community, and*

https://egrove.olemiss.edu/southernanthro_proceedings/vol43/iss1/4

Sustainability, edited by Susan E. Keefe, 67-88. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.

Magdoff, Fred, John Bellamy Foster, and Frederick H. Buttel, eds. 2000. *Hungry for Profit: The Agribusiness Threat to Farmers, Food, and the Environment*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Massey, Douglas S., and Nancy A. Denton. 1993. *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Martin, Elizabeth Anne. 1992. "Detroit and the Great Migration 1916-1929." *Bentley Historical Library*. http://bentley.umich.edu/research/publications/migration/index.php.

Maynard, Melissa. 2013. "Detroit's Bankruptcy Complicates Relationship with Michigan State Government." *Huffington Post*, July 31. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/07/31/detroit-bankruptcy-michigan-government-state-relationship_n_3682617.html.

McClintock, Nathan. 2011. "From Industrial Garden to Food Desert: Demarcated Devaluation in the Flatlands of Oakland, California." In *Cultivating Food Justice: Race, Class, and Sustainability*, edited by Alison Hope Alkon and Julian Agyeman, 89-120. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Minkoff-Zern, Laura-Anne, Nancy Peluso, Jennifer Sowerwine, and Christy Getz. 2011. "Race and Regulation: Asian Immigrants in California Agriculture." In *Cultivating Food Justice: Race, Class, and Sustainability*, edited by Alison Hope Alkon and Julian Agyeman, 65-85. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Morales, Alfonso. 2011. "Growing Food and Justice: Dismantling Racism through Sustainable Food Systems." In *Cultivating*

Proceedings of the annual meeting of the Southern Anthropological Society, Vol. 43 [2015], No. 1, Art. 4

Food Justice: Race, Class, and Sustainability, edited by Alison Hope Alkon and Julian Agyeman, 149-76. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Norgaard, Kari Mari, Ron Reed, and Carolina Van Horn. 2011. "A Continuing Legacy: Institutional Racism, Hunger, and Nutritional Justice on the Klamath." In *Cultivating Food Justice: Race, Class, and Sustainability*, edited by Alison Hope Alkon and Julian Agyeman, 24-46. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Pollan, Michael. 2008. In *Defense of Food: An Eater's Manifesto*. New York: Penguin.

Rushe, Dominic. 2013. "'Detroit is Basically Broke': Cuts, Cuts, and Cuts to Follow Bankruptcy Filing." *Guardian*, July 19. http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jul/19/detroit-broke-bankruptcy.

Runk, David. 2010. "Motor City May Provide Model for Urban Agriculture." *Salon*, April 23. http://www.salon.com/2010/04/23/us_food_and_farm_detroit_farming/

Solnit, Rebecca. 2007. "Detroit Arcadia." *Harper's Magazine*, July, 65-73.

Sugrue, Thomas J. 2005. *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Thompson, Jezra. 2012. "Detroit: Land Grab or City Revival." *Civil Eats*, December 26. http://civileats.com/2012/12/26/detroit-land-grab-or-city-revival/.

Tyner, James A. 2006. "Defend the Ghetto": Space and the Urban Politics of the Black Panther Party." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 96 (1): 105-18.

https://egrove.olemiss.edu/southernanthro_proceedings/vol43/iss1/4

_______. 2007. “Urban Revolutions and the Spaces of Black Radicalism.” In *Black Geographies and the Politics of Place*, edited by Katherine McKittrick and Clyde Woods, 218-32. Cambridge, MA: South End Press.

US Department of Agriculture. 2009. *Report to Congress: Access to Affordable and Nutritious Food: Measuring and Understanding Food Deserts and their Consequences*. http://www.ers.usda.gov/publications/ap-administrative-publication/ap-036.aspx#.UVt504V-675.

Voigt, Kate A. 2011. “Pigs in the Backyard or the Barnyard: Removing Zoning Impediments to Urban Agriculture.” *Boston College Environmental Affairs Law Review* 38: 537-66.

Ward, Stephen M. 2011. “Introduction to Part IV: Community Building and Grassroots Leadership in Post-Industrial Detroit.” In *Pages from a Black Radical’s Notebook: A James Boggs Reader*, edited by Stephen M. Ward, 317-21. Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press.

Watson, JoAnn. 2013. “THE CITY OF DETROIT HAS NOT FILED BANKRUPTCY!” *Michigan Citizen*, August 1. http://michigancitizen.com/the-city-of-detroit-has-not-filed-bankruptcy/.

White, Monica M. 2010. “Shouldering Responsibility for the Delivery of Human Rights: A Case of the D-Town Farmers of Detroit.” *Race/Ethnicity: Multidisciplinary Global Contexts* 3 (2): 189-211.

_______. 2011a. “D-Town Farm: African American Resistance to Food Insecurity and the Transformation of Detroit.” *Environmental Practice* 13 (4): 406-17.

Proceedings of the annual meeting of the Southern Anthropological Society, Vol. 43 [2015], No. 1, Art. 4

________. 2011b. "Sisters of the Soil: Urban Gardening as Resistance in Detroit." *Race/Ethnicity: Multidisciplinary Global Contexts* 5 (1): 13-28.

Yakini, Malik. 2012a. "A Disturbing Trend." *Be Black and Green* (blog), May 31. http://www.beblackandgreen.com/content/disturbing-trend.

________. 2012b. "What Kind of Urban Farming Will Detroit Have?" *Food First/Institute for Food and Development Policy*, November 30. http://www.foodfirst.org/en/urban+farming+in+Detroit.

________. 2013. "About Us." *Be Black and Green* (blog). Accessed January 23. http://www.beblackandgreen.com/about-us.

https://egrove.olemiss.edu/southernanthro_proceedings/vol43/iss1/4