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SANTA CRUZ

**THE POLITICS OF LANDING: URBAN AGRICULTURE, SOCIO-
ECOLOGICAL IMAGINARIES AND THE PRODUCTION OF SPACE IN THE
SAN FRANCISCO BAY REGION**

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Abstract

K. Michelle Glowa

**The Politics of Landing: Urban Agriculture, Socio-Ecological Imaginaries and
the Production of Space in the San Francisco Bay Region**

This dissertation illustrates how alternative food initiatives are entangled in the broader history and political economy of the production of space. Through a regional analysis of the land politics articulations of organized urban gardening projects in the San Francisco Bay Area, I ask what are the landscapes of possibility or closure resulting from these entanglements. Historically urban gardening has been used as a temporary land use to ameliorate various social problems until the land owner, public or private, chose to put the land to different use, most frequently the use that gained the highest market value. In the Bay Area, where land markets are highly competitive, land access is a central concern for gardeners. Urban agriculture has been theorized and embraced by social movement actors as a means to resist the allocation of land based on market valuation and the realization of the authority of property ownership. Yet, through research based on semi-structured interviews with gardeners and city officials, documents analysis, and participant observation, this dissertation describes a more complex terrain of practices of land access practices, property enactments, and shifts in urban governance. Two dominant imaginaries of land politics emerge from gardener engagements. One emphasizes the need for flexible, even portable gardens,

in order to cultivate more resilient cities and movements. This imaginary is facilitative of development priorities, supporting neoliberal urban regimes, and reaffirming of contemporary property relations. The second imaginary identifies the importance of long-term tenure, community-management of land resources, and developing movement coalitions concerned with land access. This imaginary connects with the international work of food sovereignty, a framework that gardeners and US food movement activists are increasingly adopting, and which works to resist neoliberal capitalism, colonial legacies, and top-down governance. I suggest that the everyday utopian projects of gardeners is a key site to understanding the US left questioning if reforming contemporary social democratic institutions, like the provision of public space, are sufficient strategies. This analysis contributes to the developing field of urban political ecology by describing socio-ecological space in the Bay Region as socially produced through a history of practices, representations, and experiences of gardeners.

Dedication and Acknowledgements

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Chapter 1: Urban Agriculture and Radical Socio-Spatial Imaginaries

Stories of the South Central Farm and Occupy the Farm

In July 2006 in South Central Los Angeles, over 300 gardeners were evicted after public land became private through backroom deals. This eviction became perhaps the most publicized and scandalous urban farming land dispossession in U.S. history. Three years later in Albany, CA in the face of UC Berkeley's plans to develop their last plot of urban agricultural land, a coalition of over thirty groups began a fifteen-year process resulting in an urban garden and community-university partnership. Today activists struggle to maintain access to the land for the future. Both of these cases, despite being gardens on public land engaging hundreds of community members, demonstrate the insecure access to land gardeners struggle with across cities in the US. Their stories are telling.

The Los Angeles South Central Farm garden site, which was over ten acres, was obtained by the City of LA in the mid-1980s through eminent domain for the purpose of creating a trash incinerator facility (Irazábal and Punja 2009). Local citizens successfully opposed the building of the incinerator, and in response to the 1992 social uprising spurred by the Rodney King beating and long term effects racism and poverty in south central LA, the site was purposed as a community garden. The local food bank saw the garden as a means to address a lack of food retailers and social marginalization of residents. Garden construction began in 1994. Gardeners, mainly recent Mexican and Central American immigrants and Latinos,

farmed 350 plots, producing rich agroecological environments with fruit trees, dense plantings of vegetables and flowers, and difficult to find herbs and culinary ingredients. Gardeners came to the farm to grow food for their families, practice or learn agricultural traditions from those still practicing their knowledges, feel more at home and socialize, and support family businesses (Peña 2005). In a study of the farm's biodiversity, Peña estimated there were 100-150 plant varieties, many varieties of which were difficult to find in the US outside of huertos familiares (family gardens) in Latino communities.

In 1995, the development company that had lost the property to eminent domain in the 80s made its first attempt to buy back the property, but the City Council did not approve the deal (Irazabal and Punja 2009). The developer sued arguing that he was denied his right to buy back the land that was taken with the purpose to build a trash incinerator. In 2004 the gardeners were given their eviction notices after the city as a result of an out-of-court settlement sold the property back to the developer for \$5.05 million (just under \$300,000 more than what the City had paid for the land in 1986). In response to the eviction notices, the gardeners organized to form the South Central Farmers Feeding Families. The gardeners and their allies went through a roller coaster journey of successes then eventual failure in the courts. Local residents, internationally known actors, and city politicians supported the effort to keep the gardeners on the land. In April 2006, the Trust for Public Land and LA Mayor Villaraigosa's office negotiated an option to buy the land, but the developer was now seeking \$16.3 million for the property (Irazabal and Punja

2009). When the coalition raised the funds to meet the asking price, the developer rejected the offer and, starting in June, barred gardeners from the land and demolition begun (Irazábal and Punja 2009).

Mares and Peña (2010) argue that the struggle over South Central Farm represented a turning point for the environmental justice movement. Latino immigrants had reproduced village-based forms of community self-organization, integrated agricultural traditions into a new place, and challenged undemocratic urban planning and policy. Many city officials had expressed support for the South Central Farmers, a group of Latino residents, including many undocumented immigrants. Still, in the end the city sided with an interpretation of the case as a simple matter of a developer's right to his property (Barraclough 2009). The incident demonstrated that many local government officials who claimed to support the work of gardeners would only go so far in standing up to business interests, despite arguments that the sale of the city land was illegal (Irazábal and Punja 2009). Gardeners who assumed city land would be secure from development saw the land sold out from under them. Despite the eventual development of the land, the gardeners' resistance to claims by the developer galvanized a community and demonstrated their political power (Mares and Peña 2010).

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In Berkeley, urban agriculture advocates struggled for fifteen years to gain a ten-year agreement for a garden on public land. In 1997 after learning of UC's plans to develop a large tract of agricultural research land for commercial purposes, a coalition of over 30 groups began resisting the development and proposed instead an urban agriculture research and education center. For over seven decades the farm was used by the Division of Biological Control (DBC) for research on integrated pest management, but in 1998 a research agreement was made between the UC Department of Plant and Molecular Biology and Novartis, a biotechnology corporation, which granted Novartis the right to license discoveries in exchange for a \$25 million donation to the department (Press and Washburn 2000). As a result, by 2001 the DBC was no longer allowed to use the land and was defunded by the university. Students, faculty and others organized against this "biotech buyout", leading to the infamous tenure battle of Ignacio Chapela.<sup>1</sup> At the same time students, faculty, and community partners were organizing to try to gain a better foothold for sustainable agriculture research at the University.

Starting in the mid-1990s, the University of California Berkeley decided to sell the development rights to the unused south side of Gill Tract that was adjacent to UC Berkeley family student housing. UC students, neighbors, and urban garden advocates led by Peter Rosset and others at Food First organized to resist the development and advocated for the creation of a sustainable urban agriculture training

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<sup>1</sup> Chapela, a vocal opponent to the Novartis agreement, was first denied tenure in 2004 and then won tenure through mass protest. See Rudy et al. 2007 *Universities in the Age of Corporate Science*

center (Bay Area Coalition for Urban Agriculture (BACUA) 1997). The UC moved ahead with planning the development at the same time it was seeing unprecedented tuition hikes, increased recruitment of out-of-state students, and increased investment in real estate and development on UC campuses (Watson 2012). In 2004 the UC Regent's released a Master Plan for Developing the University Village with details of Capital Projects Division's plans to develop the entire tract with a shopping center, senior center complex, and recreation and open spaces (Roman-Alcalá 2013b). The Associated Students of the University of California and the Student Organic Garden Association at UC Berkeley released statements opposing the development of the land and supporting the creation of a garden/farm (An Abbreviated History n.d.) . Between 2004 and the early 2010s, the UC sought the necessary zoning changes and approvals from the city of Albany as well as solicited interested developers, including Whole Foods and Sprouts grocery stores.

In April 2012, a group of students and activists, outraged that public land owned by the University of California would be used to generate revenue instead of promoting the public education mission of the institution, occupied the south part of the Gill Tract naming the action, Occupy the Farm (OTF). As one OTF activist explained:

“UC is a place where our options are created, like knowledge production, it happens there. And the things that are created there are the next decade's solutions. So if we can carve out space there for more projects that ask the questions of, again, the rules that bring those into play, like basic assumptions, that's a really positive thing. This is a land grant university... the privileges and benefits that they enjoy now are because they were created as a public institution. That's why they're the best. And so best to hold them to that through this project feels like really engaged civic duty or action.” (Personal communication 2014).

The occupation initially lasted three weeks during April 2012, until UC police stepped in to end the occupation. The land was reoccupied in May, 2013, when protesters again cleared grasses, tilled, and planted. This occupation was broken up by UC police, re-established, and then raided again. At the same time students and garden advocates were working with faculty, such as Miguel Altieri, and the College of Natural Resources, to develop a community-university partnership for use of the land. Today that partnership project manages a collectively run garden called the Gill Tract Community Farm located on part of the northern portion of the land. In addition, UC faculty continue to conduct agricultural experiments on the north side, while the south side is still slated for development. Occupy the Farm persists as a movement and many of the original occupiers now garden as a part of the partnership. OTF activists have also developed a connection with the MST (Landless Workers Movement)<sup>2</sup>, organizing events that connect food and land sovereignty work in the global south to the struggle for the Gill Tract Farm.

Occupy the Farm works to highlight the UC's shift towards increasing privatization while little support is given to projects that support local agriculture, food security, or otherwise serve the local ecological and human communities. For example, OTF activists protested the December 2013 hiring of Robert Lalanne as the first ever 'vice chancellor for real estate' for UC Berkeley. On October 1, 2014, members of OTF and the Cal Progressive Coalition occupied the office of Capital

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<sup>2</sup> The MST is one of the largest contemporary social movements in Latin America and fights for land access for poor workers. See (Robles 2001)

Projects holding a sit-in until Chancellor Dirks met with the occupiers and provided several important documents about the Gill Tract development, which activists had been promised in May (Downey 2014). This action was conducted as a part of a call for National Days of Action for Land and Food Sovereignty put forth by the US Food Sovereignty Alliance. The idea for these days of action came out of meetings at the second US Food Sovereignty Alliance Annual Assembly in 2013. The first was held in Oakland in 2011. Organizing around land and food in the US context arose as an important theme for Alliance members, as well as for researchers. Food First initiated the Land & Sovereignty in the Americas' Collective, which in October 2014 released its first informational brief on land and resources grabs in the US (Brent and Kerssen 2014). OTF and others engaged in these actions have sought to bring land politics to the forefront of the struggles for sustainable agriculture and food sovereignty.

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These two urban agriculture projects aimed to enact better food systems, both as a part of contemporary food movements and as a part of the local struggles of their immediate geographic communities. The South Central Farm arose in the mid-1990s in Los Angeles in the same time and place as the community food security movement, as a solution to the hunger and lack of healthy food options in a majority African American, Latino, and Mexico and Central American immigrant community. The farm was a space where gardeners could recreate traditional agricultural practices

and foodways. Organizing for use of the Gill Tract Farm began in 1997 and for nearly two decades has focused on the need for public educational resources to be allocated towards sustainable agriculture. Advocates have stressed the environmental significance of preserving one of the last pieces of farmland in the East Bay. In 2010 the advocacy received a new boost of energy when Occupy the Farm activists identified the farm as important to the broader community project of reclaiming commons.

Due to the intensity of their struggle, both of these stories gained positions of prominence in contemporary food movements. These examples demonstrate the fact that gardeners are most frequently not the owners or decision makers of land use choices for the parcels of land that they farm. This disconnect of land ownership and use has led to a significant problem for contemporary urban agriculture: tenure insecurity even on public land. But the stories go beyond highlighting struggles for tenure strictly for gardening. Both stories incite both outrage and debate in gardening communities on the topics of how urban space can and should be used in recreating food systems. Urban agriculturalists construct and define urban utopian projects that intend to reconfigure the city in more ideal forms. Ultimately, each project made food activists distinguish their positions on the appropriate uses, governance, and ownership of urban land in situations where gardeners are not immediately empowered to make land use decisions.

Urban Agriculture and Utopian Spatial Production

Gardens are part of socio-ecological processes that create urban space, and gardeners are a part of the urban movements that struggle for ideal landscapes. Drawing on Lefebvre, urban political ecology understands space as socially produced through a history of practices, representations, and experiences (Heynen, Kaika, and Swyngedouw 2006). Gardeners change the production of urban spaces through actions like advocating for use of public lands, changing investors' decisions on buying particular parcels, or passing legislation to increase access to space for gardens. Adopted as a strategy for change in various movements, community gardens in urban settings can have multiple and contrasting meanings of community and garden (Kurtz 2001). Gardeners debate the questions: What kind of city do we want to live in? How do we want to eat and work, interact with nature, and engage with our neighbors and governmental agencies within that city? Can gardens help us transform cities today or prefigure new cities of our futures? Can we change the economic, political, social, ecological landscapes of cities through garden projects?

These questions are central to the project of urban political ecology, which serves as a guiding framework for this dissertation. Urban political ecology brings together theories of production, space, justice and agency to understand socio-ecological landscapes (Swyngedouw and Heynen 2003; Heynen, Kaika, and Swyngedouw 2006). Urban political ecology contains a political program “to enhance the democratic content of socio-ecological 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” (Swyngedouw and Heynen 2003, 914). As a result, urban politics play a key role in this emancipatory political project. At the forefront of any radical action must be considerations of how social actors can take control of the production of urban space “in line with the aspirations, needs and desires of those inhabiting these spaces” and questions of “whose nature is or becomes urbanised” (ibid., 915).

While gardening may present revolutionary or transformative approaches to urban spatial production, blind enthusiasm for the potential of these projects does not engage the essential questions of where, how, and with whom the gardeners’ work is developed. Gardens reflect and reproduce different boundaries of enclosure, inclusion and exclusion – both with participants and material, spatial land tenure relationships - within neighborhoods and within movements. Decisions on the construction of these boundaries shape the character of a garden and the role it will play in social change.

Recognizing the multiple meanings and representations of ‘community’ in urban agriculture, Pudup (2008) calls for the adoption of the term ‘organized garden project’ instead of community garden. Organized garden projects refer to specific places, geographical spaces not typically used for growing agricultural products that are cultivated by organized groups of people with collectively defined goals. One such goal is securing tenure arrangements that allow gardeners to continue their projects in the manner they desire, whether that be through roving gardens moving from vacant lot to vacant lot, acquiring the use of public parks and public programming to support urban agriculture, or using gardens as a political tool in resisting

development and gentrification.

Gardeners recognize that their tenure strategies are bounded or to some degree shaped by contemporary property relations. Their assessment that property relations are a determining dynamic for the future of their gardens is acute. Many gardeners also contend that they are active participants in shaping the property relations that may determine the fates of their projects. Gardeners stress their projects are making a real impact on how local municipalities are embracing urban gardening as land use, how residents view the use of land for food production, and how gardening can challenge the priority of land value for development. I term the process of decision-making gardeners that take in manifesting a land access strategy *landing*. Landing is a process of creating closure, when utopian desires are enacted on the land and pre-existing property relations. Through landing gardeners recreate old or develop new socio-spatial relations, setting direction, and foreclosing on other possibilities if only for the moment.

In analyzing organized garden projects in the San Francisco Bay Area, this dissertation explores two central themes: the political project to gain secure land tenure for the future of urban agriculture and the production of practices and narratives of property and urban space through garden projects.

The first theme stems from the argument by gardeners and garden advocates that contemporary urban agriculture projects should become a permanent part of US cities. Gardeners are acutely aware of the lack of land tenure security on both public and private land due to the politics of ownership. A 1996 survey conducted by the

American Community Gardening Association found that of urban gardens in thirty-eight cities in the US, only 5.3% were owned by the gardeners or in permanent land trust (Lawson 2005). The desire and commitment amongst garden advocates, spurs the questions: what form(s) of garden (i.e. involving whom, on what land, owned and managed by whom) are being promoted as the ideal for permanent urban agriculture, and what are the potential material and discursive consequences of these forms?

The second theme explores how gardeners are engaged in reimagining the production of urban space and property as a dominant capitalist institution. In doing so, it also examines the tensions among differing cultures within urban agriculture that participate in utopian projects of recreating contemporary cities in more just and sustainable ways. These projects exist within conditions of possibility produced by urban development politics and also shape, through rhetoric and practice, a terrain of political possibility for change. Analyzing the ideologies, institutions, and practices of property promoted by differing garden projects can shed light on the potential contributions of these projects to transformative urban and food politics.

This dissertation contributes to both food studies and human geography. In a social movement landscape that emphasizes the power and potentials of gardener praxis in changing the landscape of US cities, I depict a complex story of contradicting orientations towards the political project of producing space. Through research comparing gardening projects and their contexts across the Bay Area region, I have found the following:

First, though all gardeners advocated for a more permanent presence of urban

agriculture in the city, gardening as interim use on particular parcels of land, as it has been historically viewed in the US, is not universally opposed by gardeners. A conception of urban garden as flexible, mobile, and adaptive is growing in popularity as certain strains in the urban agriculture communities of the Bay also see the benefits of working with developers. By not contesting urban agriculture as an interim use of specific tracts of land and simultaneously advocating for gardening as a permanent component of sustainable cities, gardeners develop practices and narratives that fit neatly into neoliberal urban processes.

Second, these organized garden projects and their debates about the creation of space highlight key tensions in contemporary social movements at large regarding when and where to engage state institutions. I trace anti-authoritarian interests and those seeking to gain political power within municipal governance in several key enactments of property and land politics. A clear thread of claiming, using, and institutionalizing gardens on public land with municipal assistance asserts a democratic socialist politic reclaiming a peoples' state. Another clear thread asserts the need to build relations and institutions outside the purview of the contemporary capitalist state.

And finally, within urban agricultural communities, gardening is seen both as an opportunity and a risk to creating new forms of urban governance. Gardeners pose the question of whether actors within this movement are more concerned with creating more gardens or creating community control of resources and decision-making. Varying connections to urban struggles against gentrification and other

social problems highlight the conflicting orientations of gardeners. Like the environmental justice critique of white, mainstream environmentalism, gardeners are raising the question of whose movement is this and how is land central to this question? This dissertation analyzes the movement's practices and self-consciousness of its spatial and process-oriented utopian thinking for the future of gardening and the city.

Urban Agriculture as Radical Land-Use

Urban agriculture has had a presence in US cities since the 1880s, with several periods of popularization and growth (Basset 1981; Lawson 2005). However, with the reemergence of gardening as a strategy in the community food security, food justice and food sovereignty movements, scholars debate how and if this new wave of urban agriculture can contribute to radical urban transformation. Historically, gardens served as a tool to improve urban conditions, especially during times of economic or social crisis when small patches of cultivation expanded to city or nation-wide projects (Lawson 2005; Pudup 2008; McClintock 2010). Urban agriculture has served as a social safety-net by feeding low-wage workers and subsidizing the social reproduction of workers during these times of crisis (McClintock 2010). Today's social movements engaged in urban agriculture focus on lack of physical access to healthy food, racism in US food systems, and gaining popular control of the food system.

Self-provisioning through urban food production has been embraced as a means to address these social problems. In addition to improving food resources, scholars assert that urban agriculture contests dominant logics about the best use of urban space. McClintock argues that urban agriculture exists in tension with capital simply by putting underutilized land to use in the production of food (2010). Mares and Peña agree that urban agriculture projects are forms of resistance to commodification of space, asserting that the use of spaces for agriculture that would gain higher rents for other uses (2010). In highlighting that use-value is prioritized over exchange value, scholars are reviving Lefebvre's arguments about the resistance potentials of urban social movements. Urban agriculture can raise questions about who deserves access to urban land and urban development processes.

For Lefebvre, abstract space, like Marx's abstract labor, contains the seeds for differential space, the seeds for resistance. In describing exchange-value coming to overpower the mode of production in the processes of urbanization, he saw the potential for urban revolution in the struggle for the 'right to the city' (Lefebvre 1968). To Lefebvre, the entire world was becoming the urban as the production of space became a more dominant force than industry. The countryside was increasingly colonized by urban dwellers and ideas of the urban. 'Urban' carried the prioritization of use-value as space became "an inscription of time promoted to the rank of a supreme resource" (ibid., 158). Yet, within his critique of growing urban hegemony, Lefebvre proposed the concept of the right to the city, a right that is not bound to the city, but is better described as a right to "a place in an urban society in which the

hierarchical distinction between the city and the country has disappeared (Marcuse 2009, 193). This can be read in the increasing financial investment in farmland nationally and abroad; for example in 2010 the pension fund TIAA-CREF invested \$2 billion in farmland in the US (Brent and Kerksen 2014).

In the face of growing inequity in cities dominated by neoliberal practices, critical urban theorists and community activists have once again returned to the framework of ‘right to the city’ proposed by Lefebvre in 1968 (Purcell 2008; Marcuse 2009; Brenner, Marcuse, and Mayer 2009; Soja 2010; Haas 2011). The concept of right to the city connects both the just distribution of material resources (such as land) and the democratization of the processes of urbanization. Urban gardening that prioritizes the use of city land for food production, cultural engagement and community building can both challenge the dominant logics of development and also provide the seeds for coalition building under the banner of ‘right to the city’. Gardeners in the Bay region argue that their work does this by demanding a say in urban governance. At the same time gardeners also question if their work contributes to urbanization that continues to benefit capital’s interests and does little to empower marginalized communities.

Gardening led by non-profits can be read as part of the contemporary trend where third sector organizations (voluntary and non-profit based social and political groups) have proliferated and become institutionalized as the appropriate site space for the formation of citizen subjects (Pudup 2008). Social change enacted through volunteerism and non-profit groups, as opposed to state agencies, can have

undemocratic consequences of limiting who is invited or able to participate in decision-making processes, such as those of governance and production of urban space. Furthermore, gardeners are also aware that their work may be and is, as illustrated in several examples in this study, aiding in the processes of gentrification, a significant issue in the region. Urban gardening has become increasingly popular at the same time that discourses of sustainability have gained increasing political influence within US cities. Sustainability policies and discourses have opened possibilities for urban improvement projects such as gardening under the umbrella of larger plans for continued urban development and capitalist accumulation (Dooling 2009; Checker 2011). Such reasoning has given scholars and activists hesitancy in their desire to view urban agriculture projects as materially or discursively transformative land use practices.

The Study of Utopian and Contemporary Social Movement Trajectories

The potentials of radical land use through gardening must be contextualized in the actually existing practices of the social movements in which gardeners participate, i.e. contemporary food movements. Some scholars have argued food politics has largely been de-politicized and individualized as neoliberalism impacts food and agricultural activism (Allen and Kovach 2000; Allen et al. 2003; Guthman 2008a). Other scholars have cited gardens as a site of “against and beyond”³ politics both challenging contemporary capitalism and building new forms of social relations

³ This “against and beyond” framework was first described by John Holloway in relation to this new landscape of anti-statist and anti-capitalist politics (2005).

(Carlsson and Manning 2010). This dissertation engages the question of how gardeners frame the politics of possibility. Although all the gardeners interviewed in this study were committed to food movements as discussed in Chapter 3, the politics and urban utopian imaginaries of the gardeners vary.

One thread of politics that has a strong presence in organized garden projects is what Dixon (2014) calls “the anti-authoritarian current” articulating the work of “against and beyond”. Anti-authoritarian politics, the politics of “another world is possible”, seek to create political spaces beyond party building used by liberals, social democrats, and Leninists alike, as well as beyond non-profit dominated spaces or isolated affinity group organizing (Dixon 2014). Activists work against domination, exploitation, and oppression through bottom-up organizing strategies to create new social relations and forms of social organization beyond contemporary models, thus ‘prefiguring’ more desirable practices (Dixon 2014).

“Against and beyond” resists a dichotomy of oppositional *or* alternative politics that emphasizes either changing contemporary systems or creating new ones, seeing the potential in prefigurative politics in spaces like the land politics of urban gardens. Hegemonic power structures, like the dichotomy of private and public property, while dominant are not singular, complete, or without internal contradiction (Gramsci 1971; Williams 1978). The power of hegemony must be continually renewed and defended through multiple cultural and material processes (Williams 1978). Thus, I read gardens as an essential site to understand contestations of the institution of property. Althusser described the process of subjection as part of the

processes of securing hegemonic power (Althusser 1971). Through practices ideology is made material; when these practices are repeated, ritualized and institutionalized, we can observe the form of ideological state apparatuses. Ideology functions to constitute individuals as subjects through a process of interpellation. Simply put, the individual is hailed, recognizes the call, and freely submits to her subjection. The subject not only recognizes herself in the interpellation, but also recognizes that this is an accurate representation of reality, seeing others as subject. Gardeners, within and beyond food movements, seek to create subjectivities of possibility, thus creating conditions of possibility for intersubjective change. Althusser recognized that the processes of interpellation and the development of ideology are simultaneous processes or “things that happen without any succession” (1971, 118). This mechanism permits the reproduction of the relations of production and resulting social relations of oppression, resistance, or multiple forms in and outside of hegemonic social relations depending on your reading (Gibson-Graham 1996; Glassman 2006). Thus when one gardener calls for the need for more ‘vandals’ as subjects called to create more food through guerilla tree grafting, they recognize subject formation as part of a broader process of engendering ideology challenging the dominance of private property’s boundaries and production urban environments that favor possibility, both oppositional and alternative, through gardening.

Political projects, like the one of the vandal, are also not singular, complete or without internal contradiction. Analyzing the internal contradiction of political projects within particular spatiotemporal contexts can open possibilities for

alternatives (Harvey 2000). Harvey claimed, “if the seeds of revolutionary transformation must be found in the present and if no society can launch upon a task of radical reorganization for which it is not at least partially prepared, then those internal contradictions provide raw material for growing an alternative” (ibid., 193). To construct a utopian dialectics that engages concerns for both spatial form and social processes of alternatives requires “a dialectics that can operate in relation to both space and time” and requires a commitment to the political importance of closure, deciding on strategy and acting upon it (ibid., 196). Harvey described praxis as engaging a dialectic of ‘either/or’ not ‘both/and’, in which actors must recognize that we exercise authority and create or destroy possibilities through the determination of spatial forms (ibid., 235). When we decide on an alternative and build it through social processes into material reality, we both open space for potential and make a definitive (in that moment) decision that closes out other options. When a gardener chooses to occupy a vacant lot without landlord approval, this both creates a physical garden and relationship of gardeners and neighbors to this formerly vacant space, and closes out other possible uses for that lot or for relations to the landlord or neighbors. This is nothing that should be shunned. It is a moment of seizing power as an agent of change. Gardeners, on the level of an individual organized garden project, make these decisions about closure and direction and articulate their relevance to social movement strategy. Yet when discussing land politics beyond their immediate projects, many gardeners in this study, both of and

outside of the anti-authoritarian trend, would prefer a conceptual commitment to openness to using various forms of accessing land.

Yet, gardeners' focuses on their particular circumstances still may contribute to coordination and movement building. Harvey envisioned shifts in both thinking and action occurring in multiple communities, originating out of particular circumstances and struggles, and building to broad-based political movements (ibid., 241). He labeled these individual communities' struggles "militant particularisms." Out of their work, Harvey theorized that many communities develop universal alternatives that they apply to global manifestations of their particular problems. Universality exists in dialectical relation to particularity. Instead of critiquing universalism, Harvey suggested we focus our attention on the mediating institutions (such as property law or zoning, narratives of best use of urban land, or cultural practices of collaboration vs. confrontation) that translate between militant particularisms and universality. It is the creative tension between the two that offers opportunity for utopian architects to "force mediating institutions and spatial structures to be as open as possible" (ibid., 242). This moment of translation constitutes a key departure point towards emancipatory or repressive possibilities. It is through translation, choosing to express a universal as politically necessary, that we commit to a judgment and decision, a 'material praxis' in that moment (ibid., 248). It is in this moment of political judgment that this dissertation turns to the actor, the gardener engaged in what builds to a broader movement for urban agriculture, for critical analysis.

These moments of judgment, choices in practice, discourse, lease agreements or occupations, demonstrate the ‘material praxis’ of the urban utopian imaginary of gardeners. In the coming chapters I describe how gardeners frame and enact politics of possibility. Rather than simply conclude that urban gardening as a regional movement is creating a sweeping break from oppressive social relations, or that gardeners, like other food activists, have accepted a limited ‘politics of the possible’, I document the multiple, sometimes contradictory meanings in the politics and practices of gardeners. In this analysis my argument builds upon a contradiction of seeing gardening as being both emancipatory and continuation of oppressive social relations. I go beyond reiterating this contradiction to argue the constellation of organized garden projects engaged in the Bay Area urban agriculture movement represent a diverse group of interests which have little coordination or communication across the projects on the question of social movement strategy with regards to land politics. Moments of closure, enacting gardens in a place are so particular to garden site or potentially to the network of gardeners in their municipality, that urban agriculturalists are not collectively engaged with the question of universal ideals for land tenure or urban governance.

The Bay Area Context

This dissertation engages a regional analysis of activism in the San Francisco Bay Area, long known for its importance in the alternative agrifood movements of the last half-century and a focal point in the renaissance of urban agriculture since the

1990s. Today, hundreds of organized garden projects populate the landscape of major cities and smaller municipalities throughout the region at the same time investment in the built environment has continued to grow. The region of study includes the five southern Bay region counties including San Francisco, San Mateo, Santa Clara, Alameda, and Contra Costa counties. I pay particular attention to the policy and legal frameworks developed by gardeners in the three largest municipalities in the region: San Francisco, San Jose, and Oakland. While the dissertation more uses a regional analysis, Chapter 5 engages a comparative framework drawing out differences from these three municipalities. In this introductory section, I frame the essential history of the region and these three municipalities and then build upon it in the coming chapters.

For gardeners a notable element of the Bay Area's geography is the Mediterranean climate which allows for year round production, something many other US metropolitan areas do not enjoy. The climate has been an important factor in the growth of agricultural industry in the Bay in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Walker 2009; Pitti 2004). But several other factors have also been important in building the rich social, political, and economic conditions in which organized garden projects in this region grow. Most notably the rise of the Silicon Valley has been a determining force in the economic landscape of the region, fueling the explosion of competitive land markets in three largest municipalities in the Bay. While all experiencing these effects, different histories in each municipality have created particular conditions leading to distinctive articulations and practices of urban

agriculture across the region.

To understand the struggles of land and property in which gardeners engage, one must frame the contemporary real estate markets and tax policy in the region in context of the economic and social history of the three largest municipalities. Oakland has been a bay area focal point for manufacturing and maritime industries since the early 1900s, and with significant growth in these sectors during WWII, Oakland began attracting many African American migrants from the south. While redevelopment projects in 1950s and 60s displaced many African American and Latino residents, the city's non-white populations continued to grow in the industrial flatlands of North, West, and East Oakland. Oakland became a minority majority city, peaking with almost 50% of the population of African descent in the 1980s. Today, that progression is reversing as a consequence of socio-economic trends described below. San Francisco also experienced growth as a Naval port city during WWII and began massive redevelopment projects in the 1950s and 60s. Resistance to redevelopment grew quickly and contributed to the development of city politics focused on preservation of city neighborhoods from the violent impacts of capitalist growth politics (DeLeon 1992). Amidst a wash of progressive social movements for environmental protection, gay rights, and civil rights, activists imposed limits on capital, winning many major victories against redevelopment and displacement from the 1950s to early 2000s, and yet the activists were not able politically defeat the growth coalition which has increasingly gained ground since (Domhoff 2013). Investment stemming from growth in the tech industry has had an increasing impact

in San Francisco growth politics, a force our southern most bay area municipality has been shaped by for a half century. San Jose's economic history has been dominated by the development of the technology manufacturing and related industries, and since the 1970s the city and county has looked to tech industry as both the top employer and source of charitable giving. It is to the genesis of the tech industry that we first turn.

Starting in the 1970s in San Jose, Chicanos and other ethnically marginalized communities experienced the social consequences of economic development putting the south bay on map: the rise of the tech industry. By the late 1970s through the leadership of Stanford University and funded by national defense contracts, Santa Clara County was well under way in its transformation to Silicon Valley (Pellow and Park 2002). Tech's early promise of economic development and environmental benefits only came true for a segment of the population. For employees and largely Latino, Chinese, Vietnamese and non-white communities in the Valley it resulted in low-wage employment, toxic working conditions, and high environmental costs (Pellow and Park 2002). In the 1980s a coalition of tech workers, community members, and environmentalists fought a landmark environmental justice battle to contest groundwater contamination caused by leakage of underground tanks holding toxic byproducts from computer chip production. In response the California legislator passed policy to begin cleaning up and regulating Silicon Valley's environmental impact, as the tech industry continued to grow.

Figure 1.1: Business Taxes for Various Bay Area Cities, From 2011 City and County of San Francisco Board of Supervisors

City	Business Tax
	Corporate Income Tax rate of 8.84% for all companies, except financial institutions, which are subject to a rate of 10.84%. The minimum corporation franchise tax is \$800. The additional alternative minimum tax ² is levied at a 6.65% rate.
Mountain View	Annual fee ranging from \$30-\$100.
Palo Alto	One time \$381 fee for Certificate of Use and Occupancy. Otherwise, no annual business fee or tax.
Redwood City	Annual fee of \$37, plus \$24 per owner/partner/full time employee. The maximum fee is \$3,030 in FY 2010-11.
San Diego	Annual fee of \$125, plus \$5 per employee.
San Francisco	Annual fee ranging from \$25 to \$500, based on estimated payroll expense, plus 1.5% tax on total payroll expense, including stock options, on businesses whose taxable payroll expense exceeds \$250,000 annually.
San Jose	Annual fee of \$150 plus \$18 per employee over 8 (includes owners).
San Mateo	Tiered schedule for tax based on gross receipts or a flat fee based on type of business for certain businesses.
Santa Clara	Tax based on number of employees, by type of business ranging from \$15 to \$500, or a flat fee based on type of business for certain businesses.

As the first tech industry explosion was occurring, in 1979 CA passed proposition 13 severely limiting property tax revenues and causing the state to favor commercial development over residential for potential tax earnings (Chapman 1998). Simultaneously, regional municipalities embraced the economic promise of Silicon Valley. To attract development cities have offered incentives to tech industries, including low annual business taxes (see Figure 1.1(Rose 2011)). While in the 1970s-80s, Florida and Kenney (1988) found the Silicon Valley rich with venture capital and tech innovation, by 2013 Florida was asking ‘is San Francisco the new Silicon Valley’.

Today, a regional housing crisis is underway as middle class San Franciscans and Silicon Valley tech workers spill into surrounding communities (Carey 2014; Slaughter et al. 2014; Hepler 2014). At the same time tech-centered Peninsula towns have resisted creating large company housing developments, such as Mountain View’s 2012 rejection of including housing developments near Google, refusing the idea of creating or becoming a company town (DeBolt 2012). Extreme housing prices

have contributed to a widening wealth gap, which in San Francisco is growing faster than any other city in the nation (Knight 2014). Between 2007 and 2012, the 20th percentile of earners in the city lost \$4309 of household annual income while the 95th percentile gained \$27,815 (Berube 2014). The wealth gap is contributing to an uneven landscape of food security with significant problems with food insecurity in communities like East San Jose, Bayview-Hunters Point, West Oakland, East Palo Alto, and other communities.⁴

The crisis of affordable housing, the housing market crash, and predatory, race-based lending practices have caused a wave of rapid gentrification in communities in San Francisco and Oakland. Nationally, as a result of the 2008 housing crisis it is estimated that African Americans lost \$71 to \$93 billion in assets (Brent and Kerksen 2014). Oakland lost over 40% of their African American residents between 1990 and 2011, with a drastic speed up since the housing crisis (Jones 2014). There were over 10,000 foreclosures between 2007-2011, 93% of which occurred in predominately African American and Latino flatlands communities. These Oakland residents are increasingly moving to surrounding suburbs in search of more affordable housing (King 2012). At the same time residents were priced out of San Francisco and new tech employees were looking for housing in the increasingly popular flatland communities. In 2014 Google tested ferry services to transport

⁴ There have been several food systems assessments conducted through out the region that document food insecurity. See: Bhatia et al. 2011; California Food Policy Advocates 2010; Unger and Wooten 2006; San Francisco Food Security Task Force 2013)

Oakland workers to Silicon Valley, in addition to running an alternative ground transportation infrastructure, the “Google buses”, throughout the region.

Lively protests, direct action, and public debate over Airbnb, evictions and tenant rights, and the “Google buses” have gained national attention. On September 25, 2014 a Facebook video went viral of white Dropbox and Airbnb employees repeatedly asking Latino youth to leave a public soccer field in the Mission because they had reserved the site online (Brooks and Brekke 2014). When the youth and an African American young adult advocate suggested the white men join their game but that because the field was public they wouldn’t leave, the men were incredulous, insisting they had paid the \$27/hour fee for the reservation and should be able to use the field. The video spread quickly with vitriol filled comments about the racism of gentrification in San Francisco, leading to apologies from at least one of the white players involved, and more significantly a reversal of the “Pay to Play” reservation system the Recreation and Parks Department had instituted. The policy still stands at several other San Francisco fields. Today’s debates over urban space have reached electric levels and are reflected in the debates of urban gardeners, as we will see in the coming chapters.

This recent resistance to gentrification in both Oakland and San Francisco has drawn inspiration from a rich social movement history in the region. Racial housing justice activism harkens back to the fights against racist urban renewal projects starting with the Fillmore Redevelopment/Western Addition when African Americans saw the destruction of homes and businesses built post-WWII (Brahinsky 2012).

Historical movements have shaped a terrain of discourse and desire that stoke the fires of contemporary gardeners. Since the 50s local movements have provided national leadership in the anti-urban renewal, anti- Vietnam War, anti-nuclear, back to the land and environmentalist, student free speech, Third World Liberation, and ethnic and racial rights and self-determination movements. Contemporary movements, such as Occupy Oakland and anti-tech organizing are held as exemplars of new anti-authoritarian organizing.

With its current position as the city with the fastest growing property values and highest rent in the nation (Sankin 2012), San Francisco has also been labeled by gardeners and local politicians as a leader in creating a city friendly to both urban farming and development. In Oakland, facing a rapidly gentrifying population and shifting use of previously devalorized industrial landscapes, urban gardeners have held more tightly to the importance of self-determination based organizing taught there first by the Black Panther Party in the 1960s (McClintock 2011). In San Jose, garden projects, frequently funded through Silicon Valley grants and business connections, connect with the needs of diverse ethnic and racial communities. San Jose's historical importance in the Chicano/a movement of the 1960s bleeds into the work of gardeners today concerned with creating spaces for empowering gardeners in Mexican and Central American immigrant communities.

Structure of the Dissertation

This dissertation contributes to the efforts to analyze how alternative food movements and contemporary social movements, more broadly, are discursively and materially engaged in shaping the urban landscape. I seek to explain the character of urban gardeners' relationships to politics of land access and property and investigate the trajectory of social movement strategy. Through this study it is clear that during a moment of extremely competitive land markets and urban growth, gardeners are making significant gains in carving out space for the priorities of urban agricultural communities. This dissertation describes the nature and limitations of these gains.

In this dissertation my approach puts at its center the ideas, words, and stories of urban gardeners and garden advocates. Drawing from the fields of critical activist ethnography, participatory and action-based research, and engaged sociology, I grapple with the question of how to “write and reflect not *about* or even *for* but *with* movements” (Dixon 2014, 13). I write from the position of a former community garden organizer with a continued commitment participating in self-critical urban food politics, and urban politics more broadly. My critical approach originates from a desire to continue to dialogue with and participate in movement conversations on these topics, to see where and how we can move. This approach also forefronts the question of how we produce knowledge about movements. Centering the experiences, discussions, and debates of movement actors acknowledges these activists as knowledge producers worth serious consideration, for *in* the work of social change arises critique, analysis, and controversy about the struggle (Dixon 2014).

The methods that inform this dissertation include key-participant semi-structured interviews, participant observation, and archival and historical research. I interviewed forty-two gardeners and garden advocates and received data from an additional five surveys in an initial and unsuccessful attempt to conduct a regional survey. In addition to semi-formal interviews, I also spoke with and gardened with many individuals during garden workdays, gardener protest events, and educational events hosted by various organizations. To understand institutional perspectives, I interviewed municipal staff in Oakland, San Francisco, Alameda, and San Jose. Furthermore, significant information was gained through engagement with historical and contemporary written work including blogs, project websites, newspaper articles, correspondence and online discussions, notes from events and meetings, flyers, internal municipal agency memos, minutes for city council meetings, city planning documents, and press releases.

In Chapter 2, I contextualize the new wave of urban agriculture in the history of food gardening in the U.S., focusing the reader's attention on the questions of land access and tenure that have been omnipresent for garden advocates since the 1890s. I use the literature on historical gardening movements and projects, drawing out the processes of urban governance and property in which gardeners operate. Urban gardens have been categorized as an interim use, a temporary use of 'vacant' land to address the crises or social ills of a given moment by both planners and garden advocates (Lawson 2004). Starting in the 1970s, both in the Bay Area and nationally, gardening became a tool of social movements engaged in re-envisioning urban land

use, decision-making, and sustainability, and has increasingly problematized gardening's marginal position in the city (Warner 1987). I situate today's movement's demands on the land in a historical context of interim, temporary urban food production spaces.

In Chapter 3, I turn to the contemporary movement contexts in which gardeners operate. The rise of alternative food movements has garnered attention from scholars interested in documenting and affirming movements, evaluating the use potentials of particular alternatives, and analyzing either specific expressions or the characteristics, discourses, and practices of agrifood movements at large (Allen 2007a). In this chapter I examine the trajectory of commitments to justice through three iterations of contemporary food organizing: community food security, food justice, and food sovereignty. Understanding the articulations and debates over justice contributes to an analysis of gardeners as engaged in creating experiments in utopias that fail to completely engage with the spatial imaginary or consequences or their experimentations.

Then in Chapter 4, I examine the practices and enactments of property of gardening contemporary organized garden projects across the Bay region, what I term *landing*. Through analysis of the tenure strategies, political engagements, and social movement commitments of particular garden projects, I demonstrate the variation and key tensions arising in urban agricultural communities. Gardeners articulate an overwhelming claim that contemporary urban agriculture is here to stay, but this is tempered by evidence that gardeners are still willing to inhabit the position of an

interstitial and transient land use. While gardeners can and should be read as creating enactments of property relations beyond and in resistance to public-private dichotomies, there is also a significant thread of garden enactment that reassert the authority of the owner.

In Chapter 5, I discuss three discursive strategies of landing utilized by gardeners: commoning, community management of land, and resiliency. While commoning and community land management discourses have both been used to both oppose capitalist urban development and propose alternatives, resiliency has had a more contentious development. Some gardeners posit that resiliency models can be developed where gardens and gardens can be flexible enough to move from site to site, developing ecological and social transformation where they move. While many movement actors are opposed the idea that development should displace gardens, little advocacy is occurring to the framing of resiliency to not include these pro-development trajectories. The chapter concludes with a discussion of this unfortunate eschewing of the potentials in collective undertakings of decisions of closure.

In Chapter 6, I turn my attention to the question of changing urban governance structures through work with garden advocates. In the three largest municipalities in the Bay Area, advocates have worked to change zoning regulations and the programmatic foci of city departments resulting in a landscape of greater acceptance of gardening. While these changes are significant in creating gains for certain garden organizations, overall changes in city policy should be read as embracing entrepreneurialism, increasing the use of public-private partnerships to address urban

problems, and encouraging politics supportive of development. Through an analysis of patterns of neoliberal urbanization in conjuncture with movement wins, this chapter asks if gardeners have accepted a limited politics of possibility in reimagining urban governance.

By examining the history of collective gardening's place in the US history, the conceptions of justice in contemporary food movements, Bay Area gardeners' enactments of property and urban governance, and the new terrain of urban agriculture in the three dominant Bay Area municipalities, I bring together an interdisciplinary approach to understand how gardeners construct landscapes of possibility and possibilities for landscapes. In a contemporary moment when global social movements are working collectively to challenge capitalist hegemony, the Left is questioning the strategic development of state-based democratic socialist institutions, and young activists are increasingly turning to tangible political projects like urban gardens it is essential to understand the terrain of land and property politics these urban agriculturalists chose to cultivate.

Chapter 2: The History of Land Access and Tenure in US Urban Agriculture and Its' Impact on Today's Gardening

Urban agriculture has been continuously present in US cities since the 1880s. It has taken many forms including school gardens, community gardens, relief gardens, job-training gardens, horticultural therapy gardens, and market gardens. Unlike European gardens, which were more institutionalized and supported by the state, US gardening has occurred with state support only in waves (Basset 1981). At the end of each wave, urban gardening has largely been erased from the urban landscape when gardeners lost access to the land.

Bassett (1981) identified seven periods of urban gardening movements in the United States: the Potato Patches (1894-1917), School Gardens (1900-1920), Garden City Plots (1905-1910), Liberty Gardens (1917-1920), Relief Gardens (1930-1939), Victory Gardens (1941-1945), and Community Gardens (1970 to 1980s). During each period, gardeners or garden advocates utilized several strategies of land access that allowed them to pursue their gardening goals. Throughout most of the history of urban gardening in the US, gardens were viewed primarily as an interim land use or a component of the private yard. Indeed, for most policy makers, planners, and social reformers, gardens were considered to occupy vacant space that would soon be put to a higher use when the need for the garden subsided or the value of the land rose. Since the 1970s, gardeners have begun to advocate for more long-term or permanent

access to city space for gardening, yet urban agriculture has remained squarely rooted as “interim use” in US cities.

This chapter explores the history of organized garden projects as a form of temporary and interim land use. Gardening has been allowed or encouraged for short periods of time on vacant urban land with the expectation gardens will be removed (Drake and Lawson 2014). Through both municipal and private owners priorities gardening is defined as an inferior long-term land use. In this first half of this chapter, I will explore the history of urban gardening in the US from the 1890s to 1980s with a focus on the San Francisco Bay Area. I will describe the strategies and relationships gardeners have developed to gain access to land. I will end the chapter with a description of the rise of contemporary urban agriculture since the 1990s in the Bay Area. This chapter seeks to develop a history exploring the relationship between the objectives of successive waves of urban gardening and the land tenure and property relations that dominate their work.

History of UA in US and Bay Area 1890-1990

Early Urban Gardening to the Potato Patches and Vacant-lot Cultivation Associations: Colonization - 1890s

Pre-colonial agriculture occurred in and near many indigenous villages. These histories are very important in considering the past of urban agriculture and continue to be cited in food movements today as activists emphasize “decolonizing food systems” (Esquibel and Calvo 2013). Hank Herrera, long time East Bay food justice and urban gardening advocate, begins events by honoring and remembering that the

land people gather on and garden on in the Bay Area is Ohlone/Costanoan peoples land that has been colonized and occupied for over two centuries. Bringing pieces of Ohlone spiritual and community practices to the work of East Bay urban gardening connects the movement to pre and post-colonial histories and commitments. Herrera's commitment is representative of a broader thread present in urban agriculture communities across the bay that see urban gardening as part of decolonial practice.

The history I will tell here is centered on the colonial period onward and experiences of largely non-first nations gardeners. Historians argue that US urban gardens have their roots in the town commons of New England and plazas of New Mexico (Lawson 2005). These early communal lands fulfilled many functions including cultivation or animal grazing and were planned components of the urban development of cities like Boston and Santa Fe. Unlike these early commons, urban gardens most frequently have not been included in plans for urban development, but instead have been responses to urban or social problems and located on vacant, "unused", and largely borrowed lands (Lawson 2005).

In the first wave of organized garden projects, social reformers and state institutions used gardening projects to support urban working populations in order to help maintain social cohesion, optimism, a good work ethic, and sustenance during an extended period of economic decline (Bassett 1981). During the economic depression of 1893-1897, Detroit Mayor Hazen Pingree initiated the Potato-Patch Farms, the first of the vacant-lot cultivation programs in the US (Hynes 1996). When unemployment rose in 1893, charity organizations were unable to meet the needs of out-of-work day

laborers, Polish immigrants, and others impacted by the depression (Lawson 2005). The mayor optimistically believed that in a city with over 6,000 acres of vacant land, landowners would happily loan their land for gardening. The idea was received with reservation from Detroit's wealthy communities and it took the mayor's personal financial investment to get the initiative off the ground. After selling his prize horse, the mayor started the program with 455 donated acres of vacant land for cultivation to provide food, economic support, opportunities for self-appreciation and promote assimilation of immigrants (Warner 1987; Hynes 1996; McClintock 2010).

By 1889 the idea had spread to nineteen cities across the US. Depending on the city, vacant-lot cultivation associations were developed by charitable organizations, municipal agencies, or committees of private citizens with the common aims of providing land and technical assistance to unemployed laborers as emergency relief measures (Lawson 2005). Yet the gardens were never intended to be permanent, unlike similar programs in Western Europe. For example, the English allotment system was originally developed out of resistance to the enclosures on communal land and the search for space for gardening to supplement the inadequate diets of recent landless city dwellers (Warner 1987). In 1845, British law mandated garden allotments to be allocated to laborers as a means to provide long-term support to fully employed, yet low waged workers (Lawson 2005).

In contrast, in the US vacant-lot cultivation associations only sought temporary use of vacant land. Associations frequently included wealthy landowners and politicians who used the associations as a means to gain support and other

benefits (Lawson 2005). Landowners were attracted with promises that the associations would organize volunteers to clear and clean the vacant land and that gardeners would promptly vacate the land should the landlord desire to sell or otherwise use the property. In Philadelphia land was loaned with the agreement that it would be returned within ten days of the owner's request (Lawson 2005).

Obtaining and maintaining access to land was one of the most difficult tasks US associations managed. Several cities including New York and Philadelphia conducted vacant land inventories to identify potential garden locations (Lawson 2005). But associations found it difficult to persuade landowners to donate land that had high speculative value. Associations were also uninterested in small plots of land distributed throughout the city due to the increased costs and labor of supervising many locations. Most frequently associations would develop farms on large tracts of land (ranging from one to sixty acres) on the city outskirts, where land was divided into individual family plots ranging from one-eighth-acre to one acre in size. The distant location of garden plots from most gardeners meant transportation costs were high. As economies improved across the country, landowners took back their parcels and vacant-lot cultivation associations disappeared by the later 1890s. The one exception was the Philadelphia Vacant Lot Cultivation Association, which persisted until 1927. A Philadelphia garden supervisor noted that gardeners felt little motivation to put significant time and energy into their plots knowing most pieces of land were on loan for only three to five years (Lawson 2005).

While in some cities, such as Detroit, garden organizers proposed to buy land for permanent urban garden cultivation and poor relief, no such sites were developed. Landowners pushed back against even temporary loans of land fearing that a charity today would become a demand for land “as a matter of right” tomorrow (Gregory Smith 1896, quoted in Lawson 2005). Some associations avoided this fear and lack of tenure security by renting vacant land or using public land. But by far the most common model of land access during this period was through borrowing lands temporarily. In both Detroit and Buffalo, the two cities with the largest gardening programs of the depression of the 1890s, city officials and charity workers embraced gardening as a temporary use of city land; yet they ultimately understood that this land was to be used for its “highest and best use”, i.e. real estate which necessitated housing density for higher landlord profits (Warner 1987). In Chicago and in Boston garden advocates sought the use of public parkland for gardening only to be turned down. Although there was debate, parks designers focused on building recreational facilities for sports and green open space, not including gardening in newly forming parks (Warner 1987).

School Gardens: 1900-1920s

Around 1901, school gardening became a popular avenue to promote agrarian ethics, entrepreneurial skills and work ethic, and provided opportunities for developing connections to nature. Although gardens were frequently initiated through the work of women’s clubs, mother’s associations, and horticultural clubs, school garden advocates advanced the position that gardens should hold a permanent place in

public education. University extension offices became advocates for urban gardening as an integral piece of public schooling. The University of California developed a project entitled the Garden City, which promoted agrarian ideals through gardening and agricultural activities for a wide age range of students. By 1911, over 200 students were allocated plots in a one-acre site on the UC Berkeley campus, where they worked individually to produce and sell vegetables and flowers (Lawson 2005). Communal plots were used to demonstrate agricultural technologies and best practices, as well as to do team building activities. This combination of individual and communal gardening became a common strategy used across the nation to both encourage individual ownership and work ethic while engaging students in collective learning (Lawson 2005). University students were sent throughout the state to replicate the extension service's model by establishing clubs and Garden Cities.

Not all school gardens operated on plots of land on school property, unlike many school gardens today. Many garden programs focused on teaching school children skills they were expected to use in backyard home gardens (Lawson 2005). Some schools developed model demonstration gardens at or near schools where gardening lessons could be taught. Home gardens were used to cultivate children's sense of ownership and pride in their homes, frequently predicated on valuing private property, while also teaching children how to reduce household expenses on food. Teachers visited student homes and interacted with parents, which was a common strategy of turn of the century social reform charities interested in improving the moral and physical health of youth at home (Taylor 2009).

Alternatively, many school garden advocates who wanted to see lasting garden programs promoted on campus gardening. This was partially motivated by the knowledge that gardens integrated into school functioning and located on school property did not face the same tenure insecurity of gardens offsite (Lawson 2005). School gardens were used to promote a sense of personal responsibility for public property. When land was not available at school sites, the federal Office of School and Home Gardening, which operated from 1914 to 1920, suggested teachers locate vacant land nearby that could be loaned or rented, use rooftops where available, or develop window boxes. These strategies were promoted in the industrial east coast cities. In New York, the school system partnered with city parks to develop seven school gardens in four city parks (Lawson 2005). Parks administrators saw the benefit of school children gaining access to land, and their presence was seen as a way to reduce the “lawlessness and vandalism” common in city parks (Park Commissioner Charles B. Stover quoted in Lawson 2005). Thus, what was initially seen as an educational enterprise began to cull support from urban planning offices and set the occasion of garden park development.

Gardens in Urban Improvement and Design: 1900-1930s

In the early decades of the twentieth century landscape architects, city planners, and social reformers alike dreamed of the possibilities of improvement of urban civic life through better order of the physical environment. An improved physical environment was believed to lead to improved behavior, health, and society

by conservative social reformers and radical material feminists alike (Hayden 1982). This belief in environmental determinism was promoted by various plans and movements including the garden city and city beautiful movements (Fishman 1982; Daniels 2009). For both of these movements gardens were part of designs intended to address a multitude of social problems, including disease and lack of physical health, crime, and social unrest. Los Angeles was one of the geographic centers of experimentation for the Garden City and Arts and Crafts Movements from 1910-1920s and California saw much experimentation with utopian architectural form and urban design (Hayden 1982). In Richmond CA, the Arts and Crafts Movement inspired many kitchen gardens and orchards still located on the lots of the bungalows built in the early 1900s (MIG, Inc. 2011).

While not always at the center of plans for social reform, gardens were seen as an appealing strategy due to their relative low costs, ease of implementation and almost immediate results. Land speculation was blamed for creating vacant, trash-filled lots that could lead to social misbehavior (Lawson 2005). Garden clubs across the country cultivated these lots as a means to improving neighborhoods. In Minnesota, the Minneapolis Garden Club started a neighborhood improvement campaign in 1911 by planting 325 vacant lots and encouraging other citizens to plant on 700 other vacant properties (Lawson 2005). The Club, which frequently started gardens on lots without owner permission, encouraged members not to make permanent structures and maintained a policy that gardeners would vacate spaces within five days of an owner's request (Lawson 2005).

In addition to vacant lot cultivation, civic improvement campaigns focused on the home garden as a site for social change. A person's health and moral quality could be judged by the appearance of their garden. Garden clubs and social reforms advocated that a well-maintained, orderly home garden indicated a responsible homeowner or tenant who valued health, frugality, nutrition, family friendly recreation, and positive occupation of one's personal time regardless of a person's economic status or cultural heritage (Lawson 2005). Women's associations played a vital role in this promotion. In San Francisco and Marin, women's garden clubs played a significant role in promoting conservation and civic improvement campaigns (Walker 2009).

Utopian visions of the built urban or suburban environment that had an important place for the garden continued to be explored into the 1930s. In 1916 in what was to become East Palo Alto, Charles Weeks developed the Weeks Poultry Commune by combining the utopian socialist ideal of small independently owned farming communities of William E. Smythe with his own "Weeks Poultry Method" for compact poultry production (Staiger 1999). Small (one-half to one acre) plots were sold to over 1,200 families who developed working gardens and chicken coops in this suburban agrarian development.

In 1922, city planner John Nolen designed an early industrial suburb outside of Cincinnati that included allotment gardens for working-class residents (Warner 1987). In the 1930s, Architect Frank Lloyd Wright proposed the 'Broadacre City' as a model to do away with the cities of the early twentieth century in favor of the

quintessence of emerging suburbia. Cities would allocate one acre of land to each family where gardening would be encouraged (Wright 1935; Fishman 1982). During the Depression era, federally supported housing and urban planning experiments frequently included gardening for self-sufficiency as an important design element, such as the case of the Broadacre inspired Greenbelt town (Lawson 2005). Later the victory gardens in Davis provided inspiration to developers leading to community garden integration into subdivision designs for the city (Warner 1987).

Both the Broadacre City and the Weeks development, while larger scale and more utopian in their design, were emblematic of early urban gardening, which frequently explicitly valued the importance of maintaining or reconnecting with the rural agrarian roots of American culture and sustenance. The deep one-half to one-acre lots with short ends facing the street can still be seen in the urban layout of East Palo Alto.

Liberty Gardens and Victory Gardens: 1917-1920 and 1941-1945

During both World War I (WWI) and World War II (WWII) large, federally supported gardening programs enrolled civilians in supporting war efforts by improving national diets and habits while making resources available for the war efforts. Gardens became essential tools in campaigns to advance patriotism and encourage public participation in war efforts (Lawson 2005). As John Brucato, San Francisco Victory Garden leader, observed “food was considered one of the most important weapons of war” (Brucato 1993, 142). During WWI when it was necessary

to export portions of the domestic food supply, liberty gardens were also used to supplement food during shortages through a federal strategy of asking citizens to voluntarily substitute food purchases with garden produce. During WWII, citizens were encouraged to grow nutrient dense vegetables and were also mandated to comply with national rationing and price controls. A national Food Fights for Freedom campaign enlisted citizens in producing, conserving, and sharing food resources during the war (Lawson 2005). During both wars, gardens were a key strategy to both produce food for nutritional needs and encourage at home participation in the war efforts.

During both wars significant federal and state government support assisted the rapid development of extensive garden networks. Liberty gardens in 1918 numbered 5,285,000 and produced \$525 million worth of food. In 1917, the Bureau of Education's Office of School and Home Gardening was turned into the United States School Garden Army and was funded with \$250,000 in federal funds and frequently state or local funds as well (Lawson 2005). During WWII, while there was no formal School Garden Army, the Office of Education advocated for school victory gardening. The USDA took an active role in promoting victory gardens through statewide conferences and inspiring the formation of state victory garden councils, which would implement federal policy (Lawson 2005). By 1944, victory gardens provided 40% of American's domestic food (McClintock 2010).

During both wars in some locales, such as Dayton, OH, the city councils or other agencies took an active role in finding land resources for schools and other

gardens, while in other locales, voluntary associations took on this task (Lawson 2005). Frequently cities set up demonstration gardens in important public locations to allow for education and inspiration. In Chicago during WWI, a coalition of local government officials, businessmen, and social reformers worked together to map Chicago's growing gardening projects to facilitate better coordination. They then went on to publicize garden efforts and distribute over 150,000 copies of educational material on gardening while also setting up demonstration gardens in each of the city's major parks, totaling seventeen demonstration gardens by 1918.

San Francisco was significantly engaged in both the liberty and victory garden efforts (see land in front of city hall devoted to urban gardening during WWII in Figure 2.1). In 1918 a municipally announced 'War Garden Day' was celebrated with a parade of over one

thousand soldiers and civilians marching together next to floats decorated with homegrown vegetables, garden-themed entertainment, and by breaking ground on a new



Figure 2.1: Victory Garden in Front of San Francisco City Hall (Source San Francisco Recreation and Parks)

demonstration garden at the local High School of Commerce (Lawson 2005, 117).

Similarly, San Francisco hosted an annual victory gardens fair from 1943-1945 that provided garden education, entertainment and vegetable exhibitions by local growers to thousands of fair attendees each year (Lawson 2005). John Brucato led the San Francisco Victory Garden Council from 1941 – 45 (Brucato 1993). Beginning with articles in the *San Francisco News* and *San Francisco Examiner* on food gardening techniques, Brucato, a UC Davis educated farmer, businessman, and politically savvy individual, built a relationship with San Francisco Junior College (which later become City College of SF). This partnership led to the development of the San Francisco Victory Garden Council, which brought together garden clubs, service organizations, labor groups, and others interested in the effort. Initially the Council focused on outreach and education to homeowners, then on the cultivation of vacant lots, and then they turned their sites to the development of large community garden projects. The first of these larger developments was located in Golden Gate Park where four hundred 20x20 foot plots were allocated to families. Similar projects were developed in Glen Park Reservoir Site where 350 garden plots were allocated, and then at Laguna Honda county hospital where 400 nine hundred square foot plots were developed (Brucato 1993). By 1942 the Council had almost reached their goal of developing 60,000 Victory Gardens. Together these projects combined with the other work of the Council became known as the “Backyard Revolution”. Brucato’s work was lauded as a national model by the Department of Agriculture. It is notable to state that San Francisco has a significant presence of peri-urban gardens and truck farms in Italian, Portuguese, and Chinese communities prior to WWII (Brahinsky 2012).

During the war period Brucato also worked to develop San Francisco's first farmers market to support some of these truck farms and struggle farmers in surrounding rural communities. The market attracted over 135 farmers on its first Saturday and sold produce to over 50,000 people (Brucato 1993).

During WWI, the war garden campaign aggressively advocated for the cultivation of any unused or "slacker land" on both public and private property (see Figure 2.2 (Pack 1919)). Charles Lathrop Pack, a wealthy lumberman and leader of the National War Garden Committee, estimated that at least 50 acres of tillable vacant land existed in every US city (Warner 1987). Similarly during WWII, the



Figure 2.2: Slack Land Cartoon (Pack 1919)

USDA advocated heavily for agricultural production on unused land. Chicago's case was not an uncommon example of Parks Department cooperation and involvement in the development of gardens and the use of public land for garden education during both wars (Lawson 2005). Private companies, particularly the railroads, also were significant contributors of land for public gardening during WWI (Lawson 2005). Railroads extended space for the cultivation of "right of way" gardens by employees and non-employees alike. Vacant-lot production was also encouraged. In Des Moines during

WWI, the city commissioner went so far as to pass an ordinance that allowed gardeners to seize and use vacant land rent-free, which the city had already inventoried (Lawson 2005). During WWII, vacant-lot production was also encouraged with the expectation that the vacant land would willingly be made available to gardeners. However also common during this time were reminders warning gardeners that the land was being donated for the war effort and users should not expect permanent access (Lawson 2005).

During both wars, home production and community gardening were emphasized. Community gardens on larger pieces of land were encouraged for their efficient use of land, tools and water and their social benefits (Lawson 2005). During WWII large community gardens with more established sets of rules became more common. Rules against theft, vandalism, and even trespassing were established to protect the work of gardeners (Lawson 2005). Homeowners were also targeted by propaganda encouraging people to take out their lawns and plant gardens. In a Columbia University War paper discussing home lawns and flower gardens, Brown argued “the most inexcusable of Idle Acres is the fertile and tended acre that fails to contribute its share to the nation’s staple food supply at a time of national need” (Brown 1917, quoted in Lawson 2005). Home backyard garden production continued to be promoted after the end of the war. In national home ownership campaigns, the garden was a valued asset by builders, real estate agents and buyers as an essential component of the American home (Lawson 2005).

Following WWII, while some advocated for the importance of permanent public gardening, vacant-lot and community gardening largely disappeared from the US urban landscape. Although subsistence gardening played a dominant role in the urban landscape in Columbus, Ohio from 1900 to 1940 (Moore 2006), post WWII, gardens disappeared materially and discursively from city space and the telling of Columbus history. The use of urban planning and land use discourse that claimed gardening was contrary to “modern” development played a key role in this the post-war disappearance of gardens. Post-war planners increasingly saw agriculture as a threat to urban health and safety and used zoning to move this threat out of the city (Hodgson, Campbell, and Bailkey 2010). In addition, the still dominant discourse of gardening as a response to crisis helped to normalize their erasure once the crisis had passed and other urban development schemes dominated. Backyard gardening was promoted as a hobby by magazines like *House and Garden*, but for those without access to backyards it was unclear where, if at all, gardens had a place in the city. The Washington D.C. Victory Garden commission went as far as to state, “[victory] gardening has not place as a ‘proper peacetime municipal function’” (quoted in Lawson 2005).

During this period increasingly racist home lending, government benefits, and housing sales, made homeownership a reality for many white families. Thus home gardening with secure tenure was a possibility for these families but was not for many African American, Chinese American, Japanese American, Mexican American, and other racially or ethnically excluded communities. Still gardening persisted in many

of these communities as African American families with slave histories moved north and west and brought agricultural practices with them, just as Mexican American landholders who had been disposed of their lands brought agricultural histories with them to California backyards and city lots. A prominent San Francisco example are the Chinese peri-urban gardens of the early 1900s. Gardening in Chinese communities in Southeast San Francisco and Oakland was a common practice and provided significant amounts of produce to local markets (Brahinsky 2012). Chinese gardeners were denied rights to own land and most gardeners had lost access to their gardens by the 1940s through building development or the expansion of Italian and Portuguese gardens. Work with Chinese gardeners is notably missing from Brucato's account of WWII gardener and truck farmer assistance efforts. Post WWII homeownership became a depoliticizing force for garden efforts in white communities, as increasing numbers of individuals had access backyard gardens. At the same time, in racially marginalized communities, where homeownership was suppressed, collective garden projects grew in importance during subsequent moments of resistance to racist urban redevelopment projects that displaced communities of color.

Relief Gardens: 1930-1939

In the interwar period, during the Great Depression, several relief efforts used gardens as a means to improve the food security of and constructively occupy unemployed workers and poor families. Similar to the war gardens, relief garden

efforts received significant state and federal support and funding. As such these garden efforts were more top-down than many of the urban gardens of the early twentieth century (Lawson 2005). Garden programs were more supported during the beginning of the depression from 1931-1935 than the later years (Lawson 2005). Two forms of gardens were most common: the work-relief garden and the subsistence garden. Work-relief gardens provided workers with a wage to collectively garden large tracts of land where food was produced and then sent to food relief programs. In 1934, gardens produced 36 percent of fruits and vegetables used in relief efforts. Similar to past urban gardening efforts, subsistence gardens provided gardeners with land, seeds, and education for production for home use. State and federal governments spent \$3 billion on the creation of relief gardens in the three-year time span between 1932 -35 (McClintock 2010, Lawson 2005). In 1935, federal relief work shifted focus towards the Works Progress Administration and in 1937 the distribution of excess agricultural commodities through the Food Stamp Program (Lawson 2005).⁵

⁵ Food stamps have an interesting history connected more to agricultural productivity than social justice. This history later becomes a point of concern for food activists considering the importance of state social safety nets in struggles for food access and justice. Increasingly productive agriculture in the 1920s led the US into a series of crises of excess. In the face of this excess, highly contentious debates erupted over how to create production controls and coordinated orderly marketing. In 1922, farmers were exempt from the anti-trust laws of the Capper-Volstead Act, allowing for cooperative marketing in agriculture. Then in 1933 Congress passed the first Agricultural Adjustment Act. This first attempt at production control reduced the national acreage devoted to basic crops, made payments to farmers to store crops on their farm during times of market gluts, encouraged producers and handlers to enter into marketing agreements in order to stabilize product prices and to levy processing taxes as a means to fund the crop reduction program (Cochrane 1993). When the

Depression era garden advocates also encouraged the use of vacant or unused lands. Manuals suggested groups survey vacant land in their communities and partner with real estate boards, industry, railroads, and public agencies for use of their spaces (Lawson 2005). Many companies started gardening programs of their own to provide relief for workers who had been fired or had their hours reduced. Some national companies went as far as to require all local plants to start gardening programs. In 1932 more than forty railroad companies had encouraged their employees to garden on railroad owned land (Lawson 2005). Some companies went beyond providing land for subsistence gardens. The B.F. Goodrich Company encouraged workers to participate in a collective farm, which used labor rotations and centralized planning to produce and distribute over one million pounds of vegetables (Lawson 2005). Cooperative farming supported by the employer was found to make significant contributions to the needs of the community during this depression period according

Federal Emergency Relief Administration was established small cash grants were given to the unemployed. Then, seeing the signs of a soon to come surplus of hogs, the Agricultural Adjustment Administration offered farmers a bonus for slaughtering young pigs and pregnant sows. The stockyards were unequipped to pen small pigs and some pigs escaped into the streets of Chicago. Once taken to slaughter, pigs that were too small for the processing facilities were made into “tankage”, ground pig slurry used for fertilizer. When there was a lack of buyers and storage facilities, tankage was dumped on the outskirts of Chicago, producing a stench and attracting insects. The resultant press storm and public outcry on the waste of food resources amidst hunger prompted President Roosevelt to form a new agency, the Federal Surplus Relief Corporation. Its primary role was to purchase farm surplus for distribution to the unemployed. Social workers of the time highly objected to giving non-cash aid, as it was seen as degrading the unemployed. Despite the objections in 1935 the agency became the Federal Surplus Commodity Corporation. It was housed in the USDA and charged with the goal of providing a more steady flow of surplus from farm to the plates of the unemployed. However, agricultural surplus distributed to the unemployed and low-income citizens did not always reach the populations in most need.

to a company report released in 1933 (Lawson 2005). Overall, like earlier waves of gardening which relied on borrowed lands from employers, public agencies, and private owners of vacant lands usually located at the city's edge, work relief and subsistence gardens were always intended to be *temporary* solutions to the problems of urban poor. The discourse on vacant lots to be filled with temporary gardens has been a persistent theme in the history of US gardening, one that Luke and Lawson (2014) identify as a barrier to the development of gardens as a permanent institution in urban land use.

Community Gardens: 1970s and 1980s

Community gardens resurfaced in the 1970s after a period of post-WWII disfavor. Bassett (1981) identifies two reasons for this rise of community gardening in this time of economic stagflation: the rise of food prices and the growing environmental movement. Others argue that the gardens of the 1970s were more closely connected to the civil rights and urban social movements of that time (Pudup 2008; Lawson 2005). Unlike many gardens earlier in US history, these efforts were largely gardener driven and managed in both planning and development (Lawson 2005). In urban centers across the nation, gardening was embraced as a means to resist top down urban renewal, promote more sustainable agricultural practices, and reimagine the urban environment. Gardening became a part of the alternative open space movement in which playgrounds, miniparks, and garden spaces were developed

on small sites that were often overlooked but became highly integrated into community use (Lawson 2005).

While community gardening experienced a lull in the 1950s and 60s, backyard gardening's popularity continued to grow. By 1973, over 80 million Americans were gardening as a hobby (Lawson 2005). In the late sixties many sought to transform this hobby into a strategy for more ecological and sustainable living, forging a relationship between ecological agriculture and urban sustainability that is still vibrant today.

Across the country many urban garden projects were explicitly connected to efforts to resist racialized urban renewal. In the 1960s and 70s in Boston, Mel King and many others organized in historically black communities to gain a voice in urban and community development (Warner 1987). King, a leader of the Eastern Massachusetts Urban League and organizer committed to local control and governance of land, spearheaded the passage of a bill in 1976 that made it possible to claim unused land for community gardens (Lawson 2005). Six gardens were developed that summer. In 1977 the Boston Urban Gardens was formed through a coalition of black community organizers, white activists, and other Boston residents to better coordinate gardening efforts in the city (Warner 1987, Lawson 2005). In Oakland, the Black Panther Party (BPP) grew gardens for subsistence on open spaces and on the properties of facilities used for BPP activities (McClintock 2011). The intent of the gardens was to supplement the food supply for their severely impoverished community.

Nationally, community garden received significant support and became increasingly institutionalized by the end of the 1970s. Between 1976 and 1993 the USDA ran an Urban Agriculture Program in 26 cities providing technical and financial support to gardeners. In 1982, \$17 million worth of food was produced by community gardeners supported by the Urban Agriculture Program (Lawson 2005). In 1979 the American Community Gardening Association (ACGA) was formed at a conference of community gardeners from across the nation. Their early mission included publicizing the work of gardens, providing mechanisms for information exchange and establishing deeper relationships between gardening groups (Lawson 2005). In the 1980s the ACGA was deeply concerned with land tenure, a sentiment we will see reflected in the San Francisco League of Urban Gardeners as well.

The May 1982 and fall 1987 issues of the *Journal of Community Gardening*, the ACGA's national publication, were devoted to the topics of site permanence, advocacy to change the place of gardening in city master plans and housing developments, and opinions on gardeners organizing to secure sites through ownership, land trusts, and long-term leases (Boekelheide and Moroz 2006; Lawson 2005). In 1982, Diane Gonsalves argued community gardens should not be made portable stating, "the displacement of gardens undermines the commitment of the gardeners, depriving neighborhoods of an important stabilizing factor, in much the same way that housing displacement does" (Gonsalves 1982, 111). Gonsalves laments that gardens "remain invisible to planners. Architects, politicians, and policy makers" and "are treated like carpets that can be rolled up and moved elsewhere at

will” (1982, 1). In spring 1983, the ACGA published an infographic on tips for saving a garden entitled “Stop the Bulldozers!” (see Figure 2.3.). On the other hand, in the 1987 ACGA publication on land tenure, Gerson was advocating for gardeners to accept that gardeners will sometimes lose sites: “When it comes time to leave, you do so. Regrettably. But you don’t (at least in public) cry, whine, or fuss, nor do you encourage your gardeners to do so” (Gerson 1987, 117)). Gerson argued that ‘creating a fuss’ damages the reputation of community gardening at large, and in an environment where “developers will win (land battles) 98% of the time” gardeners need to know gardens are not forever.

During this period from the late 1960s to the 1970s, collective urban gardening experienced a revival across the country. But by the mid-1980s community gardening was in decline. Shifts in federal and state funding left many gardening programs without the funds to support their staff or work. Yet, the commitments and sometimes projects of this era have survived to the present. During the community gardening period, San Francisco Bay Area urban agriculture communities started to develop as a vanguard leading many conceptual and political efforts to support gardening and urban improvement through agriculture.

Home gardening was embraced as a key piece of sustainability of the rapidly growing communal living movement in the Bay Area. By 1971 there were more than 300 communes in the region connected by the weekly newsletter *Kaliflower* in which articles described home gardening techniques among other things (Roth 2011).

Kaliflower authors drew inspiration from the Diggers, a spinoff from the San Francisco Mime Troupe who advocated for community self-sufficiency and practices such as dumpster diving, labeled “garbage yoga”, and theater aimed to “politicize a new way of living in the city” (Roth 2011, pg. 195). Urban communes became the launching ground for a network of Food Conspiracies, collectives who pooled food stamps, bought bulk food and shared other food resources, and later the San Francisco People’s Food System (Roth 2011; Peirce 2011).

In Berkeley, community activist Helga Olkowski and doctoral student William Olkowski, Helga’s husband, created many opportunities for Bay Area residents to learn about sustainable living. Together they developed classes at UC Berkeley on food growing, promoted the use integrated pest management across the Bay Area, started the first recycling center in the US, and help start Antioch College West, an alternative college in San Francisco with a focus on ecology. For six years, William Olkowski conducted research and education on the UCB Gill Tract Farm in Albany, now the site of an urban garden and land battle (Personal communication, 2014). The Olkowskis are potentially best known for the publication of two books on urban food production: *The City People’s Book of Raising Food* and *Integral Urban House: Self-reliant Living in the City*. The latter was one of the first books on “urban homesteading” documenting the creation of an ecological demonstration house in Berkeley. While most of their teaching focused on the potentials of home gardening, they also saw the potential for broader urban gardening efforts:

“So what's a city person to do? Grow some of your own. I think that one can grow a good deal of food in the city, and have fun doing it. It was done during

World War II- they were called Victory Gardens. The apartment dweller can grow tomatoes and cucumbers inside a sunny window, citrus and bell peppers too. A window box salad, of loose-leaf lettuce, radishes, green onions, cress, baby carrots, and turnips, is a real possibility. There may be room for a planter box of food plants on the roof or in a courtyard, and even more room to raise meat rabbits. You may be able to share a backyard or patio with a friend who has some outdoor space, or join forces with your neighbors in working on an empty lot, unused city-owned land; or you might talk your local parks and recreation people into letting you use a portion of a city park. Other city people have found a way. You can too.”(Olkowski and Olkowski 1975, 3). This optimistic approach to gardening and access to space, while potentially inspiring, decontextualized gardening from the institutional support (such as during WWII) or conditions that limit potentials for individuals seeking garden space, which restrict the development of the ecological agriculture the Olkowski’s promoted.

Lower down on the peninsula, John Jeavons and his colleagues at Ecology Action in Palo Alto started an urban farm in 1971 to conduct research on intensive food production methods. Ecology Action grew food and taught ecological agricultural practices on this farm until their lease ran out in 1980. Jeavons, a former student of UCSC’s Orin Martin, lamented, “like so much other agricultural land in the United States, our lovingly tended beds succumbed to the press of urbanization” (Jeavons 1974, xii). While their farm was initially imagined as a piece of the urban Bay region, the difficulty of maintaining land access pushed Ecology Action to find a permanent site in Northern California. Their bio-intensive method of food production requires long-term soil building, ideally over a 50-year period, and other practices that were not viable in land markets dominated by short-term leases and the loss of land to development. However, by the 1980s, another force in bio-intensive and sustainable local agriculture was growing as a commercial venture in both rural and

urban California. In 1982 the renowned Berkeley restaurant, Chez Panisse started growing and buying local produce (McClintock 2011). By 1986, Chez Panisse and fourteen other high-end restaurants were buying from a small urban farm, Kona Kai Farms Market Garden, in an industrial neighborhood in Berkeley (Green 1993; McClintock 2011). Sustainable gardening and local food sources for commercial purposes were deeply connected to the Bay Area environmental movements of the sixties, seventies, and eighties.

In addition to experiments in home agriculture as connected to sustainable and often communal living, the Bay Area was enlivened with other acts to reimagine urban relationships to land, food, and people. In 1969 in Berkeley, People's Park became a national example of a continued community occupation of land leading to the creation of community gardens, open space, and much more (Compost 2009). In a decades-long, often violent struggle, student activists, environmentalists and social justice advocates occupied UC Berkeley land in what was considered a revolutionary act to create space for humans and nature in resistance to development. In San Francisco, artists from the San Francisco Mime Troupe, inspired by the diggers, started an urban farm as a piece of "life theater." Here art, agriculture, and community gathering were combined to radically rethink human-nature relations (Blankenship 2011). Another urban farm, the Farm, was created when project leaders, Sherk and Wickert, leased 1.5 acres of land by the side of the freeway. Community activists worked with the Trust for Public Land and the city eventually agreed to buy 5.5 acres and develop it into a park. Between 1974 and 1987 "The Farm" or

Crossroads Community included artists, poets, punks, vegetables, livestock, and many others in an experiment in non-hierarchical radical ecology. At the same time, the lot next to The Farm became a key gathering space for low rider cars and Chicano cultural activists. People's Park was an inspiration to Low Riders looking to carve out a space of their own in the mission district (Blankenship 2011). After 1980, diminishing funds for community arts projects and shifting use of the space led to the decline of The Farm as it had been. The City was not accepting of the radical vision of the space and began development of a more traditional urban park, which still exists today as Portrero Del Sol Park (formerly La Raza Park) and adjacent community gardens.

During the 1970's, Community garden programs housed under municipal departments began popping up across the country. Over forty percent of contemporary community gardening programs began in 1975 (Lawson 2005). Many of California's contemporary community gardening programs were initiated in this period. In 1977 the California Council on Community Gardening stated "Community gardening improves the quality of life for all people by beautifying neighborhoods; stimulating social interaction; producing nutritious food; encouraging self-reliance, conserving resources; and creating opportunities for recreation and education" (Dotter 1994).

San Jose's first community garden was started in 1976 by a coalition of residents from senior associations, the Food Bank, San Jose State University students in environmental studies, UC Cooperative Extension, and San Jose Parks and

Recreation. The 5-acre garden, located on land previously used for a City nursery, was named Mi Tierra and was led and tended by mainly Mexican-American residents (Dotter 1994). A year later the City started its official community gardening program. In 1993 Mi Tierra was evicted when the San Jose Ice Center was built on the land, and Mi Tierra became Nuestra Tierra community garden on another site. The garden was moved again in 2000 when the land was scheduled to be made into a golf course (Hukill 2000). This has been a common story for San Jose gardens; all of the community gardens started in the seventies have been moved from their initial sites when the City or other landholder developed the land. In 1999 when the 25-year-old West Side Garden was evicted in order to build a library, Lilyann W. Brannon with the help of other gardeners fought the prospect of losing more garden land. *Lilyann W. Brannon*, a prominent environmental activist and leader of the United New Conservationists, an environmental group started in the seventies at San Jose State University, objected to the City's position that a community garden is an interim use until development takes place. She advocated that the City zone sites for permanent community gardens, stating: "I would like to see some dignity given to the urban agriculture" (Rombeck 1999). John Dotter, San Jose community garden program director for many years, noted that community gardens and cultural gardens have been an essential space in San Jose for many groups of immigrants to continue the expression of agricultural and community identities (Dotter 1994). In a valley with rich history of farming in Japanese, Mexican, and other ethnic communities, gardens bridge rural and urban immigrant communities.

In addition to San Jose, both Oakland and San Francisco initiated community garden programs in the seventies. In 1973, the San Francisco Board of Supervisors created a community gardening program under the Department of Public Works Street Tree Program and hired a coordinator to run the gardens (Peirce 1994). The greenhouse at the Laguna Honda Hospital, the site of the former victory garden, was put to use growing plants for distribution to community gardens. At the same time the coordinator assisted residents in finding sites for gardens and in obtaining insurance. When the Comprehensive Employment Training Act (CETA) began providing federal funding for positions for urban improvement, San Francisco hired CETA workers to run community garden and art projects. By 1975 fourteen full-time workers were employed (Westwind 1985). Using CETA funding, Contra Costa County hired seven staff members to develop a gardening program inspired by San Francisco's program (Westwind 1985). The state of California hired a community gardening coordinator to be housed under the Office of Appropriate Technology and published a 1977 report on the state of community gardens (Menninger 1977). The significant energy across the state was funneled into the creation of the California Council for Community Gardening (CCCG), a precursor to the American Community Gardening Association (Westwind 1985). The Council organized statewide conferences, a communication network, and information sharing forums.

By 1979 there were 75 community gardens managed by the San Francisco Department of Public Works. However due to the passage of Proposition 13 and the end of CETA funding, the community gardens program had already begun its decline.

By 1980 the community garden program was no longer functioning (Lawson 2005). The Contra Costa program lost all but one staff member. The California Council for Community Gardening began its decline and folded in 1985. Organizer Mark Westwind concluded the project ultimately did not continue because “each of us was too dedicated to our primary focus – our own projects in our own communities” (Westwind 1985, 41).

In San Francisco, Pam Pierce, Steve Michaels, and other gardeners continued the work of helping to support gardens under the name of the Urban Agriculture Coalition (Pierce 1994). The Coalition held picnics in gardens to encourage information sharing and involvement. Pierce remembers the picnics as a space where “(we) had great fun while we formed the vision that became SLUG!” (Pierce 1994). From 1981 to 2004 the San Francisco League of Urban Gardeners (SLUG) was a national leader of urban gardening non-profit organizations. SLUG took over management of community gardens and by 1986 worked with forty-seven sites on ten acres (Lawson 2005). In 1986, SLUG also contributed significantly to a new city master plan, which now included sections on the support of community gardening. In 1987, the Open Space Citizens Advisory Committee approved the Recreation and Parks Department contract with SLUG to build, renovate and maintain community gardens. In 1988, SLUG and other advocates successfully lobbied for the passage of Proposition E, which continued funding and municipal support for gardens and open space for another fifteen years.

During the 1980s land tenure was a significant theme for SLUG. Throughout the decade, SLUG worked with city supervisors and other officials to try to increase access to vacant land, secure longer-term contracts for gardens, and raise awareness of the impacts of tenure insecurity. In an early newsletter SLUG authors discussed the challenges of accessing land despite the over 7000 vacant lots in the city (Millican 1984). In 1984, Supervisor Kennedy proposed edits to the police and health code to increase the penalties to owners of lots that were hazardous due to their disuse. Her proposal mentioned SLUG as an example of an organization with whom landlords could work to put lots to use as gardens or mini-parks. SLUG developed a working relationship with the Trust for Public Land, which assisted gardeners with negotiations with landlords, provided legal advice, and helped cut through red tape with real estate companies interested in donating vacant lots (SLUG Honors TPL 1988). In efforts to mobilize gardeners on issues of land tenure, SLUG authors wrote “no garden is secure unless you are a homeowner with a garden in your yard” and called on people to attend Board of Supervisors meetings, stating gardens shouldn’t be sold to solve city short-term cash flow problems.

In Oakland, the community garden program continued under the Office of Parks and Recreation. In the late 1980s, two prominent figures came on the scene (McClintock 2011). Karl Linn, a landscape architect and founding member of the American Community Gardening Association, moved back to Berkeley and formed a relationship with Carl Anthony, a long time Oakland community organizer (Walker 2009; McClintock 2011). Linn facilitated Anthony joining the board of the Earth

Island Institute in an attempt to bridge environmental organizing and racial justice in Bay Area activism (Walker 2007, McClintock 2011). In 1989 they formed Urban Habitat and the People of Color Greening Network where community gardening, social justice, and landscaping for urban commons were brought to the Oakland flatlands through the transformation of vacant lots. McClintock cites these efforts as a central pillar from which contemporary urban agriculture in Oakland built its foundation (2011).

From the 1890s to the 1980s garden advocates and community gardeners used a variety of approaches to access land (See Figure 2.3: Land Access Strategies 1890s-1980s). Strategies for gaining and maintaining land such as comprehensive land inventories, partnering with school systems, and encouraging home food production can be seen in use as much a century prior to the roots of today’s urban agriculture movement. The common thread of the last century of gardening is a persistent approach to gardens as temporary land use for social and environmental benefit. With the exception of home gardens, urban agriculture on public and private land has been continually displaced when land-holders decide to put parcels to the more profitable use.

Figure 2.3: Land Access Strategies 1890s-1980s	
Gardening Period	Tenure Strategies
Potato Patches and Allotment Gardens	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vacant land use with quick return timelines on donated private land • Land inventories
School Gardens	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Backyard/home gardening • Use of school and university land • Donated or rented private land

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gardening on Parks Department land
Urban Improvement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Backyard/ home gardening • Community gardens in residential plans • Temporary gardens on vacant lots to beautify cities
War Gardens	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gardens on public institution lands – schools, hospitals, etc. • Backyard/home gardens • Company gardens • Vacant lot gardening on ‘slacker lands’
Depression Relief Gardens	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Company gardens • Vacant lot gardening on private and public land • Land inventories
Community Gardens	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public parks gardening • Vacant lot gardening • Planning and legislation attempt to make space available • Political occupations • Backyard/home gardens

Urban Agriculture Today: 1990s to Present

From the 1990s to today, urban gardening has experienced a renaissance in US cities with gardeners using many of the same tenure strategies described above. Urban gardening was first identified as a solution to the problems of community food insecurity in the mid 90s then increasingly associated with environmental justice, local food promotion, urban sustainability, community health campaigns, and food justice. Now thousands of gardening programs exist in the US. In this most recent iteration, “urban agriculture”, many activists and planners are suggesting the need for some sort of permanency of urban gardens in the landscape. Before examining the

land access strategies and land politics of contemporary projects in the next chapter, this portion of the chapter will describe the dominant characteristics and form of this newest wave of gardening. These characteristics, I argue, play a significant role in shaping gardener imaginaries for the possibilities of space.

Urban agriculture first developed as a term in relation to non-US based urban gardening practices (Mougeot 2000). Development workers and scholars noted the use of gardens and farms in the city as essential elements of food security and economic activity in countries across the non-Western world in the 1980s and 1990s. These scholars and advocates used the term “urban agriculture” to describe practices of growing of plants and raising animals in or around cities, which are integrated into urban ecological and economic systems (Mougeot 2000). In the development context, many urban agriculture advocates suggested municipal and state governments could and should support gardening as an interim use. Gardens could be moved when other uses of the land became a priority (Mougeot 2006). In the early 2000s, advocates started talking about urban agriculture in the US context, with the first major publication on US urban agriculture having been released in 2003: *Urban Agriculture and Community Food Security in the United States: Farming from the City Center To the Urban Fringe* by Brown and Carter. The term urban agriculture was adapted by US community and urban gardeners in an attempt to broaden the understanding and appeal of producing food and other useful plants in the city. Urban agriculture, both in the US and abroad, is a broad category including many forms of production for a variety of purposes. Yet it is notable to trace its origins from a development

perspective, i.e. one which prioritizes economic and social progress that many food activists would question or resist.

Urban gardening in the Bay Area has continued to grow and provide leadership for a national movement interested in urban food production. Unlike many other cities, the presence of a SLUG had helped community gardening continue to grow in the Bay during the 1980s and 90s. SLUG was a dominant force in supporting urban gardening in San Francisco up until 2004. By 2002 SLUG had a yearly budget of \$3.5 million with 150-200 employees (Lawson 2005). With much of its budget derived from community development block grants and contracts with city agencies, SLUG was left without a funding source after problems arose with financial management. In 2003 all employees were laid off and by 2004 the organization had largely ceased to exist (Lawson 2005). Since the end of SLUG, urban gardeners have continued to grow throughout the Bay and much important scholarship has documented their efforts (see: Linn 2008; Lawson 2005; Pudup 2008; McClintock 2010; Melcarek 2009; Roman-Alcalá 2013). This large non-profit and the many advocates associated with it provided an important foundation upon which a regional movement has flourished both in the third sector and in institutional settings including regional universities and planning departments.

Planning and Policy

Despite large obstacles in maintaining access to space, contemporary organized garden projects have found significant support from the discipline of urban

planning. Planners working with food security advocates have made a variety of claims as to the power of urban gardening to improve urban conditions (Ashman et al. 1993; Programme 1996; Kaufman and Bailkey 2000; Brown and Carter 2003; van Veenhuizen 2006; Hodgson, Campbell, and Bailkey 2010). Regionally planners and academic planning departments at universities have played key roles in supporting the expansion possibilities for gardening through zoning code liberalization and land access policies in cities across the Bay. The region has been at the forefront in a national movement to engage planning regulation.

In the last decade, planners and national and regional policy-focused organizations have turned their attention to supporting urban agriculturalists interested in improving the planning and policy environment for gardening. Interest from these institutional positions has both continued to promote urban gardening as interim use and to challenge the notion of interim use. Between 2010 and 2011 two significant publications were released arguing for the need for longer-term garden projects: “Urban Agriculture: Growing Healthy, Sustainable Places”, a report published by the American Planning Association and “Seeding the City: Land Use Policies to Promote Urban Agriculture,” a report by the ChangeLab Solutions (formerly the Public Health Law & Policy Institute). At the Community Food Security Coalition 2011 conference, the planner-authors presented both reports. Participants in the sessions met the planners with a variety of responses from enthusiastic interest and support to resistance to the institutionalization of urban gardening into city planning. Gardeners expressed unease that despite cooperative

relationships with city governments and urban planners, land tenure security is infrequently guaranteed. In chapter five the details and development of these debates and relationship in the Bay Area context will be discussed.

Governance and Institutionalization of Urban Gardening

Despite increasing support from municipal and academic planners, urban agriculture, as practiced on the ground and as a movement, has largely been led by city-based non-profit organizations (Hodgson, Campbell, and Bailkey 2010). This is a notable shift from the municipally run community garden programs which proliferated in the 1970s. These programs provided some degree of tenure security for many gardeners over several decades and in examples like New York City gave gardeners a network across which to unite in resistance to eviction when the city moved to sell garden land (Martinez 2009). A landscape of gardens run by different non-profits cooperating and competing to gain and maintain access to land tells a different story for tenure security and the imaginaries produced for who should have or provide access to space.

In a recent study of US urban agriculture practitioners, forty-three percent of 230 survey respondents reported being a non-profit agency (McClintock and Simpson 2014). Of the other governance forms, private business made up twenty-five percent of the groups, thirteen percent community based organizations, twelve percent universities or schools, and less than five percent each of public-private partnerships, government programs, and other. Commercial urban agriculture has been present in

all of the previous periods of gardening discussed in this chapter. A potentially notable difference from previous periods is the blending of non-profit and for-profit ventures in urban agriculture and other arenas of social change and reform.

Organizations are simultaneously pursuing non-profit work, supported through grants and donations, and profit oriented ventures designed to support the non-profit work through more sustainable, self-reliant means.

The rise of non-profit and community based organizations leadership in urban agriculture can be traced to the grassroots gardening of the seventies. During the seventies and eighties major urban gardening support groups, such as SLUG, Boston Urban Gardens, and the Green Guerillas, turned from volunteer-based community groups towards incorporating as non-profits. Today many turn to Bay Area NGOs, such as City Slicker Farms and People's Grocery, which have both the legitimacy of their non-profit status and the benefit of being seen as more community-based as models for what urban agriculture can bring to the region. Financial support for NGOs such as these most frequently is reliant on grants from governmental agencies or private foundations. This funding can frequently impact the work of gardeners, like others in food movement non-profits (Guthman 2008b). In the 2014 Urban Agriculture Survey, ten percent of garden groups reported significantly changing their work because of the priority of funders, and forty-two percent of Bay Area garden respondents reported changing their work some (McClintock and Simpson 2014).

The rise of non-profits in urban gardening is representative of the growth in the third sector in the US over the last four decades. Processes of neoliberalization

have resulted in the simultaneous dismantling of social programs and the welfare state. It has also prompted the unfurling of new modes of governance in which the state enforces the market as authority, such as the development of consumer subjects through alternative food initiatives (Brenner and Theodore 2002; Peck and Tickell 2002; Guthman 2008a; Pudup 2008). Gardening and other non-profit organizations have become institutionalized as an appropriate space for the formation of citizen subjects (Pudup 2008). Many urban gardening projects focus on developing entrepreneurial opportunities or alternative-focused consumer subjects (Pudup 2008, Melcarek 2009). The emphasis placed on personal responsibility, the use of market tools for change, and the need for non-profits to address broader social concerns such as poverty and food insecurity can be viewed as practices of neoliberal governance as described by Peck and Tickell (2002). Urban agriculture has also been strategically deployed in the service of neoliberalizing practices such as place-marketing, market-oriented restructuring projects, public-private partnerships, and entrepreneurial project promotion (Peck and Tickell 2002). This has been an important area of awareness and debate within urban agricultural communities as we will see in the discussion of the role of non-profits managing public lands in the fourth chapter.

Urban Gardening and Institutions of Contemporary Food Movements

While there are significant concerns over the implications of and ideologies implicit in garden projects, urban agriculturists situate gardening in contemporary food movements and their quest for critical self-reflection and change. This wave of

urban agriculture has arisen in a time of unprecedented national attention to the politics and potentials of social transformation through food. The next chapter will address the development, commitments, and key debates of contemporary urban food movements in more detail. What is notable in characterizing urban agriculture today is the proliferation of new alternative food institutions, which bring together food movement actors with governmental and broader civil society audiences.

In the last two decades food policy councils (FPCs) and collaborations have been a key location for the development and support of garden projects, local policy to support the improvement of food systems, and the enrollment of support of more powerful community actors. FPCs frequently involved public-private partnerships or within local government (Allen 2004; Hodgson 2011). The first FPC was formed in 1980 in Knoxville, Tennessee after a local organization partnered with the Metropolitan Planning Commission to lobby the city to form a body to enact change in the local food system (Hodgson 2011; Zodrow 2005). By 2004, there were fifteen FPCs in the US and Canada (Allen 2004). A 2012 Community Food Security census of FPCs in the US and Canada reported one hundred fifty-five FPCs in operation, one hundred eleven of which were independent organizations and forty were housed in government offices (Winne 2012). In the Bay Area several food policy organizations have been active in mobilizing and shaping work in urban gardening communities including the Berkeley Food Policy Council, Oakland Food Policy Council, Richmond Food Policy Council, San Francisco Food Policy Council, San Mateo Food System Alliance, and Santa Clara Food System Alliance. In addition to food policy

organizations, garden networks and policy oriented gardener groups have been active bodies shaping movement priorities and actions. These include the San Francisco Urban Agriculture Alliance and the East Bay Urban Agriculture Alliance. Urban agriculture has also been embraced as a strategy by large regional non-profits with foci broader than food including health based organizations such as the Health Trust and the HOPE collaborative, and urban planning organizations such as San Francisco Planning and Urban Research (SPUR).

New agrifood institutions have in many areas sought to bring together alliances across racial, ethnic, and class differences. This work of collaboration and alliance building has also occurred outside and beyond the reach of alternative food initiatives (AFIs). McClintock (2010) identifies cross-racial organizing and alliance development as key characteristics to urban agriculture in Oakland, stemming from coalitional work of black liberation, environmental and environmental justice, and community empowerment organizing. Urban agriculture has the capacity to be a means of connecting differing urban movements oriented towards justice including interests in healthy food, immigrant's rights, racial discrimination and institutionalized racism, etc. In alignment with the calls for the right to the city, as discussed in the introduction, gardeners have used cross cultural alliances to marshal material and political resources, as well as used privileged access to resources to support the work of movements led by low income people and people of color. Phat Beets' (Oakland) resistance against gentrification, La Mesa Verde's (San Jose) work to build cross-cultural networks of backyard gardeners for food security support, and

Growing Home's work to advocate for the unhoused population in San Francisco's need for spaces of refuge and creativity through gardening are all examples that will be discussed in Chapter 4. These examples point to key moments of cross difference work and movement alliance building that represent one side of advocacy for change within predominately white, middle class food movements, a tension that is explored in Chapter 3.

Permaculture and Agroecology

One thread of food organizing that has attempted to engage cross-difference organizing and environmental sustainability, is the holistic, interconnectedness approach of permaculture and agroecology. Sustainable agriculture and organics have had a significant place in urban gardening since the sixties. Most municipal community gardening programs require gardeners to use organic methods. Nearly all non-profit garden organizations promote sustainable and low-input gardening. In the Bay Area both agroecology and permaculture, specific forms of sustainable agriculture, have played significant roles in urban gardening as it defines its commitments to land access strategies and movement building.

Permaculture originated in Australia in the mid 1970s as a collaboration between professor Bill Mollison and his graduate student David Holmgren. A movement soon began to promote "permanent agriculture" and "permanent culture" as ecological design. As such, permaculture is not just a gardening method but a philosophy and form of environmental and social design that promotes "harmonious integration of landscape and people providing their food, energy, shelter, and other

material and non- material needs in a sustainable way bounded by the ethics of care of people, care of earth and reinvestment of surplus” (Permaculture San Francisco History 2014). In California, permaculture gatherings began in Orleans in 1994 and the San Francisco Permaculture Guild was founded in the late 1990s (Pilarski 2011; Permaculture San Francisco History 2014). Today guilds and several informal permaculture groups exist in San Francisco, the East Bay, and Santa Cruz. Courses are taught at Merritt College and by local trainers. In 2010 Movement Generation Justice and Ecology Project and the Occidental Arts and Ecology Center held the first Liberation Permaculture course that brought together leaders from social justice and urban agriculture organizations in the Bay Area to learn and build a “permaculture for the people” with a focus on justice.

Agroecology has also had a strong influence in the work of urban gardeners in the Bay Area. Many leaders have been trained at the UC Santa Cruz Center for Agroecology and Sustainable Food Systems (CASFS) Apprenticeship Program. CASFS dates back to 1967 when Alan Chadwick first developed a student garden and began teaching students about sustainable gardening. This effort would later be transformed into a formal apprenticeship program. In 1980 Dr. Steve Gliessman was hired to start the Agroecology program at UCSC and in 1993 the program was renamed the Center for Agroecology and Sustainable Food Systems in order demonstrate agroecology’s dual focus on social and ecological change. Many non-profit garden project staff graduated from UCSC and studied agroecology in some capacity while at the University. At UC Berkeley, another founder of agroecology,

Miguel Altieri, has taught agroecology to thousands of students since 1981. In addition to the influence of agroecology through the University of California system, Food First: The Institute for Food and Development Policy, founded in 1975 and based in Oakland, has long been committed to agroecology and sustainable agriculture as a pillar of international movements addressing the root causes of hunger and farmer insecurity. As an organizational leader of political food movements in the Bay, Food First's publications, events, and commitment to agroecology have influenced many gardeners.

The effect of agroecology and permaculture in Bay Area gardens is evident in the ecologically sustainable practices deployed in the urban gardens and in the movement's approaches to land tenure and property. Gardeners debate if long term tenure is necessary for developing sustainable and resilient agroecosystems, which in turn shapes both ideological and practical approaches to accessing land.

Contemporary Gardening and the Constraints of Interim Use

As gardener, former planning professor, and citizen scholar, Sam Bass Warner stated in 1987, "Control of land has always been the rock that smashed American urban garden projects". In this chapter we have explored the history of gardening in the US and in the Bay Area. Urban agriculture has had a rich history with period of massive expansion and support from municipal, federal, and urban planning institutions. It has, however, largely remained in the realm of "interim use". Although gardens provide many social and ecological services, municipal agencies and private

landowners have held other priorities for long-term use of land. This historical approach to urban agriculture limits gardeners today who wish to develop long lasting projects.

Gardeners today are working with planners, local officials, universities, and others to advocate for gardening as a more legitimated land use. The movement is mainly led by coalitions of non-profits and puts significant emphasis on agroecological approaches. These characteristics facilitate particular approaches towards and debates over land access. The next chapter explores the strategies, tools, and politics of gardeners' approaches to land access, which demonstrate complex engagements with tenure and property and conflict within gardening communities over these engagements.

Chapter 3 – Feeding Cities: Socio-ecological Imaginaries of Justice in of Contemporary Alternative Food Movements

A new wave of urban agriculture is coming at a time of an explosion of food activism in the United States. Popular culture, the First Lady, and new media are abuzz with discussions of sustainable food, local food, growing your own food, and food as a means towards improved lives and an improved world. Urban gardening and local food are trendy. Many are drawn to food-based social action as a means to create change at more than the individual level. People are drawn to food as a space for organizing for social change. Urban food projects of many varieties have focused on food as a mechanism towards justice. This chapter traces the growth and development of concerns for social, economic, and racial justice in food movements.

In California, many older alternative food initiatives have their roots in the 1960s and 70s movements for social justice and environmental protection (Allen et al. 2003). Rural organizing for racial and economic justice manifested through the inter-ethnic coalition that became the United Farm Workers union. In cities, the War on Poverty provided resources for communities organizing to address hunger, community disempowerment and racial injustice. Nationally, the environmental movement won victories for the greater regulation of pesticides. Concerned about the environmental impacts of industrial agriculture, as well as expressing resistance to the Vietnam War and consumer culture, many youth turned to the ‘back-to-the-land’ movement, helping to initiate the organic food movement. Environmentalists and natural foods advocates found a place of solidarity with people looking for social and

economic justice through the creation of alternative food initiatives (Allen et al. 2003).

By the 1990s alternative food initiatives focused on rural issues had shifted their attention away from the needs of farmworkers (Allen et al. 2003). The social justice commitments of alternative food organizing in California turned towards the urban centers. Since the 1990s, urban efforts have focused on increasing food access, empowering marginalized communities, strengthening producer-consumer connections, challenging historic inequities, and building more democratic food systems.

Through self-critique, external critique, and learning through experience, food activists have shifted, refined, and recommitted to practices in pursuit of justice. This chapter will explore how justice has been constructed and sought as a practical frame with which to change society through three iterations of the alternative food movement in the last three decades: the community food security movement, food justice movement, and food sovereignty movement. This chapter does not suggest nor seek to represent the entire food movement as principally concerned with justice, but instead delves into a deeper understanding of those how subgroups of this broader movement have understood and sought justice through their work.

Themes of Change

The alternative food movement has evolved in response to internal and external pressures over the last several decades. Many scholars argue that since the

early 2000s there has been an increasing focus on justice within alternative food organizing (Allen 2004; Alkon and Agyeman 2011; DuPuis, Harrison, and Goodman 2011; Guthman 2011). At the same time many have noted the increasingly dominant role of neoliberal ideologies and policy strategies in food movement work (Allen 2004; Guthman 2008a; Pudup 2008). Critiques from within and outside of the food movement have made activists consider or reconsider their organizing strategies and trajectories. How activists engage in framing, or the tactics of defining and bounding their work for social change, has important material and symbolic consequences. This chapter will explore three ideological points of tensions that create debate and internal change within these movements: approaches to centralized and decentralized power, approaches to racialized histories and identity, and justice as a question of socio-natural relations.

Contrary to the arguments of many food scholars, I claim that food movements are both conflicted with and drawn to a tendency in contemporary social movements, a trend that is less neoliberal and more radical leftist: a move away from reliance on the democratic socialist state ideal that reinforces the notion that the appropriate site of political action is that of government institutions. While many in food movements still believe that food injustices can be successfully addressed through state reform and bolstering welfare programs, others take a more nuanced approach. While they may still support movement actions on the farm bill or national policy initiatives, many activists are turning towards notions of self-determination and sovereignty that decenter and question the capabilities of nation state systems in

the pursuit of justice. While other scholars have traced these tendencies, like that of localism, to libertarian and neoliberal ideologies, this chapter emphasizes the autonomous Marxist and social anarchists framings of strategies towards justice, many originating out of broader global social movements.

Alternative economic analyses are complicated and thickened with the increase in the importance of cultural and racial politics in food movements. Activists have seen alternative food initiatives (AFIs), and particularly urban gardens as a means to value marginalized cultural and racial identities, bring different communities together, and support cultural place-based resistance to racism and marginalization. For other organizers AFIs have been a space for challenging racial discrimination and marginalization through community struggles for self-determination or recognition like the work of food justice organizing in Oakland and Detroit (Alkon and Norgaard 2009; White 2011b; White 2011a). Many argue AFIs can and do represent spaces that go beyond cultural preservation or the bringing together of different communities; they can be built as places where communities can self-organize and provide mutual-aid when the state and civil society are oppressive. And yet, food activism in many ways is still dominated by white discourses and faces. Debates within food justice and food sovereignty organizing have highlighted the questions of the future of dominant cultures, spaces of difference and spaces of self-determination in food movements.

Finally, in response to social-justice blind, bio-centric approaches to the environment common in some parts of the food movement, activists have fought for

the importance of socio-ecological justice. sustainability has been a central pillar of alternative food movements since the 1960s, and for many this commitment is bound to one for justice. For food sovereignty activists and many urban agriculture advocates, food politics represent a way to seek a form of justice that values socio-ecological change for holistic well-being. Socio-ecological justice calls into question the divide often created between humans and nature. Agroecologists offer cultivated landscapes that produce food as an example. Agroecology is increasingly presented as a field that is concerned with a form of sustainability that values agricultural systems based on just socio-natural practices (Gliessman 2006).

What follows is a description of the genesis of three iterations of the US alternative food movement in its search for better relationship to struggles for justice: the community food security movement, the food justice movement, and the food sovereignty movement.

The Rise Of Community Food Security: Defining Food Access

Anti-hunger activists in the US have advocated for a variety of approaches to fighting hunger including state entitlement programs, charity emergency food sources, community-based strategies to provide access to healthy foods, and direct action, such as civil-disobedience that demands the right to food. These different approaches embody the political commitments and engagements with justice of food security activism.

The Development of the Community Food Security Movement

In response to the global food crisis in the early 1970s the United Nations organized the first World Food Conference to discuss international action. At the conference the term “food security” was introduced (Allen 1999). Many nations adopted food security as a policy goal at the same time that they advocated for a right of freedom from hunger. Food security was conceived as a complementary political strategy to advocate for a nation’s ability to produce sufficient food so that no person experience hunger (Allen 1999).

The U.S. government first used the term food security in the early 1980s. Policy makers recognized the need to not only address hunger but also the social conditions that gave rise to it (Allen 1999). Food security was defined as “a condition in which all people have access at all times to nutritionally adequate food through normal channels” (U.S. House of Representatives, cited in (Allen 2007b). Unlike many of the nations that adopted the food security framework, the United States did not make a statement of people’s right to food (Allen 2007).

In response to growing problems with food insecurity and the lack of sufficient government efforts to address these problems, community activists, students and anti-hunger advocates united under the banner of community food security. The catalyst for this coalition was provided by the work of Robert Gottlieb and his students out of University of California Los Angeles (Allen 2007). While conducting interviews on community concerns following the 1992 Rodney King beating, the group uncovered a great deal of concern over food access, affordability,

and quality. After developing a report highlighting concerns and strategies for change, several researchers met with other individuals and anti-hunger groups to discuss new directions for food security organizing (Allen 2007).

In 1995, a coalition of advocates met to develop and promote the Community Food Security Empowerment Act “as the conceptual basis for solving food-system problems” (Allen 2007). Together they drafted a food security policy statement included in the 1995 Farm Bill, which defined community food security as a condition in which “all persons obtain at all times a culturally acceptable, nutritionally adequate diet through local non-emergency sources” (Allen 2004). Then in 1996 various community-based initiatives united under the banner of the Community Food Security Coalition. As an alternative to dependence on diminishing classical food entitlements and emergency food, coalition members introduced a variety of community-based solutions, such as urban gardening and local policy-based solutions (Melcarek 2009).

The Coalition and other food security organizations aimed “to create community-based ways of providing food in an affordable, sustainable, and ecologically sensitive manner” (Melcarek 2009). This integrative framework is concerned with both production and consumption (Allen 1999). It takes a long-term, preventative approach to creating community-based systems that will promote conditions of food security even during times of hardship. Many projects focus on food self-reliance as opposed to an emphasis on entitlements (Allen 1999). Part of this shift can be identified with a critique of charity that led community food security

activists to seek community-based solutions. Both individuals seeking food and charitable organizations distributing food must comply with a myriad of standards and procedures that make it difficult if not “materially impossible” to be political advocates for structural change (Heynen 2010).

As a result of growing problems with hunger and poverty, academic and community groups undertook efforts to document and map the lack of access to food. Community food assessments (CFAs) have been used to demonstrate food insecurity and highlight strategies for change. In a 2010 review article, Walker, Keane, and Burke (2010) identified thirty-one articles published using CFAs to assess the presence of food deserts. The term “food desert” first appeared in the early 1990s. Short, Guthman, and Raskin (2007) stated that food desert has been used to refer to defined geographical areas lacking a large supermarket. Other studies have used the term to describe the type and quality of food available in a given area, as opposed to the characteristics of or simply the lack of food stores (Walker, Keane, and Burke 2010).⁶ For most community food security activists the essential question focuses on why food distribution is determined by these issues of profitability and not issues of need. The term “food deserts” became an important political tool for activists in

⁶ Different theories have been presented as to why food deserts have developed in US cities. One theory posits that the growth and expansion of supermarkets in suburbs has led to the out competing of small local stores located in inner-cities (Guy, Clarke, and Eyre 2004). Another theory states that due to the migration of affluent city residents out of the cities, inner cities were left with residents with little consumer power to support inner-city stores (Alwitt and Donley 1997). Others claim that the risks of crime, the presence of unfavorable zoning laws, and lack of desirable property are too high in areas with food deserts (Alwitt and Donley 1997; Gittell and Thompson 1999).

highlighting the problems many US residents face in accessing adequate food resources.

While activists focused on inequality of access, some scholars and advocates critiqued the heavy focus on developing solutions like mobile grocery stores or bringing back large retailers to the inner city. Short, Guthman, and Raskin (2007) provide an example of this critique. The authors argued excessive emphasis has been placed on the supply side rather than the ability of residence to pay. In their study of small full-service food retailers in the Bay Area, authors found that these stores can provide nutritionally adequate, culturally appropriate and affordable foods. The authors claimed these stores are frequently ignored in CFAs. Many storeowners noted that fresh foods were not large profit items but instead they felt ethically required to carry these items. Small, full-service food stores can contribute to community food security but attention must be paid to both the supply and the economic and social ability of community members to pay for or access fresh foods. Critiques of supply side arguments have helped food movement actors refocus on underlying structural inequalities that create not only food insecurity but also housing insecurity, health inequalities, and other injustices faced by low-income communities.

Responding to movement demands, congressional Representative Eligio “Kika” de la Garza worked with 17 bipartisan co-sponsors to introduce and support the Community Food Security Empowerment Act of 1995 (Tuckermanty et al. 2007, 4). In the 1996 Farm Bill, Congress allocated \$16 million for a seven-year period and empowered the USDA to create the Community Food Projects Competitive Grants

Program (CFPCGP) (Allen 2007). The program works to develop community leadership among non-profits working towards food system change by granting organizations a one-time infusion of federal funds (Tuckermanty et al. 2007). In the first ten years of the program over 240 projects were supported to “meet the food needs of low-income people, increase the self-reliance of communities in providing for their own food needs, and promote comprehensive responses to food, farm, and nutrition issues” (Tuckermanty et al. 2007, 4). Non-profits were funded to create community-based solutions to food insecurity such as rural or urban agriculture training centers.

According to the USDA, the CFPCGP differs from many other agency projects in its emphasis on evaluation and technical assistance. In order to ensure that non-profits are using tax payer money wisely, the USDA has sought to ensure projects accurately and sufficiently work to document the progress of their efforts and train other communities in their methods (Tuckermanty et al. 2007). Much of this work has happened in partnership with the Community Food Security Coalition that developed detailed evaluation tools and trainings for grantees.

Scientific Framing and the Disappearance of Hunger

In 2006, ten years after the start of the CFPCGP, the USDA announced it would eliminate the use of the word ‘hunger’ from its food security assessments (Allen 2007). The agency claimed that the move was based on the technical difficulties and inability of the current data collection tools to accurately capture

information of hunger. Hunger had been defined in medical terms so that clinicians would presumably be able to measure and provide data that demonstrated physical evidence of the experience of hunger. This medicalized approach was criticized in the 1980s by anti-hunger advocates for waiting until hunger created irreversible damages in individuals to identify a problem, focusing on physical symptoms as opposed to social signs of trouble, and failing to recognize the household and community as important scales of impact (Allen 2007). As such, the adoption of data collection on community food security, as a social condition of lack of access to food, provided an important addition to research on the effects of hunger, a physiological state in individuals (Allen 2007). The move to eliminate the term hunger from USDA assessments was highly contested by food activists.

The issue of concern can be read as what critical political ecologists have called one of framing and problem closure (Guthman 2012). This political ecology approach challenges the objective explanations of biological and environmental research by exploring social and political contests of such scientific investigation (Forsyth 2003). Scientific research engages with an object of study using “social derived instruments and metrics” and “knowledge of health and environmental problems (that) necessarily reflects the manifold social relations that affect science” (Guthman 2012, 4). Contexts, interests, and values influence how scientists frame the problem and object of study. This framing impacts the potentials for future research and political work derived from such research (Jasanoff and Wynne 1998 quoted in Guthman 2012). When such framing is limited in specific ways it directs future

research of a particular problem's causes and effects into those limited directions, causing problem closure (Forsyth 2003; Guthman 2012). Guthman (2012) describes the impact of problem closure on obesity research as directly connected to food access and the built environment. Obesity as a problem is automatically connected to a predefined solution of increasing access to fresh fruits and vegetables and greater opportunities for physical activity, which are expected to decrease caloric intake and increase expenditure (Guthman 2012, 4). Socially acceptable solutions help determine and limit the problem definition of obesity.

For anti-hunger and community food security activists, the move to remove hunger from USDA assessments raised questions as to the political consequences of narrowing the scope of scientific research (Allen 2007). The manner in which the USDA, as a leading scientific and political body, frames the issues “determines the importance attached to them and how they are addressed; data defines and delimits the problem” (Allen 2007 22). Allen asked: “If hunger is no longer an analytical category, how does one talk about it or advocate for its elimination? How does one make policy claims about something for which there is no data and which, therefore, does not exist in policy science terms?” (2007, 22). The reframing of hunger to very low food security reduced the ability of advocates to use the term as a rhetorical tool, one that once had significant social power.

Racial Critiques

Community food security directly addresses issues of access to healthy food,

and while highlighting differences in access between racial communities, activist involvement has largely included majority whites and middle-class individuals (Slocum 2006; Slocum 2007). Activists within the Community Food Security Coalition began to demand more recognition of the dynamics of race in problems of poverty and food access. Advocates noted that cultures of whiteness seemed to permeate practices in activist groups (Slocum 2006; Slocum 2007). Slocum argued that it became problematic for knowledge of what constitutes “good food” to be seen as held and produced in white communities that can share their knowledge with others. The failure to recognize white privilege and difference in organizing undermined efforts towards change in the food system. Conducting ethnographic research at two farmers’ markets in northern California concerned with food access, Alkon and McCullen (2011) found the dominant white discourses were perpetuated. A lack of attention to structural problems and attention to the historical conditions that have led to the problems they seek to ameliorate can permit activists to reinforce or replicate unjust systems. Mares and Alkon (2011) argue that this has led many organizations to the discourse of food justice, a new iteration of community-based action in response to lack of food access. We will see a similar critique of food justice organizing in the following section.

Community Food Security and Food System Localization

In response to the cooptation or subsumption of organic agriculture by capitalist interests, many food activists turned to the adoption of the banner of local

food. The local food movement is not a direct object of study in this chapter because of it is less directly committed to and engaged with justice. Nonetheless, it is a movement that has had significant overlap and impact on food security activism as it has quickly gained ground and continues to be a heavily used trope in food movements (see Lyson and Guptill 2004; Delind 2006; DeLind 2011, etc.). Local food production/consumption and community food security have frequently been coupled in the objectives of AFIs.

In northern California Jim Cochran of Swanton Berry Farm and Larry Yee, a retired extension Director from Ventura County, started a project that exemplifies the persistent focus on local. The project, entitled The Food Commons, would provide the physical, financial and organizational infrastructure for alternative production, processing, distributing, marketing, and access to quality food (The Food Commons » Summary 2013). Local councils would control communal land in trusts and on which production and processing could occur. Commons councils would also run community banks to provide loans and other financial services to food system enterprises, producers, and consumers. Finally, food commons would provide hubs to aggregate and distribute local and regional food. The organizers emphasized the following principles: fairness, ecological, social, and economic sustainability, access to ownership and participation in decision making in production processes, food access/security for all participants in the food system, decentralization, integration from farm to grocery store, transparency and stewardship.

Yet, many scholars and activists grappled with problems of focusing on local

solutions to the problem of food access. Activist-scholars, like Patricia Allen, encouraged advocates to see the limitations in localization efforts and the potential conflicts between multiple goals of these projects. For example, Guthman, Morris, and Allen (2006) provided a critical analysis of community supported agriculture and farmers' market projects that purported to be able to both improve food security and support local farmers. In a study of California CSAs and farmers' markets, the authors found that these local food strategies were originally developed to support small farmers, helping them gain more stable markets and a greater share of profits. Farmers markets and CSAs are said to be "win-win" for consumers and producers, but the researchers found multiple conceptual and practical barriers to low-income consumer participation such as the lack of EBT machines at markets, the inability for most CSAs to accept food stamps, biases that low income individuals don't have the education to value local food, and the idea that small businesses have scarce resources to allocate towards addressing food access. The goal of the majority of California CSAs and farmers' markets was to support farmers, and food security came in as a close or far second depending on a variety of variables in each circumstance. Activists who may have initially been drawn to these strategies as a mechanism for address food access were learning the limitations of using market-based tools.

While many food system localization advocates embraced local projects as a means to empower marginalized communities, others questioned whose voices were being elevated. Echoing the activist questioning the role of race in the food system, Allen argued, "localism subordinates differences to a mythical 'community interest'"

(2004, 171). Allen claimed that “more participatory democracy at local levels is absolutely necessary to work toward an environmentally sound and socially just agrifood system, but it in and of itself is not sufficient because some voices drown out others” (2004, 171). Historical differences in access to power, wealth and voice based on geography and demographics exist in all communities (Allen 2010). Instead of embracing localism as a panacea to a variety of food system problems, critiques insisted that a reflexive approach to localism can create discursive and physical space to experiment, reflect and work towards alternative social structures while also recognizing broader social inequalities that local projects may not be able to address (DuPuis and Goodman 2005; DuPuis, Harrison, and Goodman 2011; Allen 2010).⁷

The focus on community-based solutions, promoting self-sufficiency within the community food security coalition and movement has been tempered by critique and recognition for the need to engage national policy, broader structures of economic and social inequality, and reflexivity as a practice in envisioning social change. Movement actors have also been active in calling for increased funding for various social assistance programs aimed at alleviating hunger (Anderson and Cook

⁷ A significant concern for several scholar-activists during the late 2000s was the degree to which critique, especially academic critique, of localisms might thwart activists’ engagement in envisioning and practicing economic relationships beyond neoliberal capitalism. Harris (2009) stated that academics can “play a significant role in the reproduction of neoliberalism-as-hegemonic-discourse” (2009, 58). Through the study of individuals participating in the 100 Mile Diet, Harris concluded that individuals by educating themselves try to recreate themselves as subjects not hailing to dominant ideologies but to ethical concerns in the food system. Gibson-Graham (2003) argued that these forms of re-education and re-imaging may be most supported locally, pointing towards a reflexive localism a la DuPuis and Goodman (2006, 2011).

1999; Holt-Giménez and Wang 2011). And yet many projects remain focused on increasing physical access to healthy foods.

In San Jose the Health Trust remains the primary funder and coordinating force for many alternative food initiatives. Since 2009 the Health Trust has worked to increase access to healthy food in Santa Clara County through gardens, farmers' markets, farm-to-institution projects, and CSAs. Through the Trust twenty-four Americorps volunteers work to promote healthy food production and consumption. While the Trust has recognized the importance of engaging policy to address the root causes of poverty, the organization remains focused on community-based solutions to increase immediate access. In the case of the Health Trust, the motivation is not an explicit disavowal of engagement with the state as a mediator of social change, as is the case with many garden projects. But a theme does appear is talking with activists. Individuals and organizations want to see immediate and direct impacts of their work; they do not want to see distant policy makers able to undo their efforts when better campaign contributions flow from the opposing camp. A general distrust that federal or state programs can actually understand and provide for the needs of community members exists in many food movement circles, potentially greater in communities of color.

Justice and Community Food Security

Community food security activists sought to put justice on the table of food system change by highlighting how inequality in access to food resources was a

dominant feature of the contemporary food system. While poverty was the underlying problem that most advocates sought to address, strategies to address food insecurity and even the defining of food insecurity focused on communities' proximity to physical healthy food outlets. The primary injustice, as it came to be understood by a broader US audience, was that communities didn't have stores or markets where individuals could buy healthy food with through either cash or government entitlements. This framing of justice aligns well with political theorist, John Rawls', definition of justice within liberal egalitarian democracy today (Rawls 1999). Rawl's notion of justice rests upon a commitment to equality or fairness and is a universal theory of distributive justice aimed at the fair allocation of socially valuable goods such as liberty, opportunity, and wealth to be adjudicated by "blind" legal institutions. Justice would be reached when liberty is maximized and those with greater wealth in society contribute to meeting the expectations of those with the least. This form of justice dominates many contemporary institutions, which aim to ameliorate the immediate outcomes of unfair distribution.

Community food insecurity, by focusing on inadequate distribution of food outlets and the high costs of healthy food, becomes a problem that could be solved through a more fair distribution of society's resources. Activist frequently sought to address distribution of social resources through local projects that espoused communitarian values. Communitarian versions of justice envision people in particular communities, most often spatially bound, coming together to articulate decisions about what values and practices constitute the good life (DuPuis, Harrison,

and Goodman 2011; Harrison 2011). Through this framing of injustice, urban gardens and other local solutions can play a primary role in increasing physical proximity to food resources, if not addressing broader problems of poverty and racism in social institutions that create inequalities in food access. Because local gardens can help address food insecurity, access to land in low-income neighborhoods became an important question for community food security activists. Yet, the movement focused less on community management of land resources than food justice and food sovereignty activists.

Food Justice: a Growing Consciousness of Institutional Racism

While community food security and local food system activists have highlighted the lack of access to healthy food across disparate communities, many advocates felt there was a lack of attention paid to the racial and cultural dimensions of inequality of food system formation. By developing a movement around food justice, activists have thickened analyses of economic disparities as well as highlighted important differences in how particular communities struggle against injustice. These activists have added an important dimension to work for justice, freedom from discrimination based on difference and freedom to self-organize as communities interested in mutual aid.

Food Justice Origins

The food justice movement has come together from several points of origin

including environmental justice activism, organizing against hunger and disease in communities of color, struggles against institutionalized racism which view food activism as an entry into making change, critiques of racism in the food system, and critiques of racism in the food movement (Holt-Giménez and Wang 2011). Food justice, as an analytical framework, puts greater emphasis on histories and geographies of racism, classism, and gender oppression in the food system. This work “contextualizes disparate access to healthy food within a historicized framework of institutional racism” (Alkon and Norgaard 2009). Several scholars and activists have suggested the term “food apartheid” to refer to racially exclusionary practices that result in unequal food access (Bradley and Galt 2013).

In the early 2000s members of the Community Food Security Coalition brought increasing critiques of the lack of awareness and inaction on issues of racial injustice to the national conference and other food security organizing spaces. Erika Allen and others began providing “dismantling racism” trainings at conferences and other CFSC spaces. In 2003 the CFSC founded the California Food and Justice Coalition as a project intended to coordinate growing food justice efforts in California. The project worked to solidify organizing efforts for policy change and the development of community-based alternatives and to bring a food justice focus to the Community Food Security Coalition.

In 2006 Erika Allen pushed for dismantling racism to become a key piece of the mission of Growing Power, a leading alternative food movement organization based out of Milwaukee and Chicago. Her work resulted in the founding of the

Growing Food and Justice for All Initiative which has gone on to organize multiple national conferences. The first national conference was held in September 2008 and focused on engaging critically with the question of race in the food system. The conferences have brought people from across the nation together to build connections, learn from each others' efforts, and "forge new partnerships around food system self-determination for low-income and communities of color" (Morales 2011, 157).

Alkon and Norgaard (2009) argued that the work of food justice organizations can help create a theoretical and action oriented bridge between movements for sustainable agriculture, community food security and environmental justice. Gottlieb and Fisher, of the Community Food Security Coalition, introduced an environmental justice approach to food security work in 1996 by highlighting that environmental injustice increased exposure to environmental problems and also the inequitable distribution of environmental benefits, such as healthy food access (Gottlieb and Fisher 1996). Little attention was paid to a food justice approach for about a decade. The environmental justice movement is just now turning its attention to the distribution of environmental burdens and benefits in society. As a political tool, food justice can help create alliances between the environmental justice and sustainable agriculture movements and open each movement's frames of analysis to include institutional racism and power dynamics, cultural relevance to varying communities, and solution oriented approaches (Gottlieb and Joshi 2010). Similar to how environmental justice activists have worked hard to bring critical engagement with concepts and implications of race, class, and gender into the mainstream

environmental movement, food justice has sought to bring these issues into the foreground of the alternative food movement.

Food justice activists have brought attention to a variety of social injustices experienced through the lens of the food system. Critiques that communities of color have been disproportionately targeted as consumers of food commodities that cause diet related diseases have spurred various efforts at creating alternatives and changing food policy, such as the 2012 attempt to tax sodas in Richmond, CA (Herrera, Khanna, and Davis 2009). Gottlieb and Joshi (2010), in their popular press book *Food Justice*, addressed a wide range of the injustices created by industrial agriculture. The exploitation of migrant farm workers and other agricultural laborers has been a foundation for the development and continued success of industrial agriculture (Walker 2004). Other food system workers also frequently face poor wages and difficult working conditions. A recent upsurge in attempts to unionize fast food workers and demand living wages has invigorated labor and food movement coalitional work. Food justice organizing also has highlighted the histories of agricultural development and exclusion of black, Latino, and women farmers from many of the USDAs programs designed to empower small farmers. In addition, food justice scholars have connected the injustices produced in the built environment as issues that go beyond concerns of lack of access to health food stores. McClintock (2011) described the urban environment of Oakland's flatlands as the combined result of industrial location and relocation, residential development, urban planning policy, and racist mortgage lending which caused uneven development within the city.

Impacts of capital devaluation have been concentrated within the flatlands, a food desert in a predominantly black area of Oakland. McClintock called this “demarcated devaluation”. For McClintock how the development of the urban built environment, the distribution of housing and industry, has progressed over the last half century is a food justice issue.

Difference and Justice

Questions have risen as to the ability of the food justice movement be an anti-racist force, confronting dominant white power in cultural and institutional forms of both broader society and the food movement itself. Many have noted the food movement and even the food justice movement attract a lot of white participants. Natasha Bowens, author of the *Color of Food* and the *Brown.Girl.Farming* blog, critiques the alternative food movement as racially and economically exclusive (Bowens 2014). For Bowens even the food justice movement struggles with tackling the injustices of contemporary food systems from the standpoint and with the input of marginalized communities. She asks:

“Where are all the brown folk? And the poor folk? It’s obvious to me that there are key people being left out (people that are getting the short end of the stick in our food system with higher rates of obesity, diabetes, and absolutely zero Whole Foods in their neighborhoods, much less any decent grocery stores). Brown people and poor people are not showing up in your mental images of urban farming, gardening or composting. Yet it doesn’t necessarily mean they are not taking part in that lifestyle.” (Bowens 2010)

Allen (2008) suggested that food justice organizing that relies primarily on alternative strategies within the neoliberal framework is more accessible to privileged

individuals despite actors' desires to create change in marginalized communities.

Alternatives based in localism may disregard the inequities between communities in the US and ignore the important work that communities of color have done to create larger geographic scale changes in order to escape the racist practices of local level institutions. This disincentives people of color or organizers committed to civil rights and other struggles for racial justice.

Food justice non-profit organizations sometimes make the assumptions that lack of knowledge and education about healthy eating are primary barriers to "better" consumption within communities of color (Guthman 2008c). These food justice organizations may be effective in framing issues around historical inequalities, however often these organizations are "coded white" because of white cultural values and practices. Therefore, it could be interpreted as one community deciding how others should eat, reflecting the desires of the program creators not the participants. This assumption and discourses of what constitute "good food" are not without their racial histories. The aesthetic of organic and natural food have historical connections to projects of nationalism and purity, such as school and urban gardens used in the early twentieth century to aid with assimilation of recent immigrants both through changing work habits and family diets (Lawson 2005). Many AFIs have also focused on the importance of getting people to get their hands dirty. This discourse ignores the historical context of populations being forcibly removed or denied access to land or people forced or coerced into difficult agricultural labor. It is based in an agrarian ideal that ignored the reality of the US farming system, a system built on land

ownership by whites and labor provided by slave or low wage people of color. Malik

Akini speaks to this concern:

“One of the challenges of organizing African-Americans for this work is that many of our people associate agriculture with enriching someone else ... slavery and sharecropping enriched whites with our labor. What [we need to do] is reframe agriculture for African Americans as an act of self-determination and empowerment.” (Goodman 2010)

D-Town farm’s efforts to explicitly reframe agricultural labor challenge an

assumption that goes unidentified in many food organizing spaces, that not all view gardening as a return to an idyllic past. White dominance in these projects may impair imagining other sorts of political projects that could be more anti-racist.

Nonetheless many organizations remain committed to continuing to refine anti-racist practices in their organizing and organizations. Leadership of people of color has been an important theme in the Growing Food and Justice for All conferences (Morales 2011). Other groups, like People’s Grocery and Phat Beets both in Oakland, have integrated anti-oppression training into their work with volunteers. People’s Grocery created an allyship program, potentially the first of its kind in the nation, requiring garden volunteers to engage in anti-oppression training. Sbicca (2012) observes the allyship program as a commitment to involving people from a wide range of backgrounds and privileges who all share a passion for creating just and sustainable food systems. In the program, trainees are asked to understand linkages between power, marginalization, person access to privilege, and how individual’s social position relates to both their interest in the work of People’s Grocery and the history of the West Oakland community where the project is based.

Activists recognize the limitations of training. The Growing Food and Justice for

All Initiative states:

“Challenging oneself to be immersed in a training environment focused on expanding our understanding of the role of race in our society is a rare and healthy impulse. It is important to recognize that no single solution exists to the complex, deep-rooted problems of racial and ethnic oppression... Any program one chooses to participate in is just the first step in an enduring commitment to racial equity and inclusion.” (Race & the Food System n.d.)
These forms of trainings do not undo or erase dominant white discourses or practices in food justice organizing but they do provide a space for critical reflection for a wide range of activists. Trainings may also empower ideologies and discourses from historical movements. Such is the case of food justice activists at the People’s Grocery taking their lead from Black Panther Party and environmental justice activism with deep roots in Oakland (McClintock 2011, Sbicca 2012).

Localism revisited: Self-reliance or community self-determination

While community food security activism led to localism as a strategy to address physical proximity to food resources, food justice activists have promoted the need for communities to be able to be more self-reliant through a different lens: that of community self-determination (Gottlieb and Fisher 1996, Gottlieb and Joshi 2010). Local food production projects have been critiqued as isolationist, individualistic, conservative, and in tension with social justice desires. However for many in the food justice movement, localist politics are not an unexamined commitment to communalistic ideals. In marginalized communities, mistrust of dominant power structures and understanding of historical, systemic and currently institutionalized racism have influenced some workers to emphasize strategies that promote local

community self-reliance and community self-determination (Alkon and Noorgard 2009, Bradley and Galt 2014). The impulse of identity-based, marginalized communities to create self-defined food production or exchange systems has been a common theme of new social movements since the 1960s. The Her Lands, women and lesbian separatist communes of the 1970s, frequently integrated gardening and agriculture into their work as a means to empower members and separate themselves from what were seen as inherently unjust and patriarchal agricultural systems (Lee 2003).

Similarly, self-determination projects have been a central theme of black liberation organizing for the last half century (Hilliard 2008). The Black Panther Party developed a free breakfast program, which predated and provided a model for the national school breakfast program (McClintock 2011). The program provided food to youth in the West Oakland community who faced persistent hunger. Another program, the Free Food Program, was designed to both meet the immediate needs of community members and build consciousness of the economic theft of high food prices (Hilliard 2008). Both were a key part of the Black Panther Party Platform and Program of 1966 which expressed steps to forward the goals of black liberation and community autonomy, to enable the community to determine its own future in part through the abolition of “the robbery of capitalists of our Black and oppressed communities” (Hilliard 2008). Today People’s Grocery pulls much inspiration from the work several decades prior of the Black Panthers. Similarly, today two Black Nationalist groups engage in social, economic, and agricultural separatist projects

(McCutcheon 2011). Because white oppression dominates the current food system, the Nation of Islam and Pan African Orthodox Christian Church have both held to core values of self-reliance and community building through food. They hold that actions, including food production, distribution, and consumption, “must be for blacks and by blacks” (McCutcheon 2011, 187). The Nation of Islam believes in the importance of geographic separation and the creation of a nation of only black people while the Pan African Orthodox Christian Church contends separation has already been forced upon the black community so members should take ownership of this and find empowerment through self-reliance in a community of blacks.

In Detroit, the D-Town Farm enacts a contemporary politics of community self-determination in the African American community. The farm, run by the Detroit Black Community Food Security Network, emphasizes the need for urban agriculture, local policy development and co-operative food buying to be directed by the black community in Detroit. The organization notes:

“We observed that many of the key players in the local urban agriculture movement were young whites, who while well-intentioned, never-the-less, exerted a degree of control inordinate to their numbers in Detroit’s population. Many of those individuals moved to Detroit from other places specifically to engage in agricultural or other food security work. It was and is our view that the most effective movements grow organically from the people whom they are designed to serve. Representatives of Detroit’s majority African-American population must be in the leadership of efforts to foster food justice and food security in Detroit.” (Detroit Black Community Food Security Network n.d.)

Malik Akini, D-town farm leader, states:

“We’re black self-determinationists, frankly. And Detroit is at least an 85-90% African American city, so any project must benefit the majority

population... We're concerned with control and ownership. So this is an example of agricultural project which is controlled by African Americans and where we're able to control the revenue generated from this farm and we want to model not only the growing technique but model the social and political and economic dynamics that are appropriate for a city like Detroit.”

(Goodman 2010)

Akini and others have noted that long-term control over land resources is an important issue for their goal of self-determination. Activists have been putting pressure on the City of Detroit for long-term leases and to develop mechanisms to release control of parks and vacant land to communities.

Food justice scholars have also noted the use of food activism in efforts for tribal self-determination and resistance to hunger. The Karuk tribe of northern California has used the framing of food justice to articulate their right to traditional foods and ecosystem management appropriate to maintain these food sources (Alkon and Norgaard 2009). Norgaard describes:

“They locate their current food needs in the history of genocide, lack of land rights, and forced assimilation that have so devastated this and other Native American communities. These processes have prevented tribal members from carrying out land management techniques necessary to food attainment.”

(Alkon and Norgaard 2009, 297)

Salmon, traditionally a staple of Karuk diets, have diminished and Karuk tribe members' access to them has diminished as well. Because of the loss of sovereignty and diminished ability of community members to harvest and catch healthy food, hunger and disease are extremely prevalent in the tribe. Food justice has been taken up by many other tribes and native activists. Activists argue traditional foods and foodways are intimately linked with cultural identities and cultural survival (Aji 2013). The White Earth Land Recovery Project has been a model project connecting traditional diets and critiques of the history of racism that has shaped Native food

insecurity today with projects to reclaim Native lands, restore traditional land stewardship practices, promote community development and strengthen spiritual and cultural heritage. Project leader Winona LaDuke has been an outspoken advocate connecting tribal sovereignty with basic right of tribes to engage in traditional self-reliant food practices.

In unincorporated areas outside of Oakland, Bradley and Galt have documented the work of a food justice project entitled Dig Deep farms (2014). Herrera and other project leaders hold self-determination as a key pillar to their work. Dig Deep works for self-determination through encouraging project participants to have power in shaping the social relationships of production and exchange, training and developing project member skills, and respecting members' knowledges and desires for change. Bradley and Galt describe self-determination as collective control over pieces of the food system and as individual autonomy in determining how their work is valued (2014). For Dig Deep, self-determination is not about separating their efforts from other communities but instead about an inward orientation towards its members based on respect, empowerment, and a commitment to individual's liberation.

Calls for community self-determination and separationist politics bring up questions of group citizenship. Who is included within the particular community and how the community is defined have been important questions for activists committed to or experimenting with isolating themselves, in varying degrees, from hegemonic white supremacist and capitalist relations. But many food justice projects are not

isolated even while they work for self-determination. Wekerle (2004) argues that these local projects are not only focused on the particular conditions of their local, but connect to national and international networks, and engage in oppositional politics, thus creating a translocal movement. In this light, food justice can be addressed with urban planning policy at the local level and can have implications for political institutions across geographical and political boundaries.

Justice and Food Justice

Food justice activists construct a notion of justice that is focused on historical story of who is included and excluded from economic and social structure of power. Activists argue that in the US communities of color and low-income communities have not only had less access to physical food resources, but also less access to the institutions that provide opportunity such as better paying waged work and equal participation in legal and political arenas. Freedom from the injustices of discrimination based on difference is key to this movement. But many food justice advocates go beyond a liberal conception of justice that identifies the problem as unequal distribution (of power and resources). In highlighting self-determination as a central concern, food justice promotes a conception of justice concerned with both freedom from discrimination and communitarian well-being, a commitment to self-determination that is sometimes separatist.

Separatism in activist spaces makes room for difference. Cultural theorists have critiqued notions of justice based on universal ideals or perfectionism. Liberal

notions of universal human rights align with rational, objective assessment of injustice that has frequently been judged from a position of dominance – western, white, male, etc. These notions of justice are exclusionary, as are communitarian or particular perfectionist notions, when they are unitary and uncritical of the positions of the primary authors of the values of justice (DuPuis, Harrison, and Goodman 2011). Universal values do not allow for the difference necessary based on the differing knowledges and experiences of diverse communities. Many cultural theorists share a commitment of food justice activists to group autonomy in the sense that groups with different histories, identities, or common bonds along racial, religious, or other lines should be those empowered to collectively define what for them are values of a good life.

Food justice activists, urban gardeners have worked to gain access to spaces in their communities for food production as well as worked in solidarity across communities to build networks between local struggles, such as the efforts of the Growing Food and Justice for All Initiative. In addition, some food justice activists, such as D-Town Farm urban gardeners, also engage critiques of the exploitative nature of capitalist relations of production and ownership that have been a part of denying their communities land and wellbeing. These trends have allowed US activists to increasingly identify with international calls for food sovereignty.

Food Sovereignty: Globalizing the Food Movement Through Critique of Neoliberalism

Origins

Food sovereignty, which has largely been an international movement, is just now, post-global financial crisis, gaining popularity in the US. Food sovereignty contains an explicit critique of neoliberalism, not just for the wealth inequality it creates but also for the lack of control that communities have over the production of their food system. La Via Campesina has been an international leader in promoting the movement particularly in the context of peasant farmers in the southern hemisphere. Scholars and activists argue that a large part of the power of this movement stems from the southern origins of the ideas coming from groups like La Via Campesina, the MST (Landless Workers Movement), and others (Patel, Balakrishnan, and Narayan 2007).

Despite its basis in peasant struggles, the framework of this movement is being adopted in the US. Through a study of urban food movements in New York City, Schiavoni (2009) found the discourse of food sovereignty to be prominent as activists demanded that control of the food system be put in the hands of the people. In June 2010, the second US Social Forum brought together over 20,000 individuals in the wake of the largest economic depression the nation had faced in generations. At the forum the US Peoples Movement Assembly (PMA) on Food Justice and Sovereignty drew around 150 individuals representing between 70-90 organizations to discuss the impacts of the global financial crisis and continued development of capitalist-industrial agriculture on farming and other communities in the US and world. At the Assembly, the US Food Sovereignty Alliance was born out of the former US Food Crisis Working Group, and a declaration was made claiming “It is

our time to make salt”. The alliance’s justice orientation was explicit:

“A movement for food sovereignty – the people’s democratic control of the food system, the right of all people to healthy, culturally appropriate food produced through ecologically sound and sustainable methods, and their right to define their own food and agriculture systems – is building from every corner of the globe.

We find that our work to build a better food system in the United States is inextricably linked to the struggle for workers’ rights, immigrant’s rights, women’s rights, the fight to dismantle racism in our communities, and the struggle for sovereignty in indigenous communities. We find that in order to create a better food system, we must break up the corporate control of our seeds, land, water and natural resources.” (US Social Forum Food Sovereignty Declaration - Community Alliance for Global Justice 2010)

Food sovereignty activists have organized around three key forms of justice in global food systems: economic justice, interconnected communitarian justice, and ecological justice. Through these differing, yet connected constructions of justice, food sovereignty activists have articulated a critique of the contemporary capitalist, imperialist world system.

Economic Justice: Challenging Neoliberal Trade, Confronting Privatization and Accumulation, and Questioning the Commodification of Food

La Via Campesina characterizes food sovereignty as a right to define agricultural and food policy from below and as a movement that goes beyond questions of policy to promote democratic control over the resources and processes involved in the food system (Patel, Balakrishnan, and Narayan 2007; Patel 2010). Advocacy does not stop with conscious consumerism but instead entails demanding control over productive and political resources to control the right to food. The

movement has been highly critical of international financial institutions, historical inequities in land distribution, and the commodification of food (Holt Giménez and Shattuck 2011; Wittman, Desmarais, and Wiebe 2010).

Food sovereignty advocates argue neoliberal policy and institutions have largely perpetuated and frequently caused contemporary food crises, persistent food insecurity and lack of stability in rural areas of the Global South (Bello and Baviera 2010). Starting in the 1980s the liberalization of agricultural trade and development of structural adjustment programs sought to remove perceived barriers to economic progress through the dismantling of farmer subsidy programs, halting of agrarian reform processes, and opening of Global South markets to cheap agricultural imports from the North (Bello and Baviera 2010; Rosset 2003). Pressure from economic institutions such as the World Bank have promoted industrialized forms of agriculture designed to maximize production and in which peasantry is seen as an obstacle in need of modernization (Handy and Fehr 2010; Bello and Baviera 2010). Food sovereignty advocates dispute the need for the growth of capitalist industrial agriculture, claiming small farmers still feed the majority of the world's population (Bello and Baviera 2010; Altieri and Nicholls 2008). Trade liberalization and state adoption and enforcement of these socio-economic policies are seen as primary catalysts in farmer displacement as well as an absolute barrier to local economic-development and the promotion of food sovereignty (Rosset 2003). As such, food sovereignty activists are not just concerned with encouraging state institutions to make better decisions, but also with the redistribution of power in agrarian societies.

Land access is a key issue for the international food sovereignty movement, which has impacted urban garden activism in the US. Land grabs, or “large scale land acquisitions” as financial institutions have termed them, have become a normal occurrence worldwide (Holt-Gimenez 2012). Agricultural land is an important commodity for financial investors and state entities that see the need for continued enclosure and privatization in order to capture more of this \$8.4 trillion land market (Holt-Gimenez 2012). But land grabs and neoliberal dismantling of decades of agrarian reform in the Global South has been met with fierce resistance in many places. The MST, Zapatistas, and others have fought to reclaim, occupy, and put lands to community uses. Food sovereignty advocates have highlighted the absolute need for access to and control over landed resources (Rosset 2003; Borras and Franco 2010). Recently the US Food Sovereignty Alliance has launched a campaign to build awareness of the problems of land sovereignty for US food movements and promote resistance. I will explore this work in a later chapter.

Food sovereignty advocates have critiqued the contemporary dominant global food system for its emphasis on the commodification of food (Rosset 2003). Hunger is seen as a direct result of this commodification. Commodity trading markets and the speculation by investors in food commodities have had significant roles in the dramatic rise in food prices in 2007 and 2008 (Bello and Baviera 2010). Commodification is seen as undermining communities’ abilities to value food for nutritional and cultural purposes (Wittman, Desmarais, and Wiebe 2010) as well as undermining the autonomy of these communities (Heynen, Kurtz, and Trauger 2012;

Pimbert 2009). Food sovereignty activism has challenged the place of food in commodity markets and sought to “defetishize” the commodity by increasing global understanding of the production processes behind global food.

Translocal and Multiscalar Justice

Alkon and Mares (2012) argued that food sovereignty is translocal and multi-scalar. Food sovereignty as an international movement of peasants and advocates mirrors what Wekerle understood to be the translocal politics of food justice (2004). While food sovereignty activists advocate for community-based economies and local bottom-up food and agricultural policy, local efforts are not seen in isolation from broader collective development.

Postcolonial or decolonial work has highlighted the importance of valuing subaltern identities that may be place-based. In Wekerle’s analysis of food justice activism in Toronto, she cites Escobar’s research, which suggested that local and transnational social movements may be deeply connected. Acting through transnational networks, movements may choose, strategically, to utilize place-based identities (Escobar 2001 147, cited in Wekerle 2004). Escobar did not see the defense of local as simplistic communitarian politics. Instead he observed “subaltern strategies of localization” working through both place-based practices of connection to territory and culture and more globally oriented strategies that promote a politics from below (Escobar 2011, 147 cited in Wekerle 2004).

As such, food sovereignty holds a place in international social movements

oriented against global capitalism. Movement gatherings, such as the World Social Forum and US Social Forum, align activists from diverse local commitments to discuss, debate, and articulate strategies and politics “from below”. Many activists advocate for a focus on deconsolidating power and decision-making paired with the development of democratically governed networks that may work at multiple scales (Cote 2008; Albert and Schweickart 2008). For food sovereignty advocates, these networks are envisioned similarly as places where self-reliance, autonomy *and* mutual aid are expressed between individuals and communities (Wilson 2013; Alkon and Mares 2012). Food sovereignty has been a key component in many descriptions of solidarity economics, community economics, and other socio-economic models of respect and care.

Commitment to the local as embedded in a better global raises the question of egalitarian universals. Patel (2010) described a core value of food sovereignty: “There is, at the heart of food sovereignty, a radical egalitarianism in the call for a multifaceted series of “democratic attachments” (2010, 194). Patel observed commitments to feminist, anticolonial, and other food sovereignty-based efforts challenging deep inequities in power. He argued a radical “moral universalism”, that of egalitarianism, may be necessary as a precursor to the kind of formal “cosmopolitan federalism” supported by food sovereignty advocates. While Patel viewed this position as potentially dangerous within the movements because it is promotion of universals as opposed to a completely bottom-up approach to values and practice, he argued this egalitarian commitment is already there.

From this standpoint food sovereignty activists argue not just for culturally appropriate foods, but food produced, exchanged, and consumed in networks that value the cultural identities of peoples engaged (Alkon and Mares 2012). In the US and Canada decolonizing food projects have been gaining popularity in many cities. In Oakland, two History of Consciousness PhD program graduates and local professors run the Decolonize Your Diet Project which links spiritual healing and political resistance through reclaiming cultural ways of eating and knowing (Esquibel and Calvo 2013). Other Oakland organizations and groups like Planting Justice, Phat Beets, and Occupy the Farm host events and conversations with title like “Decolonizing Permaculture” or “Decolonize your Diet” where participants connect questions of cultural identity, racialized histories of place, the consumption and production of food, and the transnational movement for food sovereignty.

Agroecological Justice

The alternative food movement in the US has been concerned with environmental protection as a core value since its inception (Allen 2004). Community food security and food justice activists in the US frequently have added ‘produced by ecologically sustainable means’ to definitions of alternative food systems. And many debates have occurred as to the meaning and practices of sustainability. Within agroecology as a field, an increasing emphasis has been placed on agroecology as engaged with questions of food systems, not just plot based questions of ecology and questions of social movements, not just individual behaviors of farmers or plants

(Wezel et al. 2009). Steve Gliessman, Miguel Altieri, John Vandermeer, and Ivette Perfecto, along with many other agroecological scholars, have led this charge since the 1970s.

Food sovereignty, as a peasant-based movement, has had close connections to the field of agroecology as it has developed. Smallholder, traditional agriculture has provided both the socio-cultural and ecological basis of study for the field (Altieri 1995; Gliessman 2006; Holt-Giménez and Altieri 2012). Agroecological knowledge production and sharing has frequently, though by no means exclusively, focused on farmer-based approaches and farmer-to-farmer network development (Holt-Giménez 2002). Gliessman (2012) traced the roots of agroecology in Mexico to resistance to practices of the Green Revolution, which were seen as harmful to rural agriculture and communities. Gliessman cited the first example of the use of the term agroecology by Bensin in 1930 as one already framing a field of resistance to the overuse and over marketing of agrichemicals (2012). In Mexico, agroecología developed with an emphasis on traditional knowledges of farming system practices, adaptation, and change. For Gliessman, the example of agroecology's history in Mexico pointed to this as a field concerned with a goal greater than just developing more environmentally sustainable agricultural production. Agroecology is “a social movement with a strong ecological grounding that fosters justice, relationship, access, resilience, resistance, and sustainability.” (2012, 19). Agroecology has developed with farmer movements that emphasize the importance of traditional and local agriculture (Gliessman 2012).

Altieri and Toledo (2011) have taken this a step further to argue that an “agroecological revolution” is unfolding in Latin America where epistemological, technical and social changes are occurring which prompt the development of self-reliant, low-input, agro-biodiverse agroecosystems that produce healthy food and empower peasant organizing efforts. This agroecological revolution has been framed as resistant to agribusiness and to neoliberal modernization and trade liberalization. This rapid spread of the agroecological revolution is in part thanks to the *diálogos de saberes* of La Vía Campesina where connective space is created for dialog between different knowledges, experiences, and ways of both knowing and practicing (Rosset and Martinez-Torres 2012). Where agroecology, as a field and as practices engaged in by networks of farmers, comes together with agrarian struggles for food sovereignty, it may build significant power for socio-ecological change, as in the case of Ecuador’s food sovereignty law (Holt-Giménez and Altieri 2012). Similarly, Rosset and Martinez-Torres (2012) found an increased adoption of agroecology by agrarian movements in recent years as both adopting agroecology-as-practice (the actual farming and social relations) and agroecology-as-framing. Agroecology-as-practice has allowed some small farmers to ‘re-peasantize’ by returning to traditional farming practices or rejecting agribusiness. Agroecology-as-framing has given farmer organizations a critical tool in defending existing peasant territories and the re-peasantizing of lands in public opinion.

Agroecology is not simply concerned with ecological sustainability paired with social justice. For many agroecologists the two struggles are inextricably

entangled just as it is for urban political ecologists. Agriculture is a result of complex and constant interactions between social/economic and ecological factors (Gliessman 2006). As documented above, agroecology and rural social movements have changed together, co-constituting each other in the socio-natural processes for better food systems.

Justice and Food Sovereignty

Justice for food sovereignty activists has multiple and complex meanings. Advocates are not solely concerned with access to adequate food resources or freedom from discriminatory social processes. Food sovereignty engages critiques of colonial/imperialist, capitalist, liberal statist, and anti-ecological socio-economic processes that dominate the contemporary world system. It is a movement that best engages the call for a reflexive approach to food politics (DuPuis and Goodman 2005; DuPuis, Harrison, and Goodman 2011). Theorists like DuPuis et al. have conceptualized justices that retain aspects of community autonomy and difference while foregrounding concerns of equity through reflexivity or dialectics (Benhabib 1996; Young 1990; Harvey 2000; Soja 2010). For these social justice scholars, the universal ideal can be abandoned without being completely lost. Harvey calls for strategic employment of ideals appealing to better processes that are contextualized in concrete geographic, historical and institutional terms (2000). For DuPuis et al, a reflexive approach allows activists to “speculate on some possible practices and processes (as opposed to ideals) that might lead to better (as opposed to perfect) local

food systems” (298). Food sovereignty actors increasingly have sought justice through translocal connections, pointing to reflexive politics committed to valuing equity, autonomy, and difference.

For gardeners who engage with the food sovereignty movement, the land access strategies they engage are conceptually and practically connected to global land struggles against capitalist agricultural and urbanization processes. Urban agriculturalists in the Bay Area connect local struggles for community management of land to broader injustices of urban land decisions and development driven by finance capitalism. The Occupy the Farm organizing discussed in the introduction is an example of this work, yet the urban agriculture movement is not universally committed to food sovereignty. The differing commitments of urban gardeners and their landing strategies are discussed in the next chapter.

Conclusion

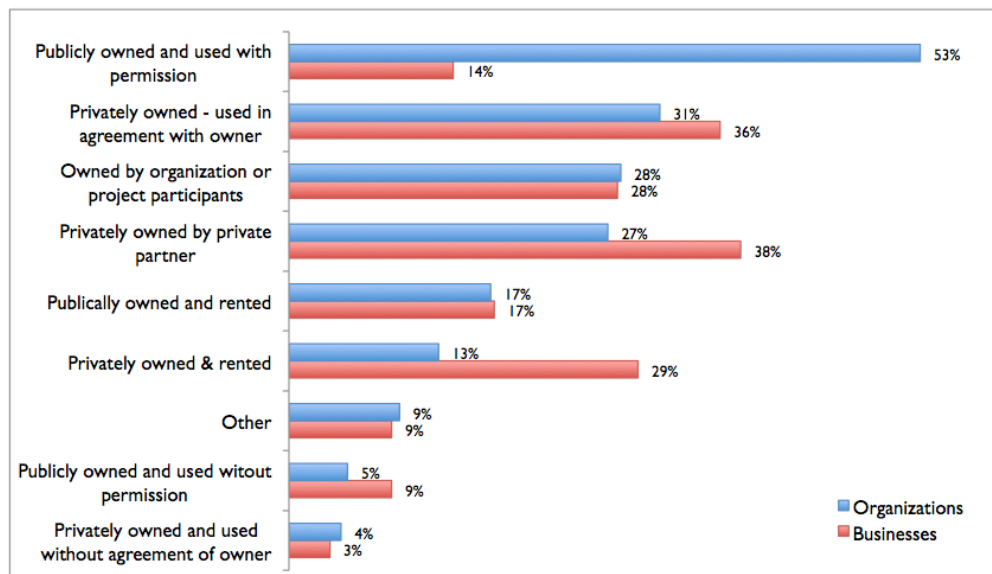
Through self-critique, external critique, and learning through experience, food activists have shifted, refined, and recommitted to practices in pursuit of justice. Instead of movements focused on individual responsibility, economic liberalism, or localist isolation, I find actors in food security, food justice, and food sovereignty movements have developed orientations towards justice which include a focus on developing just, reflexive localism, highlighting the importance of examining differences, questioning relationships between production, distribution and exchange, and identifying the environment as a key issue in social justice.

Food movements are increasingly connected with and oriented towards global social movements for economic, social, and ecological justice. Movement actors highlight the implications for food systems of the global capitalist world system, in which nation states have promoted an economic system and racial and cultural hierarchies that have created massive inequality and social conflict. This background is important in understanding how urban agriculturalists approach the issues of land access, tenure and property rights. With each of these iterations land access take a different shape, from working to ensure land access in low-income communities to demanding land for self-determination to contextualizing land struggles in global capitalist relations. Urban gardens are situating themselves within the discursive framing of these justice and globally oriented threads of the food movement in the US. Their orientations towards justice position these sub-movements in particular relationships to other social movements in the urban environment including housing, labor, and anti-gentrification activism, which share concerns of land access. In Chapter 4 we will explore how particular orientations have opened or foreclosed on coalitional work between urban gardeners and urban movements.

Chapter 4: Landing and the Enactment of Property in Bay Are Garden Projects

Throughout the history of urban agriculture, gardeners have adopted a range of strategies from squatting, working with municipal and other public agencies to

Figure 4.1: Percent of Respondents Engaged in Particular Land Tenure Arrangements, McClintock and Simpson (2014)



increase access to public space, and renting vacant land to find space to cultivate. The tenure insecurity of these organized garden projects has been and continues to be immense. In their national survey of urban agriculture projects McClintock and Simpson (2014) identified a variety of tenure strategies used by contemporary garden organizations (Figure 4.1). Looking across the urban gardening movement, the strategies for land access and secure tenure frequently appear to be disorderly, grab-bag approaches to gardening. Yet, many gardeners would like to see urban agriculture as a more consistent and permanent feature in the urban landscape. For these

gardeners, their land access and tenure strategies are filled with meaning and intention.

Gardeners recognize that their strategies are bounded or to some degree shaped by contemporary property relations. Their assessment that property relations are a determining dynamic for the future of their gardens is acute. Many gardeners also contend that they are active participants in shaping the property relations that may determine the fates of their projects. Gardeners stress their projects are making a real impact on how local municipalities are embracing urban gardening as land use, how residents view the use of land for food production, and how gardening can challenge the priority of land value for development. I term the process of decision-making gardeners that take in manifesting a land access strategy “landing.” Landing is a process of creating closure, when utopian desires are enacted on the land and pre-existing property relations. Through landing gardeners recreate old or develop new socio-spatial relations, setting direction, and foreclosing on other possibilities if only for the moment.

This chapter examines the landscape of strategies of land access and tenure used by over fifty garden groups in the Bay Area and analyzes the ideologies behind them. In this this chapter I analyze primary material from interviews and other sources to tell the stories of landing and the property relations gardeners create and contest. In claiming that today’s gardening will persist into the future, urban agriculturalists believe their strategies will move gardening beyond its previously held position as an interim use of land. Furthermore, they contend urban agriculture

can be a long-lasting means to construct new social, spatial, and ecological relationships. As such some gardeners wish to and do contribute to enactments of property that challenge neoliberal and ownership based relations of land use that they see as a barrier to better urban forms. Yet, the opposite is a more pervasive trend. Urban agriculture in the Bay Area continues to be a movement focused on momentary gains, acceptance of impermanence on particular sites, and goals other than enacting anti-capitalist land politics and spatial production.

Enacting Property

To understand gardeners' land claims, we must first understand something about private property as it is institutionalized and practiced in the US. Emphasis on private property within contemporary economic policy revives liberal and utilitarian arguments that assert property is a stabilizing and productive social force (Rose 1994). Neo-utilitarians draw from Bentham's thesis that when individuals have clear and secure ownership they feel free to participate in economic activity (trade). Bentham's assertion is part of what Joseph Singer terms "the ownership model." Singer argues that this model of property has become the dominant and guiding view of property in social and political life (2000).

The ownership model identifies property as a set of rights over particular things and the holder of those rights is the property owner (Singer 2000). The set of rights imply that owners have the freedom to use the property, sell it or otherwise transfer title, exclude others from its use, and experience security that others will not attempt

to take their property without the owner's consent. The conditions of full and liberal ownership are an ideal that is frequently not met (Becker 1977). The role of government is to attempt to establish legal frameworks in which full and liberal ownership may occur, thus giving owners a sense of security and empowerment. Within the ownership model both space and property are represented as "fixed, natural, and objective" (Blomley 2003, 5). Property rights rely on spatial boundaries for their enforcement. As such, the freedom to property is conceived as a negative freedom, a freedom from either state or private intrusion (Singer 2000). Thus, the model rests almost entirely on the dichotomy between private ownership and state ownership with little explanatory power for situations between or outside of these categories. Nonetheless, the ownership model remains dominant in its influence over property law as practiced in contemporary neoliberal urban spaces (Singer 2000).

Additionally, the ownership model presents property as static with only two moments of importance: the creation of the right and the transfer of that right. Objective representation of property, space, and law make current property relations "appear prepolitical, obvious, and unproblematic" (Blomley 2003, 6). The enforcement of property is possible through the assertion of claims as rights. Blomley cites Laclau and Mouffe as arguing that rights offer a means of acknowledging and measuring power relations in their political and conditional contexts (2003). To demand access to those rights can produce powerful language of "naming, blaming, and claiming" (2003, 12). Rights, as enforced by the state, can be used as a powerful tool of oppression or in the least cause confusion within populations. States choose

which rights warrant protection. As we will see in the next section, when particular communities value aspects of property other than those protected by law, disjuncture and/or conflict can occur.

From perspectives like those of Gibson-Graham that de-center capitalist relations, property can take on complex meanings, as alternative property dynamics may exist within our current society that are not completely outside capitalism nor completely capitalist (Gibson-Graham 1996; Mansfield 2007). The ownership model sits side by side with resistant practices. In these perspectives, property, rather than being a static object, is a dynamic social relation. In the edited volume: *Privatization: Property and the Remaking of Nature-Society Relations*, the complex, varied and sometimes contradictory results of private property relations are demonstrated through several case studies (Mansfield 2007). Similarly public property often has multiple and overlapping meanings (Verdery 2003; Benda-Beckmann, Benda-Beckmann, and Wiber 2006). Following Gibson-Graham's lead, Blomley calls this is a process of "unsettling" (2003). In *Unsettling the City: Urban Land and the Politics of Property*, Blomley argues for the need to "depict property 'at its loose ends'" thus destabilizing property as it is conceived in the ownership model, which occupies a hegemonic place in today's society (2003, 14).

Similarly in an effort to describe private property as untotalized, Rose describes property relations as plural, interrelated and unfixed (1994). She coins the term "unreal estate" to describe when people make property claims or recognize others' claims despite their knowledge that these claims are legally illegitimate. Hardt and

Negri (2009) describe the commons as a project beyond the public/private dichotomy. Blomley (2005) offers this example: in Vancouver private gardeners are planting beyond their yards by taking over the soil in the space between the sidewalk and street. In particular, an artist collective used this space to place an old bathtub and other creative planters as a way to disrupt ideas of normal use of the space. The legal categories of private and public space had little relevance to these gardeners who used land in their daily practices.

By analyzing these property practices, we can see property enacted more as a continual and somewhat open process of doing rather than a closed collection of laws (Blomley 2003). Property is manifested through story telling or complicated forms of communication, what Rose calls “persuasion”(1994). Here she examines the cultural question of how particular stories and ideas of property are created and maintained through concrete practices. Recent analysis of environmental networks also shows the power of the narrative-network in creating communities of change (Lejano, Ingram, and Ingram 2013). Ingerson (1997) challenges the notion that most land in US cities is either private or public by suggesting that the actual practices of new experimental forms of ownership such as land trusts, neighborhood managed parks, limited-equity housing cooperatives, and community supported agriculture do not neatly fit into a public/private dichotomy. Instead these forms promote collective claims, management and ownership, forming what Ingerson called urban commons. As Blomley argues, “rather than settling social life, property emerges as a site for moral and political ambiguity, contest, and struggle” (2003, 152). Thus property can

become both a site of resistance, a tool of resistance, and that which must be resisted. For the gardeners in this dissertation, property is all three: a place to enact other worlds, a tool to draw attention to contemporary social problems, and an obstacle to the work gardeners desire to do.

The landing strategies gardeners engage are their processes of enacting property. Landing describes how property becomes a political tool, site, or instigator of conflict. The following section explores these landing strategies. Through description of landing, I analyze enactments of property in the actions and discourses of urban gardeners themselves.

Bay Area Gardens and Landing Strategies

In my study of Bay Area urban gardeners and organized garden projects, I found a variety of land tenure arrangements are represented, (See Figure 4.2 below). The forty organized garden projects represented are only a sample of the hundreds of projects across the region. This selection contains many of the most prominent projects as well as some that are fairly unknown and captures the variation in garden organization and tenure arrangements while documenting major trends. The descriptions that follow demonstrate the diversity of the urban agricultural projects currently existing in the region.

Of the thirty seven garden projects that were not part of municipal run community gardening programs, twenty-two were non-profit organizations, six were businesses, social enterprises or private enterprises designed to engage the broader

community, eight were community groups or collectives not affiliated with non-profits, and two were sponsored governmental programs. Twenty-two of the garden projects used or were located on public land, twelve projects used private land they did not own, and eleven projects used land the gardeners or participants owned. Several projects included more than one garden and used different tenure strategies for the different garden sites. All but five of the garden projects were started after 2000.

Figure 4.2: Bay Region Urban Agriculture Projects

Garden Project	Year Founded	Location	Governance Structure	Land Owner(s)
Acta Non Verba	2010	Oakland	Non-profit	City of Oakland (OPR)
Aleman Farm	1994	San Francisco	Unaffiliated community group and Government program	City of San Francisco (DRP and SFHA)
Alameda Backyard Growers	2010	Alameda	Non-profit	Private individual's backyards
Farm2Market, Alameda Point Collaborative	2005	Alameda	Non-profit	City of Alameda
Alto Verde farm	2011	Los Altos Hills	Private business	Private individual
Argonne Community Garden	1975 - former victory garden	San Francisco	Unaffiliated community group	San Francisco Unified School District
Bloom Justice	2012	San Francisco	Non-profit	City of San Francisco (Mayor's Office)
Casa de Paz, Cantic Farm	2011	Oakland	Unaffiliated community group	Private individual
City Slickers Farm	2001	Oakland	Non-profit	City of Oakland OPR, Private individuals other than the users, Individuals backyards
Collective Roots	2000	East Palo Alto	Non-profit	Private individual other than the users, individuals backyards, Ravenswood School District
Dig Deep Farms	2010	Alameda County	Private business	Alameda Deputy Sheriffs' Activities League
Free Farm	2010	San Francisco	Unaffiliated community group	St. Paulus Lutheran Church

Full Circle Farm	2007	Sunnyvale	Non-profit	Santa Clara School District
Full Harvest Farm	2012	Oakland	Private business	Private individual
Garden for the Environment	1990	San Francisco	Non-profit	San Francisco Public Utilities Commission
Garden to Table	2013	San Jose	Non-profit	Private business (Berry Swenson Builder)
Gezi Gardens	2013	San Francisco	Unaffiliated community group	City of San Francisco (OEWD)
Growing Home	2010	San Francisco	Government program	City of San Francisco (OEWD)
Guerrero Gardens	2013	San Francisco	Private business	Private individual
Hayes Valley	2010	San Francisco	Non-profit	City of San Francisco (OEWD)
La Mesa Verde	2009	San Jose	Non-profit	Private individual's backyards
Gill Tract Farm/Occupy the Farm	2012	Albany/Berkeley	Unaffiliated community group	University of California Berkeley (UC Regents)
People's Grocery	2003	Oakland	Non-profit	East Bay Asian Local Development Corporation
Peralta Commons	1996	Berkeley	Non-profit	BART
Phat Beets	2010	Oakland	Non-profit	City of Oakland (OPR)
Planting Justice	2008	Oakland	Non-profit	Private owners of individual residences and apartments, Oakland schools, San Quentin State Prison
Quesada Gardens	2002	San Francisco	Non-profit	City of San Francisco (DPW and DRP)
Sidewalk Growers	2004	San Francisco/Oakland	Unaffiliated community group	DPW and others
Spiral Gardens	1993	Berkeley	Non-profit	City of Berkeley
Tenderloin Peoples' Garden	2010	San Francisco	Non-profit	Tenderloin Neighborhood Development Corporation
Urban Adamah	2010	Berkeley	Non-profit	Urban Adamah
Urban Permaculture Institute	2008	San Francisco	Private business	Private individual, other than user
Urban Tilth	2005	Richmond	Non-profit	City of Richmond and private owners
Vacant Lot Garden	2012	Oakland	Unaffiliated community group	Private individual, other than user
Valley Verde	2009	San Jose	Non-profit	Private individual's backyards
Veggielution	2008	San Jose	Non-profit	City of San Jose (PRD and Emma Prusch Farm Park Foundation)
Yummy Tummy Farm	2007	San Jose	Private business	Private individual

While the sample size in this project is not large enough to draw conclusions from cross tabulations, it is noteworthy that several private businesses used the personal properties of their managers or of individuals who were personal connections. Given the large variation in landowners for parcels used by non-profits and unaffiliated community groups, if a larger sample size were surveyed I do not believe there would be significant correlations between governance and tenure strategy. Alternatively the diversity of strategies employed by gardeners of differing aims and institutional support points to the broader conclusion of this dissertation, namely: that gardens occupy interim spaces in an urban fabric driven by development interests. My focus is to describe how these representative projects approached the questions of land access and tenure.

Engagement with the State

For many gardeners, already preserved or recently acquired areas of public land offer an optimistic and strategic means towards greater tenure security. Using public land for long-term gardening is one form of activist engagement with the state. Yet, garden project advocates engage the state spaces and resources in multiple ways all shaping public opinion on the use of public space. This section explores these strategies including land inventories, and community garden programs and public-private partnerships.

Land Inventories: Mapping Urban Agriculture's Potential Futures

Land inventories document open spaces within cities where gardening could occur. Inventories were used during the Potato Patch and Depression Relief periods and recently been readopted as an urban planning tool useful for gardening advocates (Lawson 2005; Horst 2011; Hodgson, Campbell, and Bailkey 2010). Land inventories or audits have been used in several bay area cities, including San Francisco, Oakland, Richmond, and San Jose, to assess available space for urban gardens in addition to mapping existing projects. These inventories have been authored by and inspired from a variety of sources including municipal offices, local non-profits, and academic researchers with connections to local food movements (See Figure 4.3). Each has used spatial data to create maps with which particular criteria can be used to identify potential land for gardening. Criteria vary between the inventories but each analysis generally seeks vacant lands with appropriate environmental conditions for cultivation (ex. slope, contamination, etc.).

Figure 4.3: Recent Urban Agriculture Land Inventories in the Bay Region

Location	Author and Affiliation	Date	Target Land
San Francisco			
	SPUR, a member supported non-profit	2012	Public land
	Kevin Bayuk, Urban Permaculture Institute	2010	Private and public land
	City of SF, Executive Directive on Healthy and Sustainable Food by Mayor Newsom	2009-2010	Public land not suitable for housing
Oakland			
	Nathan McClintock and Jenny Cooper, Cultivating the Commons, University of California Berkeley and City Slicker Farms	2009	Public

Richmond			
	Prepared for the City of Richmond by MIG, Inc. in collaboration with City of Richmond and PolicyLink	2011	Public and private land zoned to allow gardening/agriculture and not designated as contaminated or with a history of industrial use
San Jose			
	Zach Lewis, San Jose State University, Farm to Table	2012	Private and public vacant lots

The targeted land of these inventories can be categorized as either all vacant or public vacant land. The difference is important. Mapping can be used as a tool of future making as well as making legible the importance of contemporary spatial practices. Maps facilitate discourses of possibility, hope, and politics. These land inventories are just that. For McClintock and Cooper (2010) their inventory “is one of many new steps in an ongoing movement to develop a more resilient, sustainable, and just food system in Oakland” and “a crucial first step in developing policy and action related to developing a robust food system for low-income food deserts in the flatlands” (2010, 8).

Two of the more prominent inventory authors focused on public land with an explicit commitment expressed in that choice. In “Cultivating the Commons”, a nationally recognized report and assessment, McClintock and Cooper claimed that land owned by public agencies in Oakland is a public resource and a part of the “commons” (2010). The authors intended the assessment to be used as a tool to increase use and management of public spaces by local residents. SPUR researcher, Eli Zigas concurred with the recommendation to deploy land inventories of public land (Zigas 2012). Through identifying vacant public land and working with policy

makers, he hoped more residents could engage in urban gardening in San Francisco public spaces. For Zigas, private land, while a good option in some cases, did not have the same potential as the use of public lands. In their 2012 report, SPUR argued “even with a lease, land tenure for gardeners and farmers is often tenuous. Privately owned vacant land has a very high value because of its development potential. Urban agriculture projects, which can rarely pay much rent, have difficulty securing the long-term leases that are often essential to their success“ (Zigas 2012, 9). When asked about SPUR’s focus on public land, Zigas stated “Personally I think I’m more interested in putting time into something so it can stick around for a long time” (Personal communication 2013). Gardening on public land is understood to have greater tenure security as well as the benefit of community members managing a public resource or commons.

Other inventory authors stress the opportunities on both public and private land. In his urban planning masters thesis, Lewis noted that while it may seem practical to use city-owned vacant land in San Jose, due to budget shortfalls, the city’s interest in selling land for revenue generation and a relative lack of open public spaces, secure public land might not be easy to come by (Lewis 2012). Lewis, now the executive director of an urban gardening non-profit called Garden to Table, suggests assessing private land for potential urban agriculture projects that have defined time limits can create win-win situations for gardeners and owners interested in future development. For Kevin Bayuk, a long-time San Francisco permaculturalist and author of a 2010 inventory later used by the SPUR 2012 inventory, has indicated

that public and private categories do not necessarily get gardeners sufficient information on “available and appropriate” spaces (Bayuk 2010). While Bayuk, co-founder of the Urban Permaculture Institute, advocates for the use of both public and private land, he sees backyards as an important area to prioritize for urban agriculture advocates interested in maximizing food production because of their environmental, energy and water saving potentials (Bayuk 2010).

The inventories take a variety of approaches to addressing the question of appropriate land for gardening. Questions of use history, environmental quality, travel time to site, and importance of ownership are considered. Two reports that have received significant attention in the local and nation urban agriculture communities and publications, the SPUR and Cultivating the Commons reports, clearly advocate for the use and revitalization of public land. The authors contend that the state is responsible for providing access to public lands for community purposes. They argue that through policy change and the support of local public officials, the new garden spaces can be tenure secure in the long run. For others, like Bayuk, the insecurity of land tenure in the competitive land markets of the Bay Area means assessing both public and private land will lead to a greater number of beneficial land arrangements.

Traditional Community Gardens to Public-Private Partnerships on Parks Land

Across the Bay Area gardeners have partnered with public agencies to gain access to land for gardening. Traditional plot community gardens have been popular in the region over the last several decades. In addition to these community gardens,

urban agriculturalists are increasingly partnering with city agencies to develop partnerships for projects outside of the plot model. In an era of shifting neoliberal governance, some gardeners have expressed concerns that these partnerships can result in uneven allocation of resources.

Traditional community garden programs run by municipal parks and recreation departments continue to exist throughout the Bay. The San Jose and Oakland programs began in the 1970s during the last wave of popularization of urban gardening. The San Francisco program, while initially started in the 1970s, experienced a significant pause in operations in the 1980s and 1990s but is functioning again today. Many of today’s community gardens have long waiting lists due to both popularity and infrequent turn-over of gardeners. For example, San Jose’s Wallenberg Community Garden has over 120 individuals on their waitlist. In San Francisco, when a resident inquired about getting a plot in the Dearborn Community Garden in 2012 she was told there was a 22-year waitlist (CUESA 2012). While not all gardens have extensive waitlists, most do.

Figure 4.4: Municipal Community Garden Programs

Municipality	Number of Gardens
San Jose	19 (all plots gardens)
San Francisco	36 (~32 plot gardens)
Oakland	16 (10 plot gardens and 6 gardens run by non-profits)
Berkeley in Partnership with the Berkeley Community Garden Collaborative	6 (plot and garden commons)
Alameda	First being planned

New urban agriculture projects frequently run on a model based on education, community building, or job training that uses a collective growing model rather than individual plots. This model is not new, nor is the attempt to secure public land for these projects. The Farm, developed in the 1970s in San Francisco, is a prominent example of an early community-led urban agriculture project that eventually obtained city approval, was externally funded, and collectively operated on public land. SLUG, in San Francisco, operated collective garden projects on city land, such as the Saint Mary’s Farm (now Alemany Farm) and obtained contracts for tens of thousands of dollars with the city for many years. Today in Oakland, these public-private partnerships are flourishing and urban agriculture on public land is not coordinated by one larger private agency, unlike the partnership between San Francisco and SLUG from the 1980s to early 2000s.

Various non-profits are partnering with the City of Oakland Office of Parks and Recreation to use and manage currently existing park space (see figure 4.5 Text from Oakland Office of Parks and Recreation).

Figure 4.5: Oakland Office of Parks and Recreation Garden Partnerships	
<i>Organization</i>	<i>Location</i>
Acta Non Verba	Tassafaronga Park Urban Farm
City Slicker Farms	Fitzgerald Park Urban Farm
Oakland Based Urban Gardens (OBUGS)	Marston Campbell Park Youth Gardens
People UnitEd for a Better Life in Oakland (PUEBLO)	Kings Estates Community Gardens
Phat Beets Produce	Dover Street Park Community Garden
Stonehurst Edible Schoolyard	Esperanza Elementary School and Korematsu Discovery Academy

For these projects, all of which currently hold temporary use agreements, access to space in public areas is meaningful. One gardener described the benefit of being near other public facilities in order to normalize gardening as an appropriate community function. For another, gardening is a means to revitalize underfunded and undermanaged public areas. Max Cadjii described the underutilized land space now used by Phat Beets Garden as, “it’s not a lawn, it doesn’t have a *use*.” He continues to chronicle the various organizations using park spaces,

We’re trying to all come together and just say to the city ‘Let us do these things. It’s gonna make you guys look good. We’re gonna have less crime and drug dealing in parks because people will be able to shape their parks so there’s more ownership.’ There’s this sense of – it’s not ownership, necessarily – but it’s a sense of respect for the project, and so that’s what we’re trying to cultivate... We’re just trying to come up with a way that we can make the park more interactive and meet these huge concerns of literally food apartheid in some communities. A public park is for everyone so we want everyone to access it. (Personal communication 2014)

For gardeners, bringing neighbors into urban agriculture in parks begins a process of re-inspiring these neighbors to embrace the public management of space.

In 2011, community members began organizing the Edible Parks Taskforce, a coalition of organizations including Phat Beets, PUEBLO, City Slicker Farms, Acta Non Verba, the Victory Gardens Foundation, Planting Justice, and many others. They joined together to propose an Edible Parks Community Stewardship Program, which would promote the use of public space for edible landscaping for community self-determination. The program is inspired by Oakland’s Adopt-a-Spot program, where individuals, groups, and businesses can volunteer to manage pieces of public land and help reduce city costs. The city has been reticent about allowing urban agriculture projects as a part of this program (Edible Parks Oakland 2014). The Taskforce wants

the city to standardize and clarify the process for use of public land. Some feel the process for accessing parkland for gardening has varied based on the political support of different organizations (Personal communication 2014). Despite conversations for over a year and the presentation of a concrete proposal with support from three city council members, the city has been slow to engage with the task force and has yet to offer support. In an East Bay Express article published June 2014, Stephanie Benavidez of the Office of Parks and Recreation disagreed the city had been slow to respond and that said, "We have different goals and objectives. It's about finding common ground" (Key 2014a).

The city has received many requests for expansion of gardening in parks and on other public land and claims the need to balance the needs of the community at large with those of the growing urban agriculture movements. Both city officials and some neighbors worry this interest in urban gardening is only held by a small subsector of the population, questioning the amount of space that should be managed by these private sector organizations. There is concern that they may intentionally or unintentionally exclude certain people or practices from the area they garden or the projects may be adopted then discarded creating more work for city employees.

In February 2013, City Slickers Farms broke ground on a new park and farm project in Oakland, the West Oakland Farm and Park, which has received significant public support. The area is being built to include vegetable beds, a fruit orchard, and urban livestock, a large lawn area for recreation and a dog run. Barbara Finnin, a former City Slicker Farms Executive Director, wants to create a "space for people to

hang out and meet and recreate and have fun... It's about community gathering spaces that people feel safe in" (Reder 2010). The plans were developed through a three-month planning process, engaging neighbors to identify what they would like to see in a community park. The process was similar to the process that the Alameda Parks and Recreation Department recently facilitated to determine the future of a large swath of recently acquired land to become the Jean Sweeny Open Space Park. The difference being that West Oakland Farm and Park will not be a public park in management or ownership. In 2010, the organization received a \$4 million grant from funding from Proposition 84 to buy the land and build the Farm and Park on a vacant lot; the organization will have to raise funds for operating costs. Proposition 84, The Safe Drinking Water, Water Quality and Supply, Flood Control, River and Coastal Protection Bond Act of 2006, fund a variety of environmental improvement projects, the vast majority of which run through municipal and state departments. To improve sustainability and livability of California communities, the state allocated \$580,000,000 to urban greening and the development and support of parks (Proposition 84 Overview 2014). The City Slickers grant, one of the largest funded, was chosen in part because of the organization's 10-year history in the community and community engagement in the envisioning process (Key 2013). Many welcome the development of the new Farm and Park. Yet for some others, the project calls into question the significant public funding of a project that will ultimately not be owned or operated as a public park.

Occupations and Squatting

Occupations and squatting have been used by gardens as a strategy to gain access to space, engage neighbors in considering urban land use priorities, and gain public attention for the work of their organizations or groups. Squatting, or using land without the permission of the landlord, has been a popular strategy for politically motivated gardeners since the 1970s. The term “guerilla gardening” was coined in the early seventies by Liz Christy of New York’s Green Guerillas, a non-profit still supporting community gardening today. The Green Guerillas “threw ‘seed green-aids’ over the fences of vacant lots. They planted sunflower seeds in the center meridians of busy New York City streets. They put flower boxes on the window ledges of abandoned buildings” (Our History n.d.). Soon they turned to reclaiming urban lots and creating community gardens in these vacant spaces. Today, many activists and gardeners are inspired by these strategies. The relationship between urban garden activism and the use of vacant land without permission has shifted since the rise of the Occupy Movement in fall of 2013. While squatting and the politicized aims of land reclamation remain in common, gardens have become an important part of oppositional spatial politics of radical urban movements not necessarily interested in long-term gardening. Today organized garden projects engaged in occupations may have momentary, short-term, or long-term aspirations of access to garden space.

Guerilla gardening continues to be an important frame for numerous garden activists employed and engaged in non-profit supported gardens. One such gardener describes his desire for new kinds of subjectivities of responsible city residents: “the

city had planted crabapples here, and they plant plums that don't fruit. We went in and we cut them during the winter, we cut the tree and grafted it... Yeah, so now all these trees that are in the front here, they used to be crabapples and now they fruit Fujis. But people did that in San Francisco and it's called 'misdemeanor vandalism'... So we want to, I guess, elevate the vandalism, and say 'Ok well if this is vandalism, then, we need more rebels, we need more vandals, because this is the type of vandalism that we want'" (Personal communication 2014). Other activists discussed their first experiences with getting their hands dirty by gardening the land outside the homes in the city owned space on the other side of the sidewalk and engaging neighbors in conversations about growing food in these spaces.

Squatting vacant lots is a popular strategy to gain land access despite the rapid turn-over of properties due to increased development. Squatting is most popular in Oakland, where at several locations where I interviewed respondents who were involved in squats. Typically, neighbors or particularly motivated activists see a vacant lot that may be enclosed with a fence and lock. The land may have been vacant for a few years or decades. For example, on one site in Oakland, the garden was located on a lot where a house burnt down over fifty years ago. Many gardeners look up the property with the County Assessor to determine if there are back taxes that haven't been paid, indicating an absent landlord. Gardeners know they may not have long term access to this space but feel their contribution to the community, the land, and their lives are worth the short term access. As a gardener in Oakland stated:

“It is a right of people in their community to have safe, healthy communities... It's our responsibility to cut the locks on these (vacant

properties), to take the land– they’re full of car batteries, needles – clean it up, and do something with it. We put basketball courts, in, gardens... Eventually the city will take it back, when the market recovers and gentrification will come in and we’ll have to fight to hold these things and we’ll lose a lot of them but it’s a must. So we go with along the lines of what Movement Generation is talking about and Occupy the Farm. It’s like, when there’s land, and it’s not being used for the common good, and it’s a blight in our community then we must occupy it and we must put it to its greatest use and let other people work on the policy... There’s a kid that goes from the age of 9 to that age of 14 that didn’t have that green space, or didn’t have that basketball court in their community or just had to walk past lots full of trash. And that’s not appropriate. So, yeah, we’re about reform when there’s people that have the resources to work on it, but ultimately we’re about self-determination and agency... so fucking cut a lock and take it back, meet your neighbor and borrow the water.” (Personal communication 2014)

For these squatters, the need for healthy food and engaging spaces for youth expression outweigh the boundaries of private property, the lock on a fence or the ideology that says they are breaking and entering another’s property. Gardeners express the need to value the land for its uses to the community above the economic motivations of landlords. Temporary uses of vacant spaces, the neighborhood organizing necessary to transforming these into used, vibrant spaces, and the resistance to their closure when the city or landlord eventually reclaims the land are as important to these gardeners as the horticultural practices they engage in.

In San Francisco and Oakland there is significant overlap between urban gardening and occupy activists. This has brought a new approach to even temporary occupations of potential garden space. For many activists, gardens prefigure the ways land can be valued in non-capitalist markets. But the act of occupying the land can be equally important in shifting cultural approaches to property and land. Several gardeners, who have been involved in momentary occupations of land, cite that their actions are intended to disrupt norms of development. For one gardener of a

momentary project: “[The garden] was successful insofar as it challenged this idea of private property being the be-all-end-all of how urban space is divided and designed... and inspired and educated a lot of people around how to garden... and to questions the access to the land that was around them” (Personal communication 2013). Another gardener described the questions she would like people to ask themselves: “I think an occupation is an exercise of one’s entitlement to place and home and to have a voice... We have every right to do it sort of mentality, you know? That asks questions of a lot of the basic assumptions that we make about who makes the rules and what are their rights and what role we have in questioning those roles and those systems” (Personal communication 2014). For a third gardener, an occupation and garden creation was important in his personal reframing of possibility in the current capitalist context of cities: “we were certain that if we actually picked a fight about land we were sure we were going to be crushed, so when we stayed through the night, stayed through the week, through three weeks, we were like what’s going on... We were able to achieve something we didn’t think was possible” (Personal communication 2014). Many of the claims of occupiers engaged in garden projects are similar to those of occupations in general, i.e. , to the degree that their actions gain attention by reclaiming land, oppositional activities force the public to consider the questions: What should urban space be used for? And who should decide?

The case of the Hayes Valley Farm, which became the Gezi Garden,



14
Figure 4.6: Hayes Valley Farm Mural

provides an important example of a garden project that turned into an occupation and the controversy that occupations bring up within urban gardening communities. The Hayes Valley Farm was a high profile urban garden located in downtown San Francisco. After the 1989 Loma Prieta earthquake, the Central Freeway was damaged and torn down on the 2.2 acre site to later become the farm. In January 2010, after two decades of slow clean-up with the land laying vacant, the Hayes Valley Farm opened. Leading up to the opening of the farm, the ownership of the land had changed hands from Cal Trans to the former Redevelopment Agency, and then to the City of San Francisco's Office of Housing, and the two parcels had been slotted for future development. In 2009 Mayor Gavin Newsom and the city's office of Office of Economic and Workforce Development partnered with gardeners from the Urban Permaculture Institute to determine if an urban farm or garden could succeed on the site (White 2013). In 2010, with a \$52,950 grant from the OEWD, the Hayes Valley Farm was started as an interim use project to last between three and eighteen years (Community Challenge Grants 2014). In June 2013, the farm closed its doors and the developers Avalon Bay Communities, a national development company, and Build Inc., a small San Francisco based real estate development company, bought one of the parcels (half of the 2.2 acres) for \$9 million and made plans to start construction on a housing project (Roth 2013).

While the leadership team embraced the interim use quality of the project as an opportunity (see later in this chapter for more detail), some garden volunteers and other Bay Area activists did not and questioned why the lot should be sold. A protest was organized, “Liberate the Land”, where organizers claimed, “We are being called to defend the land we grow on. While 36,000 housing units are left empty in San Francisco, property owners and developers plan to build condominiums and high-end housing structures at the cost of displacing *urban farms and gardens*. *We can out-grow the old power structures!*” This occurred shortly after the Turkish Taksim Gezi Park mass protests objecting to the development of one of the few green spaces left and open to the public in Istanbul’s Beyoglu district. Protesters in San Francisco drew inspiration from the masses coming out to protest the development and the repression of free speech of original protestors. The Hayes Valley Farm was occupied and named Gezi Garden in solidarity with the Turkish activist efforts. Protestors spoke to the necessity of defending urban green space as open space for people to gather and connect with the soil. They spoke of the value of urban land for something other than development.

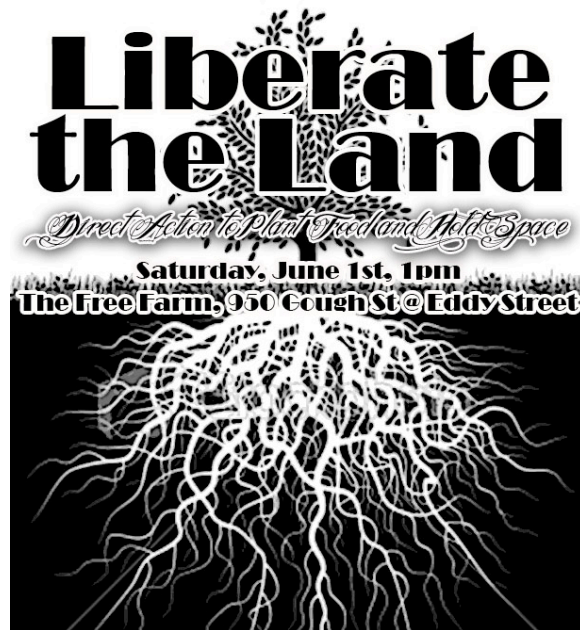


Figure 4.7: Liberate the Land, Gezi Gardens Flyer

The value of these parcels lay in their use and the ecological contributions to the city. The occupation lasted two weeks, when the gardeners and three tree sitters were forcibly removed from the site.

The occupation sparked a powerful and sometimes quite contentious debate within urban agriculture communities across the bay region. The debate revolved around whether the occupation benefited urban gardening and its prospects in San Francisco. For those opposed, the occupation represented a naïve and short-sighted action aimed at agitating instead of growing food. One garden advocate argued: “I don’t think the people who squatted Hayes Valley after the actual organizers left had a sense of how we were going to get from where they were and where we are as a society to where they wanted us to be which is a society without private property... Their feeling was the land is for the people but that’s not how we’ve set up society... I don’t think it’s happening anytime soon” (Personal communication 2013). For another, the opposition to private property and idea that urban residents should reclaim control of urban green space was even more problematic: “They took it for granted – felt like it was their right to be there. That can’t happen. It’s a privilege to be able garden. The time that it’s there is a gift. That’s the classic example of why land owners don’t want to do this” (Personal communication 2014). As this quote indicates, a major anxiety for many gardeners after the occupation was if this action, or similar ones like Occupy the Farm outside of Berkeley, would scare landlords or municipal agencies out of wanting to work with gardeners. In an opinion piece in the SF Bay Guardian blog, Erin Dage, echoed a question many gardeners brought up in

interviews “might it [the Gezi Garden occupation] actually make property owners less likely to allow community-based temporary uses on land awaiting development?” (Dage 2013). Pastor Megan Rohrer of the St. Paulus Lutheran Church, the landlord of the former Free Farm, was the project sponsor of the community garden project, which was demolished less than a year after the Gezi Garden occupation in order to make way for new housing (Dage 2013). Rohrer, who was very supportive of both their garden project and the important issues that the occupy protestors were raising, still worried “that what happened with Hayes Valley Farm may happen with my garden. I just want everything to end smoothly and peacefully” (Dage 2013).

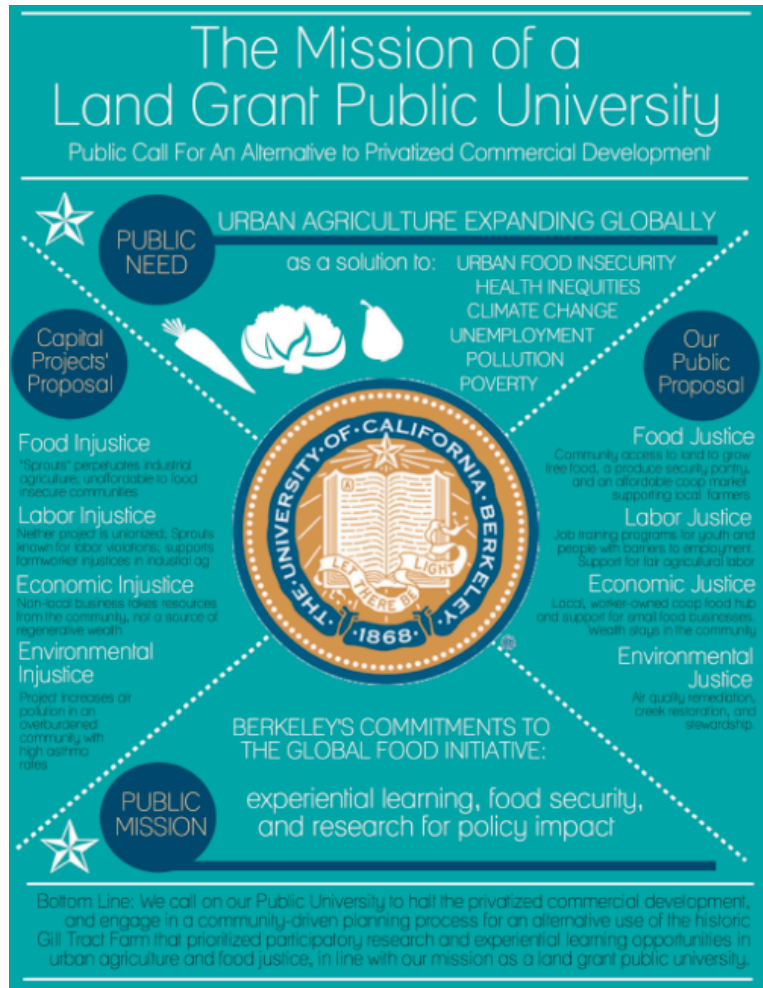
Other gardeners appreciated the work of the occupiers, claiming the conversations about development and the evictions of gardens is something the urban agriculture community needs to face directly. Whether or not urban agriculturalists agree that gardeners have an entitlement to urban space, many see the fast paced development market and politics in the region as a threat to their growing projects.

A few garden projects have drawn inspiration from People’s Park as an occupation that lasted decades, eventually gaining significant institutional support and legitimacy. As the result of a multi-year process including a nationally recognized land occupation and protest of the planned development of the property, a university-community partnership and participatory research project and garden, Occupy the Farm, Students for Engaged and Active Learning, and the Gill Tract Farm Coalition was born. Starting in the late 1990s, when the University of California Berkeley decided to sell development rights to a tract of land that had previous laid fallow in

Albany, adjacent to Berkeley family

Figure 4.8: SEAL Advocacy for Public Commitment to Urban Agriculture

student housing, UC students, neighbors, and urban garden advocates led by Peter Rosset and others at Food First organized to resist the development and advocate for the creation of a sustainable urban agriculture training center (Bay Area Coalition for Urban Agriculture (BACUA) 1997). The UC moved ahead with planning the development at the same time the UC saw



unprecedented tuition hikes, increased recruitment of out-of-state students, and increased investment in real estate and development on UC campuses (Watson 2012).

In April 2012, a group of students and activists, outraged that public land owned by the University of California would be used to generate revenue instead of promote the public education mission of the institution, occupied the south part of the Gill Tract naming the action, Occupy the Farm (OTF). As one OTF activist explained:

UC is a place where our options are created, like knowledge production, it happens there. And the things that are created there are the next decade's solutions. So if we can carve out space there for more projects that ask the questions of, again, the rules that bring those into play, like basic assumptions, that's a really positive thing. This is a land grant university... the privileges and benefits that they enjoy now are because they were created as a public institution. That's why they're the best. And so best to hold them to that through this project. It feels like really engaged civic duty or action. (Effie Rawlings, Personal communication 2014)

The occupation initially lasted almost all of the month of April 2012. The land was reoccupied in May, 2013, when protesters again cleared grasses, tilled, and planted. The occupation was broken up by UC police, re-established, then was raided again (See Figure 4.9).

At the same time students and garden advocates from the newly forming Students for Engaged and Active Learning (SEAL) were working with faculty, such as Miguel Altieri, and the College of Natural Resources to develop a community-university partnership for use of the land (Students for Engaged and Active Learning



Figure 4.9: SEAL Image of Occupy the Farm

2014, see Figure 4.8). Today that partnership project can be observed as a collectively run garden called the Gill Tract Community Farm located on part of the northern portion of the land. In addition, UC faculty members continue to conduct agricultural experiments on the north side, while the south side is still slated for development.

Occupy the Farm still exists as a movement and many of the original occupiers now

garden as a part of the partnership. OTF continues to highlight the UC's shift towards increasing privatization while little support is given to projects that support local agriculture, food security, or serving the local ecological and human communities. For example, OTF activists protested the December 2013 hiring of Robert Lalanne as the first ever "vice chancellor for real estate" for UC Berkeley. On October 1, 2014 members of OTF, the student group running the new community garden, SEAL, and the Cal Progressive Coalition occupied the office of Capital Projects holding a sit-in until Chancellor Dirks met with the occupiers and provided several important documents about the Gill Tract development, both of which activists were promised in May but never saw materialize (Downey 2014). Soon

OTF activists have also developed a connection with the MST, organizing events that connect food and land sovereignty work in the global south to the struggle for the Gill Tract Farm. OTF has organized a learning exchange between Gill Tract and MST activists for 2015. For many organizers this international connection is essential to their work advocating for changes in Berkeley and across national borders.

Another organized garden project based in the East Bay discussed their complicated relationship with the municipal government that supports them. The garden is located on public land and the initial agreement between the organizers and city was informal and imprecise regarding the exact area the project could use. Gardeners, neighbors, and organizers gathered, planted a large area with vegetable beds and fruit trees, and made art in the public space. A couple of neighbors were concerned and complained to the city that the project was "people parkifying the

park”, provoking the city to impose limits on area and activities of the project. The organizers, seeing the ‘people parkification’ as a positive use of the space, responded by mobilizing over 200 neighbors and a two-year process to gain approval for this full space they had occupied.

Occupations, guerilla gardening, and the use of vacant lots without the permission of landlords go beyond a practical political interest in securing land on which to garden. These strategies engage gardeners in oppositional politics challenging municipal agencies, private landlords or developers, public universities, and other landholders to consider what is the “best and highest use” of the land. Activists work to make visible the ideologies of development, questioning the need for more housing or more commercial supermarkets without addressing the inequality of housing or food distribution. They work to question the authority of the owner in deciding how best to use the land inherent in dominant private property relations. While these collectives or projects may sometimes be led by a small group of activists, their narratives emphasize the importance of more horizontal governance of urban space. For one occupation gardener the work is equally about ecological food production and reshaping urban imaginaries: “I saw a need both to defend urban spaces for growing food and teaching people how to do that, especially in a regenerative way. And also a great opportunity to call attention to the idea of land access being a most important first step in any kind of food justice or environmental sustainability... it’s a viable way of kind of inspiring people to try to create common space again” (Personal communication 2013).

Privately Owned Land and Approaches to Owners

There are many gardeners who choose to work with private land-owners for the use of private property. Their reasons and strategies range greatly. This section explores two landing strategies on private property: backyard gardening and working with developers.

Backyard Gardening

Several garden projects have focused on creating a collective form of development, support, learning, and exchange for home or backyard gardens. Backyard gardens have been embraced to achieve a variety of social goals including cultural empowerment, food security, and transformation of the urban ecology (See Figure 4.10). The scale of the work of these projects is significant. The combined efforts of La Mesa Verde, Valley Verde, and Planting Justice's have resulted in the development of over 1000 home gardens since 2008.

Collectively coordinated backyard gardening projects can be grouped into three forms with several projects engaging in multiple forms. The first are projects aimed at building gardens to support self-sufficiency for low-income families. Typically these groups work with families that are renting, although some families may be homeowners. An emphasis is placed on promoting health, opportunities for increasing access to culturally relevant foods, and addressing inequality through individual family empowerment to change their food landscape. The second are projects aimed at creating networks of support and communication to increase

knowledge and food sharing opportunities for backyard gardeners. These gardeners frequently see a social value in the act of gardening on private properties and aim to place home gardens in the context of community sustainability, resiliency, and alternative economic networks. The third form consists of projects that build home gardens for paying customers as a means to provide employment or fund gardening projects in low-income areas. These groups use sophisticated design, permaculture, and aesthetics to transform the lawns of most frequently home owners interested in more sustainable, edible landscapes.

Figure 4.10: Backyard Garden Programs

Organization	Objectives	Strategy	Location
Alameda Backyard Growers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increase urban food growing and resiliency - Encourage knowledge sharing and continued learning for gardeners - Promote home gardening of donated foods for the Alameda Food Bank 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Create a network of gardeners in Alameda who gather for monthly meetings and other events 	Alameda
City Slickers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Build food self-sufficiency by empowering low-income households to grow fresh produce where they live. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Build backyard gardens in low-income family homes and qualified childcare sites - Provide a mentor for 2 years to support gardeners 	Oakland
La Mesa Verde	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Nurture a culture of food self-sufficiency based on culturally appropriate foods and knowledge - Increase healthy food 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Build home garden beds for free with support in the form of materials, classes, work with mentors, 	San Jose

	<p>access in low-income households</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Reinforce family and community relationships in a network of urban gardeners 	<p>community guilds/networks</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Majority of program participants are renters 	
Planting Justice	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Assist families in growing a significant portion needed produce at home, while beautifying and adding value to the home - Financially supporting the organization and youth employees 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Fee for service designing and building permaculture and bio-intensive gardens on home properties - Provide subsidized gardens for low-income families 	Oakland
Valley Verde	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Build productive and sustainable community where people can enjoy a healthier lifestyle through daily access to fresh, affordable vegetables. - Increase job opportunities and revitalize low-income areas 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Build home gardens in low-income families yards for free - Employ low-income gardeners to build gardens for individuals and groups - Train low-income families to develop home greenhouse microbusinesses 	San Jose
Yummy Tummy Farms	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Selling seasonal biodynamic produce grown in accordance to organic growing standards, organic local craft honey, jam, sauces, seeds, and herbs - Provide urban farming education and inspiration in the South Bay to encourage the 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Conversion of a home property into an urban farm - Classes through a Meetup group and volunteer opportunities for individuals to apprentice with Farmer Donald 	San Jose

	transformation of the suburban environment		
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La Mesa Verde (LMV) is an example of one gardening project that has developed a complicated relationship to the way land access is conceived and practiced within their work. In its ambitious beginnings, former executive director Raul Lozano used LMV to advocate within city government. His vision included placing urban gardening prominently in the city plans the aim to revive the “Valley Verde” by encouraging the development of 20,000 home gardens by 2020. At least half of the gardens would be in homes of lower-income residents. He has since formed another project, Valley Verde, with this aim. This type of political engagement complicates a simplified understanding of backyard food production on rented land. Planning documents that would mandate or support the use of backyards for gardening in rental property could challenge the autonomy of property owners.

Lozano viewed the work of LMV apart from that of other gardening organizations: “We are going to the families” by placing the gardens in participants’ yards. Current LMV staff member, Patty Guzman, believes that while many program participants might want to participate in community gardens, it is unrealistic with their other commitments and time constraints and community gardens “may not be culturally relevant to some” (Personal communication 2013). Residents may ask ‘why go far from home to grow food in a community garden when there is land right here in my backyard?’ Guzman acknowledges that the strategy of using backyards does limit who can engage in the program: “It’s a double edged sword. Backyard gardens

aren't accessible to some, many people who live in apartments or projects and just don't have the space. On the same token, a lot of people who do have the space and have their own homes don't have the luxury of time or the ability to pay the fee to go to a community garden" (Personal communication 2013).

The program requires the participant to have yard space with sufficient sunlight where the raised beds can be built. Of the over 350 families that have participated in LMV, the vast majority have been home renters. Participants are expected to have the discussions or negotiations necessary with their landlord to gain permission. Program staff currently do not have the capacity to offer assistance to participants when they are seeking permission from their landlords. Interested families have been turned away because they were unable to get permission or find an adequate space in their yard. Program staff see this as an unfortunate parameter that they must work within. Guzman explains, "We just haven't approached the beast of landownership and rights around land access. We're trying to get the program up and running and get everyone the materials. We just can't address the issue of land rights. Ultimately, it's their responsibility to deal with the land question. We can only go so far when we have 100 families to work with. I feel like I've had nothing to offer. I do feel like that is a shortcoming in our program" (Personal communication 2013). She goes on to explain that several families, including one of the primary leaders in the program who had previously hosted a demonstration garden, have lost their gardens due to being evicted or having to move. In 2013, LMV worked with student-

researchers to develop a set of tools to assist interested families in approaching their landlords.

La Mesa Verde has recently engaged the Sustainable Economies Law Center (SELC) to support their work and help change the legal landscape of home gardening for renters. In 2014 SELC launched a legislative campaign and introduced a California bill, AB 2561 – the California Neighborhood Food Act, to ensure renters have access to using yard or property space for home food production. The bill passed and was approved by the governor in September 2014. Initially the aim of the bill was to make significant gains for tenants’ rights to grow produce on rental property land and make it illegal for Homeowners Associations to prohibit backyard food gardens. Through the legislative committee process and significant resistance from the homeowner lobby, the bill was amended in several significant ways restricting gardens to backyards for single family and duplex homes, requiring tenant gardens to be in movable containers that the landlord approves, and allowing the landlord to restrict the number and location of containers. While these amendments are significant, SELC organizers believe this is an important first step in shifting the landscape of rights for non-property owners to grow food on rented land. Neil Thapar, SELC staff attorney and lead staff on the California Neighborhood Food Act campaign, was encouraged that many legislators were surprised that there would be resistance to allowing tenants and HOA members to grow food to feed themselves. While some assume the work of promoting sustainable home food production is universally supported, SELC made visible the tension of landlord concerns of liability

and decreasing property value in contrast with the long-held ideal of a backyard garden providing supplemental food resources and a space for family betterment.

In spite of the primacy of the “ownership model” of private property, this legislative work from SELC and the gardening of La Mesa Verde (LMV) participants resulted in some resistant property narratives, as described by Rose. (1991) For instance, several gardeners expressed a lack of concern about normative property boundaries. They explicitly rejected the need to ask permission to access space in the houses they inhabited. Many gardeners claimed to plant outside of the agreed upon planting areas or to use the yard space for other gardening related projects. In a few interviews, Mexican American gardeners cited long-held beliefs that they deserved access to the land for after all, they were those who worked it in order to produce food for survival. One gardener cited Mexican revolutionary Emiliano Zapata: “*La tierra es de quien la trabaja con sus manos*/the land belongs to those that work it with their own hands.” This was echoed by vacant lot gardeners of Mexican descent in Oakland as well. In other words, the gardens became sites for nurturing alternative expressions of property relations.

Thus, while LMV has thus far had a limited impact on shifting actual access to land for San Jose renters, the work of program participants cultivating backyard gardens has a powerful potential to empower property subjectivities that decenter the landlord. The greatest promoters of LMV are the program participants themselves. Ramirez and Guzman note that participants enthusiastically recruit neighbors, family members, and friends to join the program. When gardeners encourage other San Jose

residents to cultivate their backyards, cultivate the medians between their home and the city street, or to do what's necessary to be able to start their own garden, they are not focusing on the landlord as gatekeeper. Gardeners are promoting an engagement with space much more concerned with the desire to take back land for food production.

Gardener Relationships with Developers

Contrary to advocates of occupation or guerilla gardening approaches, several organized garden projects and support organizations have positioned themselves as allies to private landowners and developers. At a minimum, many advocate for clear expectations and agreements with landholders. The East Bay Urban Agriculture Alliance published the Willow Rosenthal (City Slicker Farms) and Novella Carpenter (GhostTown Farm and author of Farm City) checklist for obtaining land to garden, that included developing a clear agreement with the landowner as to the tenure duration, scope of use, and exist strategy for any project (Rosenthal and Carpenter 2012). The San Francisco Urban Agriculture Alliance (SFUAA) published a similar document (Starting a Garden of Urban Farm in San Francisco 2011). Through strategies such as the passage of new legislation incentivizing developed-urban farm partnerships, the use of portable beds, and embracing interim use agreements, gardeners claim they are facilitating relationships that will open greater opportunities for land access. Through improved trust and demonstrations of successful

mechanisms for the use of private lands that meets the needs of the landowner and gardener, more owners will opt to benefit the city through the expansion of urban gardens on their land.

One such effort was the successful passage of AB 551, the Urban Agriculture Incentives Zones legislation, which incentivizes the use of urban land for agriculture by allowing a property to be assessed at a lower tax rate, i.e. the ability to tax at the agricultural value rather than market value, in exchange for a five year commitment to using the land for farming or gardening. This legislation was envisioned by members of the San Francisco Urban Agriculture Alliance working with San Francisco based, California Assembly member Phil Ting (Eli Zigas, Personal communication 2013). SPUR and Little City Gardens, both significant supporters of the legislation, were inspired by the ideas of Nicholas Reed and Juan Carlos Cancino to bring the Williamson Act to the city (New Law Breaks Ground for Urban Ag 2013). The Williamson Act, also known as the 1965 California Land Conservation Act, allows local governments to assess rural lands at lower rates in exchange for ten year agreements to keep land in open space or agricultural land use. This legislation was based on the recognition that the property tax rates are one of many barriers to for landowners engaging in imagining urban farms on their land. AB 551 passed through the California legislature with bipartisan support, but still requires counties who choose to opt in to create local policies that will facilitate private landowner participation. On August 7th 2014, San Francisco became the first county and city to implement AB 551 (Zigas 2014a)

For supporters the legislation aims to reduce a barrier in approaching landowners who may be interested in allowing urban farming on their property – the economic disincentive of paying market value property taxes for a land being used for agriculture which does not create the same revenues as other uses. Eli Zigas, SPUR Food Systems and Urban Agriculture Program Manager, acknowledges this legislation will not create a sufficient financial advantage to outweigh other options but it will reduce the costs to an owner which may soften their hesitation to a partnership with gardeners. Zigas claims this will not impact a large number of current or potential urban farms, maybe a few handfuls per city: “It’s a carrot to bring someone (landowner) to the table, but only in a few situations will it be enough to bring them to the table” (Personal communication 2013). But Zigas argues it will make a difference for the projects it will impact. One such project is the Urban Permaculture Institute, which is located on private property owned by local doctor Aaron Roland, who is currently committed to allowing the garden to continue on his land in order to improve food security and health food consumption within the city. Roland was quoted as saying, “There’s a huge opportunity cost in letting your property be used for a garden. I’m delighted that the property has some use, but I’m paying over \$6,000 year for the privilege of saying no to high offers to sell it” (New Law Breaks Ground for Urban Ag 2013). Garden projects in different parts of the Bay have been inspired by the legislation and are attempting to work with local officials towards implementation. Zach Lewis, of Garden to Table in San Jose, is hopeful that this will continue to build a good reputation and means for local

developers to allow short to medium-term use of properties for farming (Personal communication 2014).

Garden to Table has developed a partnership with landowner Berry Swenson to develop a one-acre urban farm in downtown San Jose on Swenson land (Personal communication 2014). Berry Swenson is Chairman of the Board of Berry Swenson Builder, a prominent Northern California real estate and construction company started in 1912. Lewis met Swenson through a contact in the tech industry and quickly found Swenson supportive of the objectives of the garden project. To make a partnership attractive to Swenson, Lewis agreed to start paying property taxes in the second year of the project (2015) with the hope that they could work together to convince San Jose to implement AB 551. Swenson and Lewis agreed this would be a temporary project as the land will eventually be developed. Predicting the need to eventually move, Lewis has worked to develop portable beds and mechanisms to bring the farm along when they relocate. For Lewis portability is at the heart of their approach for this farm project:

People need to be clever... We build mobile beds so you can move- everything is above ground so it can be moved with so much volunteer support... we build it into the concept. We created a pleasant relationship with the owner/developer - with the community – we're lucky to have this. You have to go into it with the mind frame that its temporary. There's no incentive right now for landowners to do it. We need to make owners/developers feel comfortable. (Personal communication 2014)

The tactic of portable beds is also used by projects across the bay such as NOMAD gardens in San Francisco and Urban Adamah in Berkeley. For NOMAD, the use of portable metal garden containers is designed to aid the non-profit in “roam(ing) seamlessly from vacant lot to vacant lot” (Our Story | NOMADgardens 2012). They

aim to “activate vacant lots in developing neighborhoods” and build community through workshops, movie screenings, art events, picnics and gardening. NOMAD founder Stephanie Goodson was motivated to create spaces where neighbors can connect outside of home and work. After difficulties in reaching out to Seth Hamalian, a local developer, to use a piece of vacant land, she decided a new approach to land use was needed. Goodson argues gardeners grow attached to their garden on a particular piece of land and this makes it dangerous for developers who intend to eventually construct projects on the property to allow gardening as a temporary use, “By creating a ‘roaming community garden’ developers would be able to reclaim the land easily” (Our Story | NOMADgardens 2012). Similarly, Urban Adamah, before buying the land for their current farm, had a two-year lease on private land owned by Rich Robbins, founder of Wareham Development. The farm developed all infrastructure to be portable and has gone on to train many others in portable bed construction through an online video and workshops (Adam Berman, Personal communication 2014). Portability facilitates temporary land use and beneficial relationships between owners who are concerned that gardeners may resist eviction and garden projects that are willing to be temporarily connected to specific pieces of land. This flexibility of moveable gardens is a topic of great debate for contemporary urban agriculturalists, which can be best examined through the contested relationship to interim use agreements for gardens such as the Hayes Valley Farm.

Interim use in the context of contemporary Bay Area gardening refers to the use and implementation of the City of San Francisco's mayor Gavin Newsom's plan to support urban agriculture and sustainable food movement through allocating two lots in downtown for temporary garden development. Those lots included the Hayes Valley Farm and the Growing Home Garden. Both projects ended when the city sold the properties for housing development. From project organizers of these particular projects to gardeners across the region, the value and role of interim use in the future of urban gardening is hotly debated. At the core of this debate are differing conceptions or emphases within a commitment to resiliency.

For the original organizers of the Hayes Valley Farm and many others, interim use offers an innovative approach to creating temporary yet vibrant projects in the context of a highly competitive land markets.

Hayes Valley Farm is a champion of interim-use farming. Not only does interim-use provide an opportunity to rethink how we use the land and demonstrate how much food can be grown in a given area, it also allows us to engage in education, outreach, community building, and to develop broader, transportable, resiliency models that we feel are essential in this era of transition and transformation.

- Hayes Valley Farm's Transition Statement (Hayes Valley Farm Seeds Urban Agriculture, Biodiversity, and Youth Education Projects across San Francisco as It Bids Farewell 2013)

The knowledge that the project was temporary motivated volunteers and organizers to use the momentum from the Hayes Valley Farm to start various other projects in the city. Jay Rosenberg of the leadership team stated, "I'd love to see it explode into fireworks so that little farm projects start popping up all over, as a space to grow food, recycle, create compost, take classes and share tools." For organizers, the

proliferation of projects resulted from a process of inspiration predicated on impending closure. For one organizer who self-identified as an anarchist, it was inspired by a conception of resiliency that embraced this form of inspiration: “Loosing the garden wasn’t a surprise – that was always the agreement. We are interested in creating a resiliency model where you don’t have to be permanent – you can respond to changes – respond to emergencies and otherwise – tactical permaculture. Also to show that we can work outside ownership models” (Personal communication 2013). For another gardener inspired by their work, interim use that does not use more energy than it creates can provide immediate benefits: “I think it’s possible to do interim use and without permanent tenure. To create just benefit for life, habitat benefit, food security benefit, health benefit. All those things, let’s go for the benefit if we can. If that’s the legitimized way, that’s what possible. Let’s do that while not forgoing the long-term resilient strategy.” (Personal communication 2014). An Oakland food activist supporting interim use for gardens and other projects stated, “I definitely think that it’s a strategy that can be used because sometimes, people just need that initial place to go that is going to be more flexible so that they can get their ideas off the ground. For capitalists or entrepreneurs who they have low start-up capital, and they haven’t run a business before, they really just need to practice. They need a space to envision, and practice, and play” (Personal communication 2014).

On the other hand, some gardeners clearly articulate that interim use does not benefit urban agriculture in the long run. These gardeners advocate for “developing roots” in particular communities, with particular pieces of land. Their reasoning

varies from the agroecological, the need to develop complex soil structure for example, to collective healing from social isolation.

In terms of agroecological arguments, an organizer at Urban Tilth, a project in Richmond that embraces both interim and longer term plans for land access, explains the need for developing relationships to particular parcels, “I think a movement that just happily gets pushed along, goes place to place to place is missing a connection to land that is just integral to a permaculture approach. There’s all kinds of cycles that you just can’t even see unless you’re there for long enough. There’s all kinds of plants that we don’t even know do well there yet because we haven’t tried it.”

(Personal communication 2014). Evan Krokowski, of the Farm2Market Farm, concurs:

“I think also going back to the agroecology, the reality is it takes a long time to eliminate weed seed banks and build up soil fertility and get the till and the layout of the space that you want. It happens over -- for us, it's happened over six years and I finally feel like we're getting to this point where things are the way that I would like them to be, but we're still refining things all the time. You can look out for a year or two on growing off of the fertility that's inherent in the site, but then you really have to think about a long-term sustainability and building your own soil and creating systems that will support life on the site.” (Personal communication 2014)

Many organizers argue that, by design, interim use benefits the owner, not the gardeners, and that this can be very dissuasive to the gardener. Markos Major, a key volunteer with the Growing Home Garden, when discussing the pressure from members of the SFUAA to leave their project quietly when the city ended their arrangement, stated, “Frankly, I’m not interested in interim use. I mean it’s not useless of course, but it’s not really extremely beneficial in the long run by any

means, except for developers who really do have a lot to gain from it.” (Personal communication 2014).

Interim use demands an accommodating approach from gardeners that can be seen mirrored in neoliberal discourse of “flexibility”. Pierre Bourdieu explains flexibility as the ‘essence of neoliberalism’ (1998). Scholars over the last several decades have studied neoliberalism as social processes elevating the flexibility of labor and production systems (Brenner 2004), individual subjectivities (Freeman 2007), and urban land for the purposes of creative destruction (Harvey 1985). Gardeners explicitly affiliated with anti-capitalist projects have been more critical of flexibility or interim projects. As one self-identified anarchist gardener criticizing the Hayes Valley project argued:

“It’s definitely not a long-term solution to the need for places to grow food, places to connect with the earth, places to live in balance with one’s environment because every single interim-use project is pretty much almost immediately slated to be removed and turned into something that’s the antithesis of what they’re doing now, which is more concrete, more asphalt, more development. So yeah, I think it’s a great thing to do if we want to temporarily model these systems but it’s not in any way a solution to what’s a big problem, which is that people are talking a lot these days about needing to grow food locally and sustainably and organically, close to home, and the biggest thing getting in the way of that is people’s access to land.” (Personal communication 2013).

Interim use clearly delineates a strategy oriented towards short-term project with immediate gain and beneficial relationships for landowners who want flexible options for future land uses. Many believe this will inspire or permit the development of many other garden projects. For others the emphasis on pleasing landowners at the expense of developing long-term land and human relationships is deemed necessary for some objectives.

Conclusion

The landing strategies described in this chapter demonstrate a wide variation in both strategies themselves and their results. When projects *land* they *create*, *reinforce* or *challenge* contemporary property relations. Gardeners see their work as shaping the discursive and material dimensions of private property, public property, and urban land use. Projects such as the Edible Parks Taskforce are reimagining the category of public property by declaring Oakland parkland as spaces of potential community land management and self-determination. Quite differently, AB 551 is a strategy that reinforces the rights and benefits accrued by private property owners who may choose to support urban gardening. And finally projects like Gezi Gardens are directly challenging the norm that private or public land owners should be able to decide to sell land for what they determine is a “higher use”. The diverse landing strategies of these organized garden projects produces a variegated political landscape of property possibilities.

Within this landscape gardeners describe two ways of seeing urban agriculture’s future. One direction stakes the claim that secure, long-term tenure is necessary for garden projects that seek to cultivate community and develop robust agroecosystems. Others suggest, as did Mougeot (2006) in the context of international urban agriculture, that tenure security may not be as important as access to land. Creating a lasting place in the city for gardens could be possible with continuously moving gardens. This kind of gardening can only be successful if volunteers or

fundors are interested in investing time and energy into this labor-intensive cycle of shifting physical spaces, which in the case of Hayes Valley Farm they were. Yet, not demanding long-term tenure has been explicitly part of politics supportive of development priorities and neoliberal urbanization, which many gardening groups aim to resist. The two directions, site permanence and site mobility, are not neutral in the property relations they create and enforce. In the next chapter this problematic is further explored through a critical estimation of the framing and ideological commitments of gardens working to bring about transformative social change.

Chapter 5: Reflections on Discourses of Possibility and Underlying Ideologies in Urban Agriculture

Landing strategies include the narratives and arguments by which gardeners understand and describe the importance of their work. Urban gardeners contextualize, make meaning of, and communicate their work through discursive framing. They appeal to how others understand their gardens as part of social movements, as part of urban policy and initiatives, or otherwise. Thus strategies of change have a strong discursive character (Fairclough 2010). Studying these emerging discourses of possibility provides windows into potentially new forms of “common sense” that gardeners wish to see become dominant as means to transform the urban socio-ecological landscape

(Allen 2004).

Gardeners bring these discursive framings into strategic dialogue with each other when practices are produced, reproduced or changed. Through



Figure 5.1: Photo of People’s Grocery Garden, by author

this dialogue discourses may mutually support, compete, or exist in parallel in spaces, both activist and broader social society. The negotiations between discursive approaches, while dynamic, sediment in certain trajectories. Overtime particular

movement discourses become dominant. The discursive landing strategies present in Bay Area garden projects are beginning to compete in advocating for particular visions of gardener and community power in the urban context. Three recurrent discourses emerged from my dissertation research: commoning, community land management, and resiliency.

This chapter contributes to what Fairclough describes as a need to shift from critique of structures to critique of strategies. I describe the emerging and competing landing strategies on the discursive level and their normative consequences (2010). The chapter explores how the concepts of commoning, community land management and resiliency are articulated and enacted, providing insight into the struggles for and between discursive framing of land politics of gardeners. To conclude the chapter, I examine how the discourses, while intended to be complementary ultimately are beginning to diverge and compete over the question of how to approach developmentalist trajectories.

Commons and Moving Towards Collective Ownership

Regardless of their tenure arrangement, a frequent theme amongst gardeners has been the discussion of the potentials for, or the actually existing, commons achieved through gardening. For gardeners, commons generally meant the practice of an alternate model for socio-economic organization. I identify three emergent claims in gardeners' meanings of commoning: collective land management, collective ownership or the absence of ownership, and the affirmation of non-capitalist forms of

value. Commons are also discussed as material realities that gardeners are attempting to enact, as important symbolic narratives of how to reimagine our contemporary context, and as heart-felt spaces of care and growth, similar to New York Gardeners studied by Eizenberg (2012).

Resisting a framework that claims functional land management can only occur through public (state) or privatized ownership (Hardin 1968), research into common pool resources has highlighted diverse institutional arrangements of collective resource management and property rights (Ostrom 1990). While Ostrom provided a more economically rational analysis of collective behavior, others have explored the political and moral dimensions of a potential commons social movement (Johnson 2004; McCann 2005). De Angelis (2003) describes the commons and the communities that manage them as the necessary foundation for the new political discourse, a discourse that is politically motivated towards global justice and democracy. This commoning is explicitly in resistance to enclosure and new waves of primitive accumulation (Chatterton 2010). McCarthy (2005) argues that there has been an increased call from both critical academics and a variety of social movement actors for reclamation of the commons. These calls vary greatly according to their attention to detail in mechanics and structure, or mapability onto Ostrom's analytical description of common pool resources (CPRs) (McCarthy 2005). Their common thread is the emphasis on collective forms of ownership and resistance to the commodification and privatization characteristic of the last thirty years of neoliberalism. The commons is being expressed as a preferred strategy to both create

productive, hopeful alternatives and to oppose a myriad of problems caused by global capitalism (De Angelis 2003; McCarthy 2005; Klein 2001; Hardt and Negri 2009; Chatterton 2010).

For many post-neoliberal, anarchist, and autonomous-Marxist scholars and activists, the study of the commons is exciting because it represents both an act of resistance and a space for the prefiguration of new worlds (Chatterton 2010; De Angelis 2010). Commons is not just a noun but a verb, “a crucial socio-spatial process in the struggle for a better world” (Chatterton 2010, 901). Commoning, a term Linebaugh came across in his research on commons, describes (re)production that is embedded the ecology of a place and collective labor process that is independent from that state (Linebaugh 2008). Common’s rights are engaged through the participation and labor of the commoners. For De Angelis, Linebaugh’s description of commoning requires that we see this process as expressing the interconnectedness and inseparability of “autonomy, community, life flow, and ecology, ... *all at once* while struggling for livelihoods” (2010, 956). Not only does commoning present a challenge to enclosure, it is also the opportunity to produce new forms of relations beyond capitalist forms (De Angelis 2010). In this sense, commoning is an act of destructive creation, “the destruction of these very capitalist relations and the correspondent creation of new forms of commoning predicated on different value productions” (2010, 959).

Some garden activists and theorists describe gardening outside of dominant economic and state structures. Carlsson and Manning work outside the state-private

dichotomy and describe gardening as a “nowtopia” intended to “reclaim and reinvent work against the logic of capital” (Carlsson and Manning 2010, 925). The authors describe the work of a southern-born, Bayview resident engaged in the Quesada Gardens, who through gardening with neighbors created a common language and practices that counter the values of private property and individualism. Eizenberg (2011) offers a model of analysis of organized garden projects breaking outside neoliberal property hegemony. He builds on the idea of new ways of “doing politics” by using Lefebvre’s analytic of space as comprised of material (actual physical form), perceived (knowledge), and lived (emotional and subjective experience) to refocus our understanding of gardens as a space of commons. Through a study of gardens in New York, Eizenberg argues actual existing commons persist through these three interrelated elements: gardeners claiming physical space, gardeners producing alternative forms of knowing, and gardeners experiencing a multitude of emotional responses in the living environment that open space for marginalized cultures and identities. The development of these commons is in tension with existing neoliberalisms within the city (Brenner and Theodore 2002) and demonstrates the ability of gardeners to pose a threat as a growing social movement. Eizenberg argues, “by introducing alternative practices and values to capitalism, the commons are de-enclosed and the dominant mode of production is challenged” (2011, 779).

Many gardeners discuss the material, perceived, and lived experiences of promoting collective management. From the perspective of Tree from the former Free Farm, collective work in a garden can mean a significant difference from more

individualistic gardening environments, “We promote the communal style of gardening, we all work together for the common good rather than dividing it up into individual plots and everybody having their own plot”. For Tree the expectation that gardeners would create commons through land redistribution is unrealistic, but garden projects can provide space for inspiration and learning the skills to work together as a movement. A vacant lot gardener described this communal style as “based on communal land holdings, people working together, people deciding by consensus what is going on this land.” (Personal communication 2014).

Working through processes of group decision-making and setting governance structures or styles, gardeners are faced with the opportunity to experiment or refine practices aimed at making decision-making more horizontal or otherwise shifting how land use decisions are made on a site. As an occupy gardener recalled while discussing prefiguring social change, “skills are really important, like learning how to collectively manage a piece of land by the urban farming”. Karl Linn, the founder of Peralta Commons and Community Garden, expressed that commons like the garden are necessary for people “to build shared spaces that enliven their senses, express their visions, and strengthen their connection to the natural world” (Linn 2008, 8). He described the construction of various commons spaces throughout his career: “in the process of constructing each commons, neighbors came to know one another more deeply... developed participatory processes that drew more members of the community into the creative process and broadened the base of neighborhood involvement” (Linn 2008, 12). The garden is embraced as a territory in which to

relearn more collective decision-making and share governing power. Murray (2014) argued that Occupy the Farm provides an example of activists developing counter-institutions of commons management, going beyond movement-focused prefigurative politics. The farm is a “site in which to actualize the ideal of self-organizing communities of free equals” (Murray 2014, 6).

Gardeners also discussed their experiences and perceptions of the work of creating forms of ownership outside of the public-private binary. The Diggers of 1967 and the mid seventeenth century provided inspiration for several projects in their resistance of the enclosure of the commons. Tree describes that his commitment to an openness in the garden to all those in need was inspired by both sets of diggers, “Poor people just went out and started growing food and they were preaching the idea of the Earth as a commons, the idea of getting away from private property. And that was filtered down through San Francisco diggers in 1967, who I ran into when I was younger and was inspired by that.” (Personal communication 2013). Movement Generation, in its work training and inspiring many gardeners across the Bay, calls for “new or radical uses of physical and public spaces, including establishing new public spaces based on commons rather than private or state control.” (Movement Generation 2013). The claiming of a commons, the acts of narrativizing a resistance to private property and holding commons as its antithesis have emerged as important commitments to numerous gardeners, even if the material relationship to their land was one of leases, temporary use agreements, or insecure occupation.

Communal ownership through the model of community land trusts inspired gardeners at projects such as the Urban Permaculture Guild and Urban Tilth. Doria Robinson, a third generation resident of Richmond and director of Urban Tilth, explained her history of growing up. She joined her grandfather, a minister of a black church, which started a ranch in Fairfield as part of their mission. Then as a young adult, she worked with other farms and Veritable Vegetable, a women's cooperative and organic vegetable distribution company, all of which resulted in "a lot of influences around cooperative economics, cooperatively owning land, collectively owning land and managing land in that way" (Personal communication 2014). Robinson continues to turn to these influences in conducting the work of the organization. In 2011, Urban Tilth staff visited Boston and the Dudley Street Initiative, a successful example of using a community land trust to provide affordable housing and gardening opportunities under a governance structure of community management. For Robinson, community land trusts can be an important means for residents to have actual control of neighborhood resources and to maintain the possibility for these community members to stay in their homes. "If we do all this work around food and whatever and then the population that we are trying to serve gets pushed somewhere else, what's the point?" (Personal communication 2014). Urban Permaculture Guild leader, Kevin Bayuk, agreed that land trusts provide an inspirational possibility in the present:

"So we move from private or public ownership to this idea of commons ownership. And commons mediated by, most land trusts are non-profits with the board of constituents who are resident in place. And so it's neither private individual ownership and it's neither public state ownership or agency ownership,

it's actually the people who live here owning it together. And that as a concept whatever the formal structures are, would provide for theoretically the most resilience, says Elinor Ostrom, and other famous economists... let's look for the commons ownership paradigms where the tenure and resiliency is actually mediated by the collective decision making of the people directly involved in place. Rather than by some agency dominated by economic interest or by private individual who is motivated by whatever they might be motivated by. And that is, and there are pathways to do that" (Personal communication 2014). Bayuk contended, however, that in the Bay Area this is no easy task given the price of land and the small budgets of communities or land trust non-profits to acquire it. As was discussed in the introduction, the Bay Area has the nation's highest and most quickly increasing property values.

While land trusts inspire many Bay Area urban agriculturalists, there are still relatively few land trusts working with urban gardens, in part due to the high costs of regional real estate. While trusts have shown interest in supporting urban gardeners, they are also interested in maximizing their impact with limited funds. The exception are small housing trusts and community development corporations, which have placed gardens on their land such as the 55th Street Garden in Oakland formerly run as a market garden by the People's Grocery and now functioning as a community plot garden owned by the North Oakland Land Trust, a member owned intentional community owned by the Northern California Land Trust called the Mariposa Grove in Oakland, and the Tenderloin People's Garden run by the Tenderloin Neighborhood Development Corporation. The Oakland Community Land Trust (OakCLT) is currently developing a plan to better support urban agriculture, "Our primary role will be to acquire and provide secure access to land for residents and organizations looking to grow their own produce. Recognizing that fresh food options can be

scarce (and often prohibitively expensive) in East and West Oakland, active urban agriculture and community gardens can serve as a healthy and locally accessible source of vegetables and fruits for neighborhood residents. OakCLT will support the gardening efforts of land trust homeowners, as well as residents and organizations already engaged in agricultural activities”(Oakland Community Land Trust 2014).



Figure 5.2: Commons Event at PLACE, a garden/community space in Oakland, October 2013

McClintock suggests that urban gardens can resist capitalism by using the state and the state’s property. Gardeners can facilitate not only the reclamation of land as commons, but also the promotion of new commons

such as genetic material in seeds and cultural culinary traditions (2010). Cultivating the Commons, an action research and education project included the use of land inventory and emphasized *public* land explicitly. Through advocacy with the HOPE Collaborative and Oakland Food Policy Council, the Cultivating the Commons authors put the responsibility of providing land for production on the City of Oakland. As one gardener stated, “I think the use of public land is meaningful in a kind of normative way. It’s important to have this idea of creating these sort of common spaces” (Personal communication 2014). The Edible Parks Taskforce is an example of attempt to reclaim public commons for community self-determination. This

approach has particular traction in contemporary society and also has its constraints and detractors.

In addition to gardeners discussing collective management and collective ownership, many gardeners speak to the material, perceived, and lived experiences of engaging non-capitalist value production. Projects create opportunities to reconceive ‘work’ as being outside a wage labor relationship, elevating the importance of social reproduction and promoting non-consumer based, collective experiences that sustain gardeners in various ways. In describing the goal to create housing and gardens on collective land, Tree explained, “And I think everybody should kind of like reclaim that space, that frame and that thought of sustaining ourselves, sustaining each other to building community.” (Personal communication 2013). Another gardener described the difference between public parks as commons and their project, “Just that notion of saying like, this isn’t a store, it isn’t a business, it’s not a house, it’s not a park. I mean it’s interesting because the only form of commons that we have in the city are parks right? But the way you can relate with a park is in very limited ways. Like the park is maintained by the city for you to like walk through and enjoy, but after it closes you have to leave. And there’s no way for you to really interact with it or gain sustenance from it or have a deeper relationship with it.” (Personal communication 2013) Bloom Justice and Urban Commons SF founder, Margaretha Haughwout, described how commons are at the core of generosity as opposed to profit:

The root word, commons, means share with. This has the same root as community. To me, it sort of hits home, this idea of shared space, shared

resources that are renewable, that are used in such a way that they're constantly regenerating themselves rather than being depleted. It speaks to a certain kind of agricultural practice as well, a practice where you're creating more rather than less. That's like the way that you prune a plant creates more nodes, more blossoms to the way that you tap the way stream for nutrient or the way that you engage the community to create wealth rather than scarcity. In the past, the Commons was conceived as the land that was outside of ownership models, but it was also outside of the estate. Whereas now, I feel like as we try to turn around this profit-based culture, the apex of which is the urban landscape, we have to start within that urban landscape to sort of re-see a concept of a regenerative, renewable way of living. Starting in the city, with this idea of the Commons, seems to me like, and I know it's incredibly idealistic, but a way of sort of turning around this approach to the world as being just one of taking rather than giving back. (Personal communication 2013).

Krystof, an Occupy the Farm activist, described land control as a way to redefine wealth:

We need to stop thinking that capitalism gives you this model - that the only way to be wealthy is to have money and in order to have money you need a job, you need somebody else paying you. Land itself is extremely valuable. And it's not free. If we can take it over, that's a gain. The idea in the capitalist model is you take land and then you put it into production, it produces something of value, so that's of value and you get money and then all of that goes into GDP and then the big capitalist countries have a huge GDP, but in a country with no GDP everybody could be fat and well fed because they are just growing their own food. So, you can do things outside of the economic model and I think there is a value to that that needs to be appreciated and recognized by people on our side. (Krystof, personal communication 2014)

For many projects the development of sharing networks is just as important as the gardening itself. La Mesa Verde, for example, instituted a system of "community guilds", a concept borrowed from permaculture, which refers to a horticultural association of biotic and abiotic elements designed to work together to help ensure mutual survival and growth. For LMV organizers, a guild can provide the space and structure for increased community support and sharing, a fundamental element of commoning. While coordinated sharing events are still in the future goals of the

program, participants already use these networks for informal sharing. Program staffer, Patty Guzman, noted, “One family started seeds and brought seedlings to share with all the families. Others have brought cherry seedlings, nopales. Definitely with the fruit harvests we see a lot of sharing – avocado, chayote, peaches.” (Personal communication 2013). Guzman also noted that some guild leaders have gone above and beyond the expectations she originally had. She described one leader of a Spanish-speaking guild on the East Side of San Jose: “She really pitched in for her members. She already knows them outside the class and so she works to help them even if they don’t come to meetings. Like if a participant’s husband doesn’t want her to go to class, (this leader) would get her the information or plants outside of class time” (Personal communication 2013).

Many LMV gardeners are initially attracted to the program by the desire to increase self-provisioning of health food at home, but similar to the WinklerPrins and Souza (2005) study of Brazilian home gardens, LMV families demonstrate the links between household self-provisioning and informal economies of exchange. The labor of unpaid self-provisioning is conducted when gardeners’ time is not occupied with wage labor or other household tasks. Gardening, like other household labor and reproductive labor can be viewed as simply an essential support to capitalist economies (Massey 1994). But as feminist economic geographers JK Gibson-Graham claim, this view excessively limits our ability to understand the non-capitalist elements of these practices (Gibson-Graham 1996; Gibson-Graham 2006). In other words, LMV gardeners are creating economic networks based on sharing, co-

operation and mutual aid. These non-commodified practices promote alternative forms of valuing work and, as such, are alternatives to capitalist class processes.

As I have described, gardeners have multiple claims to their practices and experiences of commoning. Commons, or commoning, is comprised of three animating ideas. First, the commons provides a space or framework in which people are encouraged to reimagine how a community or resource is managed – promoting deeper and wider participation in decision making of those impacted. Second, the commons offers a definition of land access that moves away from private or state ownership. And finally, the commons affirms the production of non-capitalist forms of value. By using both concepts of commons that put pressure on the state to support urban gardens *and* those who see the power of urban agriculture as going beyond the limitations of a liberal state, the questions of how we reimagine urban governance and economic networks are emphasized. By encouraging forms of social relations based on increased participation and mutual aid, by challenging how land is used and distributed based on development priorities, and by refocusing their attention on producing non-capitalist forms of value and non-waged forms of labor, urban gardeners see their projects as part of the global movement for growing urban commons.

Community Land Management: Urban Gardens as Right to the City or Food-Focused Movements

Similar to those concerned with communal management for particular parcels of land, urban gardeners have connected their work to the greater struggle for gaining power in urban governance at large. Many gardeners work to try to gain community land management and in so doing gardeners connect their work to other justice-oriented urban social movements including housing justice, economic justice, and the like. For these gardeners, the central question becomes whether gardening is a movement with food production as an ends or as a means towards a larger scale of community organizing.

Many urban scholars have documented the growing popularity of urban social movements since the late 1990s. Mayer (2007) argues that organizing has continued along three lines. First, urban movements have contested the patterns of neoliberal urban governance and growth politics. Contemporary urban space in the US exists in a constant state of contestation between capital, whose desire is to promote the greatest exchange-value, and urban movements that want to enjoy the use-value of the land (Brenner, Marcuse, and Mayer 2009). Mayer (2007) describes urban movements that contest the corporate control of urban development, accumulation by dispossession, gentrification and displacement. Movements have resisted new entrepreneurial policies, privatization of public goods, and gentrification through different strategies such as placed-based coalitions and symbolic disruptive actions (Mayer 2007). Second, urban movements continue to fight the dismantling of the

welfare state, uniting along lines of social, environmental and economic justice.

Third, the anti-globalization movements across the world manifest in the global north in cities where globalization's impacts can be seen 'touching down' through outsourcing, privatization, and other impacts. Purcell (2008) concurs and adds that these movements are coalescing around a broad spectrum of issues to work to democratize cities and global processes in resistance to neoliberalism. I would argue that in this same vein, today's Occupy Movements express many of the same sentiments of outrage with the impacts of the dismal state of the economy and the highly unequal power dynamics that have led to this situation. In fact, in *Seeking Spatial Justice* Soja (2010) speaks to primacy of the right to the city as a right to occupy and inhabit space.

Some of the movements of dispossessed and alienated people have united under the banner of the 'right to the city', creating demands to the end of displacement and rights to governing the city. The 'right to the city' was popularized by Lefebvre in 1968 and has been recently re-popularized in radical academic and activist communities (Marcuse 2009). Harvey describes the right:

The question of what kind of city we want cannot be divorced from that of what kind of social ties, relationship to nature, lifestyles, technologies and aesthetic values we desire. The right to the city is far more than the individual liberty to access urban resources: it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city. It is, moreover, a common rather than an individual right since this transformation inevitably depends upon the exercise of a collective power to reshape the processes of urbanization. The freedom to make and remake our cities and ourselves is, I want to argue, one of the most precious yet most neglected of our human rights. (Harvey 2008, 23)

Soja (2010) argues that geographies both shape and are shaped by socio-

spatial-temporal processes that profoundly change how we must view justice and the role of space. Soja contends that cities contain the necessary conditions for activists to partake in justice and spatial production. Brenner (2000) concurs:

Urban social movements... do not merely occur within and beyond urban space but strive to transform the socioterritorial organization of capitalism itself on multiple geographic scales. The right to the city"... thereby expands into a broader "right to space" both within and beyond the urban scale. Even as processes of global capitalist restructuring radically reorganize the supraurban scalar hierarchies in which cities are embedded, cities remain strategic arenas for sociopolitical struggles, which, in turn, have major ramifications for the supraurban geographies of capitalism. (366)

For many, gardening has its place in 'the right to city' or movements for greater control of governance of the city. For Esperanza Pallana, of the Oakland Food Policy Council, gardeners contribute to food movements that ask "who gets to say how the land is used? Why is it way above our heads? Why are we not involved in saying what our city looks like? How the land is used, therefore, defining what the city looks like, the built environment. That built environment is directly impacting our ability to feed ourselves, our ability to get around, move around within the city without a car, our ability to access school education." (Personal communication 2014).

Haleh Zandi, of Planting Justice in Oakland, advocated that gardening could connect land and housing justice. She is inspired by the idea of "being able to partner with folks whose homes are getting foreclosed on, not only saving those homes from being foreclosed upon, but protecting those people's rights and figuring out different financial solutions for them, but also building gardens in their homes, so that way, it's like the banks aren't taking people's land and people's homes and we're committed to

sustainable home environments where we're not always eating food from 1,500 miles around the world. So, it's connecting to the international movement for food sovereignty and land sovereignty, but really relevant to what's happening systematically within the U.S.” (Personal communication 2014). Similarly, in San Francisco, Markos Major of the former Growing Home Garden, saw their primary role, as volunteers in a garden focused on homeless, as “more about social justice... holding the space. We hold the space and people come in like these individuals and gentlemen and other people come and hang out and have a safe space.” (Personal communication 2014). In reflecting on Growing Home’s social justice mission and prospects for continuing their work as they were being evicted, Major considered if only focusing on gardening alliance was strategic, “you know we’re not all the same, that’s the other thing we’ve realized I think. We’ve taken the relationship with Urban Ag alliance as far as we can. It [social justice] is really important and it’s unfortunate that it’s not a priority” (Personal communication 2014).

For Jeffrey Betcher of Quesada Gardens, gardening should be part of a movement for community organizing. He identified himself as a community builder, not an urban agriculturalist, although he has gardened and helped many others start gardens for over a decade. Betcher worries the current San Francisco urban agriculture movement shares similar obstacles to the Environmental Movement, namely its whiteness and focus on particular outcomes. Betcher argued, “... if (the urban agriculture movement) were connected to urban community development and social justice movements, it wouldn’t look that way... People come to me as though

of course I agree that if we plop a garden down, we'll build community. And I have to say gardens don't build community, people build community" (Personal communication 2014). He went on to describe a garden project that he led that was conceived of and funded by people outside of the community, "if people can be involved at the beginning and really have the agency, can go in and say 'ok this a shared resource, what do we want to do, it can be anything'. But now I have to go in and say, 'You should know that if you choose a garden there are gonna be incentives for that', and then the conversation goes in that direction" (Personal communication 2014). The garden was built but a few years later it lay fallow.

He continued, "But if we'd gone around the block and just gotten everybody together and said, "What do you need? What do you want?" who knows?" He wondered if a neighborhood-based decision to build a garden, a community-art project, or some other use would have had a more engaging and lasting presence. Ultimately, Betcher does not want to see more legislation or advocacy purely for gardens, but instead advocacy that promotes neighborhood-based land use decision-making processes. For many gardeners this particular tension brings to the forefront the issues of gentrification.

Gentrification has been a primary issue for organizers now working under the banner of "right to the city". Activists have resisted displacement of low-income people and people of color, and have fought for residents' voices in decision making about the use of land (instead of taking a landlords right to raise rents or evict tenants as natural). The Right to the City national alliance states in their platform that they

fight for “The right to land and housing that is free from market speculation and that serves the interests of community building, sustainable economies, and cultural and political space” (Right to the City » Mission & History n.d.). As Voicu and Been (2008) document in their analysis of the impact of gardens in New York neighborhood property values, community and urban gardens can increase property values and thus contribute to gentrification trends.

For some gardeners, gentrification is a sad and unintended result of their gardening, but for many others it is a problem that requires critical self-reflection as an urban agriculturalist. Speaking to the passage of AB 551, one gardener who was working with a youth education non-profit asked:

“Who's actually going to have the resources to start up projects on these properties? Ultimately, would (urban agriculture) become part of the process of gentrification of the neighborhoods. Not that that isn't happening already on its own because of all these other factors that are hitting the Bay, but I think a lot of folks wanted to be engaged with the City in developing that legislation because there was this concern that, yes, on some level, theoretically and superficially, this aids our movement, but if we actually think of it in the context of the communities that we're trying to work with and serve and/or a part of, then, are we working against ourselves again by passing legislation that brings in more urban ag?” (Personal communication 2014)

To critically engage the food movement with these issues in the East Bay, the Oakland Food Policy Council has launched a series of discussions. The first, entitled *Setting Firm Roots*, asked food movement actors to consider anti-displacement strategies and how these can be integrated into their work.

An Oakland based organization, Phat Beets, has been a vocal proponent contending that urban agriculturalists need to recognize the gentrifying force of their work. For Phat Beets organizer Max Cadji gardens in Oakland contribute to

gentrification: “This garden project is part of gentrification... we just have to be cognizant that gardens are used for lots of different things, and often times if it’s not people in the neighborhood asking for the garden, then it’s just gentrification...”

(Personal communication 2014).

Urban agriculturalists also can do other important work including organizing against that gentrification:

“What we’re gonna do is build the political will to say, ‘We don’t want a Whole Foods in our community that no one can afford in West Oakland or East Oakland, what we want is a worker-owned grocery store, or what we want is more regulation on liquor stores.’ So the food that people get from the garden and the meals that they eat together, that is the glue that creates the situation in order to organize.” (Max Cadjii, Personal communication 2014).

In spring 2013 a local branch of the Better Homes and Gardens Real Estate Company released a video rebranding and promoting the purchase of homes in the up and coming North Oakland, Berkeley, Emeryville (NOBE) neighborhood, which featured the Phat Beets community garden at Dover Street Park as an attractive community asset. Phat Beets responded with a remake of the video describing their displeasure with being used as a tool to sell the neighborhood, the role of gang injunctions in neighborhood disempowerment, the rise of foreclosure on properties long held in black families, and the rapid influx of new buyers from San Francisco (NOBE?? A Great Example of the Forces of Gentrification... | Phat Beets Produce 2013). After the release of the video, Phat Beets also put more emphasis on organizing community forums on gentrification and organizing community events, such as peace marches, aimed at engaging current residents in voicing their needs. The organization has worked with neighbors to resist eviction. Similarly, Planting Justice in Oakland has

worked with a local service worker labor union, Unite Here Local 2850, to bring gardens to workers at the same time as demanding higher wages to be able to afford the bay area cost of living. The collaboration was intended to “connect food justice, community resilience, and workers rights” struggles of low-income community members in Richmond (Movement Generation | [VIDEO/AUDIO] Planting Justice, Unite HERE Local 2850, and MG Bring Direct Action Resilience to the Fight For Workers Rights n.d.).

In May 2014, The New Yorker ran an article on gentrification and urban gardening featuring the story of Phat Beets and NOBE. The article quotes Gopal Dayaneni of Movement Generation, “One of the signs of a so-called ‘quality’ neighborhood is open space and green space,” which means higher property values (Markham 2014). Jeff DeMartini, a commercial property owner in West Berkeley claimed that within weeks of Urban Adamah’s decision that they would be buying the adjacent property and starting their farm anew in this space renters’ interest in his property quickly picked up. Accordingly, Emerald Fund, the pervious owners of the parcel sold to City Slicker Farms for their new farm and park project, asked the organization to make small changes to their plan in order to optimize potential for attracting buyers for the condos they planned to develop on the unsold portion of the land. The organization responded ‘The farm is for the whole community—not just for your condos’ (Markham 2014).

The New Yorker publication sparked several organizations and projects to engage in further conversation on gentrification. About a year before SFUAA’s

member Antonio Ramon-Alcala spearheaded the alliance's release of a position statement on gentrification (Roman-Alcalá 2013a). The statement both recognized that urban agriculture and gentrification are tied up in urban processes of change, and rejected gardening as a cause though maybe a "Trojan horse" of displacement. The alliance advocates asking critical questions of themselves and believes they "can and should link up our struggles with those of others. Ultimately, many of these struggles are about local community control over public resources, and that is a much larger battle."(Position on Gentrification n.d.). An article published in the Atlantic Magazine, after the passage of AB 551 policies in San Francisco, critiqued gardening in a housing-stressed city and again stirred conversation amongst gardeners and Bay Area residents (Friedersdorf 2014). San Francisco Housing Development Corporation and others expressed dismay that urban gardens are being promoted in a city with such a shortage of affordable housing and gentrification pressures. Yet, SPUR, formerly the San Francisco Planning and Urban Renewal Association and a strong proponent of development, does not agree with the dichotomy, arguing the legislation promotes growing on land that is not likely to be sold for development in the near future (Zigas 2014b). As an urban planning organization SPUR has promoted housing construction, commercial construction, and many other land uses in tandem since its inception in 1910. SPUR gained ground as an influential San Francisco institution after WWII when the organization, led by business-class leaders, pushed for the city's revitalization through targeted neighborhood demolition of primarily African American communities (Brahinsky 2012). Today SPUR remains an influential

organization in San Francisco, just opened a branch in San Jose, and plans to open an office in Oakland, making their position on affordable housing and gardening one of importance in the region.

For Doria Robinson the issue was clear: “Improve the areas with the people who are there. That’s the key. People who are wanting to gentrify are saying, “You don’t want to develop, you want it to be run down for ever so you can be the queen” We’re like that’s not what is up, we want our hoods to be better, we want them to be beautiful and thriving, and whatever, but we want to be there! To experience this, we want to be a part of this renaissance, not watch it.” (Personal communication 2014). For this reason, Urban Tilth has worked with other organizations engaged in discussions with project managers of the newly proposed University of California Richmond Bay laboratory, research, and teaching campus to insist on community benefit packages and a say in the development process. In San Francisco’s Bayview/Hunters Point, Betchel again warned, “I worry that one day people are gonna look at these newly fenced in locked, spaces with people they don’t recognize who come across town because they don’t have any land there, inside, bickering about weeds in their raised beds and say, ‘That’s no better than the Google bus that’s around, that’s just disempowering’” (Personal communication 2014). But Betchel, Robinson, and others remain hopeful that urban agriculture as a movement will not turn a blind eye to this tension. As Cadjii explains, it’s just a question the movement needs to be uncomfortable with and yet sit with.

Gardeners assert their projects can be part of a broader landscape of movements attempting to reassert community power in societal decision-making around land use and social wellbeing. Organizations like Phat Beets work with neighbors to resist evictions and fight the Oakland gang injunction. Yet they also recognize that urban garden projects can increase property values and become an attractive attribute for real estate interests, thus contributing to gentrification. As gardeners work with other community-based movements they contribute to the coalitional aspirations of those working, conceptually and on the ground, with “the right to the city”.

Resiliency and Urban Gardening Longevity

Resiliency is a debated term both in ecology and in the work of gardeners. Much academic work has explored the meaning of resiliency in ecological, agroecological and socio-natural systems, exploring concepts of system integrity, capacity to recover from disturbance or shocks, and stability of systemic basic functions. Originating from work of ecologists who were dissatisfied with climax models of ecosystem function, resiliency thinking gained popularity in the 1970s and later for ecological economists analyzing socio-ecological systems (Cote and Nightingale 2012). I will refer to agroecologists, Miguel Altieri and C.I. Nicholls’s use of the term. World peasant farmers still inhabiting agroecological systems offer hope for resilience and varied solutions during change and uncertainties arising from times of disturbance

such as peak oil and climate change (Altieri 2012). Gardeners contextualize the need for resiliency in both the increasing impacts of climate change and the uncertainty of urban social change. In San Francisco, Berkeley, and Oakland activists concern about resiliency is mirrored in city priorities. The three cities were selected to be part of the first group in the Rockefeller Foundation's *100 Resilient Cities* initiative, in which the cities have appointed “Chief Resilience Officers to set priorities and an agenda for a more resilient future” (Three Resilient Cities 2014). Two dominant narratives of resilience expressed by urban gardeners can be traced in the first case to movement and organizing strategies, and in the second case to permaculture.

Movement Generation, a Bay area environmental and social justice organization that works with many garden projects, including Urban Tilth and PODER, uses resilience-based organizing as a core principle of their work. In a PowerPoint presentation, Movement Generation explained their resilience-based organizing approach. To address the economic, racial, and ecological injustices caused by a capitalist economic system, Movement Generation’s approach advocates for organizing that engages resistance to power structures that continue to oppress, resiliency strategies to survive ecological and social change, restoration of ecosystems and communities that sustain us, and re-imagination of narratives of how we can live (See Figure 5.4 below (Movement Generation 2013)). Drawing inspiration from the Black Panthers and MST, they argue that neither conventional campaigns nor isolated projects for community improvement are enough. Instead they value pairing resistance and resilience.

Figure 5.3: Movement Generation: Nine Key Elements to Resilience-Based Organizing

1. **Meets real needs through people applying their own labor** towards a collectively held interest. Through solutions-based, visionary shared work, we expose inequity and systemic bias towards corporate concentration and control.
2. **Models of long-term community based, democratic control and governance.** We must assert our right to control the decisions that affect our daily lives.
3. **Neighborhood-based models of organizing** including deep, relevant and successful approaches to leadership development and community-centered education based on **learning by doing**.
4. **Creative/successful uses of Policy and Legislative hooks** that lead to community access to the resources that are necessary to provide their needs.
5. **New or Radical uses of physical and public spaces**, including the establishment of new public spaces based on *commons* rather than private or state control.
6. **Confronting legal, political or institutional barriers** and limits to self-governance that expose illegitimate law.
7. Solutions taken to a **scale that build power**, appropriate to place.
8. Work that restores and/or strengthens **cultural and biological diversity**.
9. Work that **moves people into identifying with and/or being an active part of the broader movement** for a Just Transition out of an ecologically destructive and spiritually toxic economy into diverse, democratic, life-affirming and earth-centered resilient economies

The second narrative derives from resiliency in the context of permaculture, also takes a holistic approach to socio-ecological change. For permaculturalists resiliency refers to “the ability of a system to hold together and maintain its ability to function in the face of change and shocks from the outside” (Ferguson and Whitman 2012). Resiliency lies at the heart of permaculture goals but the tactics to achieve it

are often debated as evidenced in the case of the Hayes Valley Farm and interim use. For some resiliency is the ability to build projects and energy in short period of time in response to changes in political or ecological forces. One permaculturalist explained this position as, “Currently we are exploring multiple strategies for gaining access to marginalized space for the establishment of urban agriculture elements - interim-use agreements for public land, the Streets Parks Program, agreements with private land owners. Fundamentally, we are characterizing our organization as lightweight and nimble.” (Paul 2011). Many of these strategies contribute to urban land use and decision-making that maintain the authority of owners and their power to use land for financial gain through development.

For others, resiliency meant resisting structural forces that did not permit long-term relationships to be developed with the land, which is essential for building social and ecological systems of resiliency. But the majority of permaculturalists take a middle path. While recognizing the potential ecological consequences of not having tenure security they believe there are benefits to be gained. Doria Robinson, of Urban Tilth, is a partner with Movement Generation and a permaculturalist. While she ultimately believes that urban agriculturalists and their broader communities would be better served by secure tenure, Robinson also describes the benefits of gardening on insecure land, “I think we need to be vulnerable... If you are in a reciprocal relationship with the land, you put yourself in a vulnerable spot... And to give back to the land, even if we don’t know ultimately if it’s going to be worth it” (Personal communication 2014). Beyond improving lives and environments in the short-term,

tenure insecurity requires people to realize their vulnerability and embrace generosity towards the socio-natural landscape.

Conclusion

The debate between permaculturalists over resiliency's meaning draws out an important consideration for the trajectory of gardener movements. There is competition over resiliency's discursive path, one direction points the movement towards accepting land access controlled by development, and the other direction towards resistance to authority of property and development. When resiliency is promoted as a discourse compatible with capital led urbanization it becomes a discursive strategy that competes with commoning or community land management. Yet many gardeners seem unwilling to articulate critique against resiliency characterized by adopting a broad and flexible approach to land tenure.

This is a problem I observe more generally. Gardeners, from both anti-authoritarian and less radical political standpoints, would advocate for particular landing strategies to change property practices and ideologies, then claim that all approaches help the urban gardening movement gain attention or popularity and thus are needed. Allen (2004) describes food movement actors choosing to frame and limit discourse to ensure controversial topics are not broached, thus increasing acceptance and appeal. Similarly in describing the means towards a more permanent presence of urban agriculture in the region, many of the gardeners with whom I spoke articulated a commitment to diversity of tactics and arguments that downplayed the importance

of choosing one strategy or side over another. Sentiments like, “I would say the reality is that's one of the beauties of the urban agriculture movement is that there are so many ways of accessing the gardens” and “as a permaculture designer I embrace diversity of approaches... as long as our ethics are people care, fair, sharing. Then as a permaculture designer I can enthusiastically advocate for all of those approaches” (Personal communication 2014). While these projects may gain gardening popular support if they are based on temporary tenure and the easy removal of gardens, this only contributes to gardens as interim land use.

To claim none of these strategies are right or wrong, as one gardener explicitly did, urban gardeners fall into Harvey’s description of a trap of utopias of process that ignore the spatial consequences of projects (Harvey 2000). Landing conceptually contributes to understanding these consequences. While in practical terms they choose the particular strategies of land tenure for their individual projects, when describing the future of the movement gardeners want to keep strategies ‘open’, using the logic of a ‘both/and’ dialectic. Moments of closure, however, are how social movement strategies become enacted space. They create and foreclose on future possibilities. They create property relations that enable or resist more ideal property relations. If gardeners want to see individual projects build to a broader movement for urban agriculture’s permanence then the utopian visioning and action must have both process and spatial enactment at its core, as Harvey advocates. Without recognition that these landing strategies represent choices, closures, the making of spatiotemporal utopian experiments, gardeners remained trapped in non-strategic positions.

Chapter 6: Roots into Urban Power Structures: Governance and Gardening within the City

A primary function of social movements can be to reform and rearticulate state institutions in favor of movement actors (Allen 2004). Food movement activists in the Bay Area have engaged in collaborative food policy councils and other alliances to lobby and advocate for municipal policy change. They have used the resources and specialties of local university urban planning programs to change local regulations regarding gardening. As discussed in Chapter Two, urban agriculture is gaining the attention of planners and city governments across the nation, in no small part due to food movement activism. In the last six years several national publications have documented best practices from various municipalities, making recommendations to planners regarding food system and urban agriculture zoning use definitions, specific areas of policy change, and mechanisms for empowering gardeners and food movements (Raja, Born, and Russell 2008; Hodgson, Campbell, and Bailkey 2010; Mukherji and Morales 2010; Wooten and Ackerman 2011). In the Bay Area, city governments and planners in San Francisco, Oakland, and San Jose have collaborated with movement actors to enact recent changes to city code, general plans, and municipal programming, extending the reach of urban agriculture in all three cities. Urban agriculture is of interest to a variety of city agencies not only for its potential impact on sustainability and resiliency, food security, mental health, and community beautification and safety, but also for its impacts on economic development

(community-based and not), city branding, and urban entrepreneurialism. How these collaborations have unfolded over the last five years speaks to both the trajectory of urban governance that food movement actors are supporting and to the emergence of dominant social movement strategies that shape land and property through city policy.

The context in which these three Bay Area municipalities operate has developed over three decades of urbanization heavily influenced by the processes of neoliberalism. While environmental values and protection have had a strong hold in Bay Area politics for the last century (Walker 2009), the growing entrepreneurial practices of American cities have created new challenges and opportunities for gardeners. Increasingly since the 1970s, US urban parks have been funded and managed through public-private ventures, such as the financial aid and volunteer labor support San Francisco Parks' received from the San Francisco Parks Alliance, formerly the San Francisco Parks Trust and Neighborhood Parks Council (Taylor 2009). For urban agriculturalists in Oakland and San Jose, community gardens have increasingly become the territory for public-private partnership experiments. These partnerships are emblematic of an entrepreneurial urban form that decreases government spending while seeking to attract, directly or indirectly, investment and growth (Hackworth 2006). In San Francisco, alliances between advocates and policy makers have promoted San Francisco as a city on the forefront of urban food production. At the same time the city is in crisis over housing availability, affordability, and rapid social dislocation of low-income residents; economic

investment and growth are skyrocketing. Tensions over strategies advocating for entrepreneurial urban policies, such as AB 551 or the Recreation and Parks Department's recent Pay to Play, both of which were discussed in my introduction, have elicited fiery debate amongst movement actors and city residents in the summer and fall of 2014.

The movement actors that have been most engaged in the policy processes described in this chapter are those that do not reject but instead embrace state power as an essential tool in creating change and in holding municipalities accountable for providing public goods. Through persistent advocacy, gardeners have won concrete concessions in all three municipalities. Still, the results of these engagements have led me to question how urban agriculturalists have accepted a limited politics of the possible dominated by perceptions of neoliberal urbanism. This chapter explores how municipalities and activists have changed the legal and political landscape for gardeners over the last five years.

The Urbanization of Neoliberalism

Since the 1970s, urban spaces in industrial nations have undergone radical transformation through processes of neoliberalization. In the United States, the phase of "roll-back neoliberalism" beginning in the 1970s saw a loose coalition of actors engaged in the neoliberal project of dismantling social programs and defunding the welfare state (Peck and Tickell 2002). More recently, "the processes of roll-out neoliberalization" created new modes of governance that both empower the market as

authority and assert the power of the state in differing ways.

While neoliberalization processes have been heterogeneous in their development, embedded in specific historical and regulatory contexts, and produced geographically uneven results, critical scholars have noted the strategic role that cities have played in neoliberalization (Brenner and Theodore 2002; Smith 2002). In what the authors termed “the urbanization of neoliberalism”, cities have become both the targets and the experimental terrains of neoliberal policies such as place-marketing, enterprise zones, urban development corporations, market-oriented restructuring projects, public-private partnerships, entrepreneurial project promotion, and new strategies for social control (Smith 2002, 21). Creative destruction and the urban built environment are highlighted as key components to neoliberal processes. Surplus value is no longer primarily generated through industrial production as described by Marx in *Capital*, but by spatial production instead (Lefebvre 1974). Financial and government institutions promote the rational use of space through land markets (Harvey 1978). When landowners constantly strive to put land to its “best and highest use” in order to obtain the highest rents, they impact how land will be used and determine future capital and labor investment. Because this work is speculative, their decisions can force allocations that might not otherwise occur (Harvey 1982).

In this sense, the circulation of capital in rent coordinates the organization of land use that produces surplus value and accumulation. Individual investment decisions, in addition to furthering the process of surplus value extraction, can lead to urban disorganization. In the long run, “strategies to commodify urban space often fail

dismally, producing devalorized, crisis riven urban and regional landscapes in which labor and capital cannot be combined productively to satisfy social needs” (Brenner, Marcuse, and Mayer 2009). It is in these spaces, in vacant lots, reclaimed brownfields, and liminal spaces along roadsides and abandoned buildings that urban agriculture has frequently thrived. But in the Bay Area, gardening is thriving in both devalorized landscapes, such as the flatland of West Oakland, and the competitive land markets of places like downtown San Francisco. Gardening has become a key tool in entrepreneurial and cost-saving policies that encourage urban development throughout the uneven economic geographies of the region in both devalorized landscapes and highly competitive land markets.

Three Municipal Stories

San Francisco, Oakland, and San Jose each have actively grown possibilities for urban agriculture in their municipal policy and programming over the last five years. Each city, situated in its own economic and social history, has taken its own path. While there is much commonality between their stories, I observe significant differences, much of which is due to each city’s relationship to a primary driver of economic and social change – the Silicon Valley tech industry. In the sections that follow, I describe and analyze the municipal changes in zoning codes, community garden and parks programming, general plans, and municipal funding for gardening initiatives, as they are situated in the demographic and political economic realities of each municipality.

Cultivating a City of Garden Enthusiasm: San Francisco

Over the last five years San Francisco policy makers have significantly changed the landscape of possibility for organized garden projects. With its current position as the city with the highest and fastest growing property values in the nation (Sankin 2012), San Francisco has been labeled by gardeners and local politicians as a leader in creating a city friendly to both urban farming and development. San Francisco has become the home to the new tech boom where start up investment in rent has spurred increasing commercial development, and the augmented popularity of San Francisco living for tech workers contributes to a contentious housing crisis and rapid gentrification.

While in the 1970s-80s, Florida and Kenney (1988) found the Silicon Valley rich with venture capital and tech innovation, by 2013 Florida was asking ““is San Francisco the new Silicon Valley?”” (see Figure 6.1 (Florida 2013)).

Figure 6.1: Leading Cities for Venture Capital Investment in the Bay Area (Florida 2013)

<i>Rank</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Investment (millions)</i>
1	San Francisco	\$4,390
2	Palo Alto	\$1,291
3	Redwood City	\$1,064
4	Mountain View	\$918
5	Sunnyvale	\$800
6	Santa Clara	\$733

7	San Jose	\$688
8	San Mateo	\$307
9	Fremont	\$299
10	Pleasanton	\$284

The new wave of tech industries is less capital intensive both in cost and physical capital, which has meant more start-ups are able to seek out small commercial spaces in San Francisco and other regional cities with socially dense, creative centers (Cutler 2014). To continue attracting large companies of the new tech wave in a region with competing municipalities with much lower tax rates, San Francisco in 2011 passed a exemption on its 1.5 percent payroll tax to entice companies to move into a set of very specific buildings in Mid-Market. This tax break, nicknamed the “Twitter tax break”, will be phased out by 2018 due to the passage of the 2012 Prop. E. Using the rationale that taxing payroll de-incentivizes job creation, Prop E replaces the payroll tax and over a 5 year-period creates a gross receipts tax, taxing total business revenue depending on industry (Coté and Riley 2012). Still, the region continues to attract venture capital-backed high tech industry at a higher rate than any other location in the world, with more than \$13.5 billion invested in 2011 alone (Florida 2013).

Bridging tech and real estate development, commercial real estate technology startup firms based in the region brought in \$74 million of capital investment between 2012-2014 (Samtani 2014). The Silicon Valley is the national leader in these investments and with New York Represents 36% of real estate technology startups worldwide

(ibid.). San Francisco's popularity for tech development and real estate has contributed to the recent housing crisis and resistance to further development.

In this context of high rents and struggles over availability of urban space, gardeners and the City of San Francisco have developed forms of urban agriculture that are compatible with the prioritization of land for real estate development both in the practical allocation of particular lands and in the cultivating an entrepreneurial, creative image of urban gardening.

Since former Mayor Newsom's Executive Directive on Healthy and Sustainable Food in San Francisco was announced in July 2009, the city has made major changes impacting urban gardeners. These changes have included making a prominent place for urban agriculture in the San Francisco General Plan, developing a municipal Urban Agriculture Program, updating zoning codes, and becoming the first California city to implement AB 551, legislation which allows landowners to pay lower property taxes by agreeing to use land for urban farming for at least five years. All of these initiatives have been championed by various actors in the urban gardening communities of the city, in particular the San Francisco Urban Agriculture Alliance (SFUAA).

After Newsom's directive, which committed the city to providing land for increased production of healthy food, various advocates of urban agriculture joined together to form the SFUAA in late 2009 (The San Francisco Urban Agriculture Alliance Yahoo Group 2009). The executive directive created the San Francisco Food Policy Council (SFFPC), which was tasked with ensuring the goals of the directive

were implemented into law. The SFFPC, formed in September 2010 and led by Project Manager Paula Jones, played a significant role in the development of the SFUAA. Suzi Palladino, SFFPC member, former staff member at the Garden for the Environment, and founding member of the SFUAA, described the genesis of the alliance, “San Francisco’s urban agriculture community has long existed as an energetic, but uncoordinated, network of grass-roots organizations... Catalyzed by Mayor Gavin Newsom’s Executive Directive on Healthy and Sustainable Food (July, 2009) and the work of the San Francisco Food Policy Council, the urban agriculture sector has come together to form the SFUAA, whose members include practitioners and stakeholders working in the sector” (Jones 2010, 53). At the request of the

SFFPC,
SFUAA formed a
Policy Working
Group to review
the goals of the
directive and
provide
recommendations
for on goal

Figure 6.2: SFUAA Recommendations Included in the 2010 SFFPC Summary Report (Jones 2010)	
	1. Increase Use of Public Land for UA - Increase land access, materials access, education, and distribution and processing (with an emphasis on land and materials access)
	2. Make the results of the land audit public
	3. Prioritize community gardens and materials resource centers on City-owned property
	4. Establish and fund a new entity or program to facilitate the development of urban agriculture on public land – “Given San Francisco’s budget constraints and the absence of a centralized agency focused on urban farming issues, the Working Group recommends that the City retain ownership of publicly-owned land, but transfer site control and liability of public land used for urban agriculture to a new non-profit organization or a new program within an existing non-profit dedicated to urban agriculture.”

implementation including increasing the use of public lands for gardens, making resources like compost available to gardeners through distribution centers, and establishing a city entity to coordinate public support of gardening (see Figure 6.2).

In December 2010 with the continued advocacy from the SFUAA Policy Working Group and the efforts of members like Eli Zigas, Caitlin Galloway and Brooke Budner of Little City Gardens, Newsom and the San Francisco Planning Department announced a proposed change to planning code. Proponents of the code change said this change would allow for the growth of urban gardening throughout more of the city. The zoning proposal eliminated the need to apply for a Conditional Use Permit to be able to sell produce from urban gardens (an expensive and time consuming process). In addition it permitted the operation of small scale urban farm, market gardens, or community and home gardens for personal consumption, donation or commercial purposes, allowed in all zoning districts and regulating the sale of urban garden produce (Chandler 2010; Selna 2010). The new zoning language distinguished between three types of urban agriculture: community agriculture, any garden or urban farm on less than one acre used primarily for the production of food or crops for sale, and large scale urban agriculture for parcels over one acre in size (URBAN AGRICULTURE., SEC. 102.35. 2014).

On April 20, 2011 the Urban Agriculture Ordinance 66-11 was signed into law after the Board of Supervisors unanimously voted in favor of it. Surrounded by freshly harvested produce, Mayor Edwin Lee signed the ordinance at Little City Garden's urban farm and celebrated a victory for gardeners and the city with the SFUAA (Restrictions On Local Food Growers Lifted, SF Now "on the Cutting Edge of the Urban Agriculture Movement" | SF Appeal: San Francisco's Online Newspaper 2011). The ordinance quickly gained national attention as one of the most

comprehensive pieces of recent legislation on urban agriculture (Terrazas 2011). Supervisor David Chui who co-sponsored the law stated, “This bill puts San Francisco on the map as a national leader in urban agriculture, and is a tangible example of how government can create more sustainable communities.”(Mayor Lee Signs Urban Agriculture Legislation for Greater Local Food Production In SF 2011). Community activists in both Oakland and San Jose drew inspiration or at least political momentum from this decision.

During the process of the zoning code changes, the Recreation and Open Space Element (ROSE) of the General Plan was also being edited to include strong support for urban gardens (Jones 2010). The General Plan had last been updated in 1986, when SLUG had successfully advocated for increased support of community gardens in the plan (Recreation and Open Space Element 1986). In Policy 2.12, the 1986 General Plan advocated for the expansion of community gardening opportunities throughout the city, with the goal of developing one hundred community gardens by 1996 through partnerships with SLUG and other organizations. When ROSE was adopted in April of 2014, it included several objectives highlighting the importance of urban agriculture. Policy 1.8 most directly supported urban agriculture with the following objective, “to support urban agriculture and local food security through development of policies and programs that encourage food production throughout San Francisco” (Recreation and Open Space: An Element of the San Francisco General Plan 2014). Furthermore, the policy described how urban agriculture should be expanded on both public and private land

with the support of the city. As elaborated in the policy, this would include providing public land including but not limited to public housing land, providing support to organizations engaged in urban agriculture, incentivizing the creation of gardens on private land, and permitting distribution mechanisms for produce on public land.

Policies 1.1, 3.1, and 5.3 encourage the use of open space from medians to larger parks to develop community gardens. Policy 5.3 explicitly directs City departments to look for opportunities to expand green space on both public and private property, encouraging the development of temporary use agreements with property owners who may be interested in building in the near future. The plan cites the Street Parks Program as an innovative approach to increasing resident management and engagement in public space. The Program is a partnership between the Department of Public Works (DPW) and the San Francisco Parks Alliance to encourage neighborhood groups to create community-managed gardens for three or more years on public right of ways owned by DPW (Street Parks Program n.d.). Most gardens in the program thus far have been ornamental, but whether ornamental or vegetable gardens, Realtor Ron Wong noted street parks increase the curb appeal of neighborhoods and can boost property values (Franko 2007). In San Francisco, the appeal of these programs is apparent for a municipality that is trying to cut maintenance costs and gain additional value from property taxes when properties change ownership. Overall community gardening and urban agriculture maintain a significant presence in the new ROSE seen in the policy objectives above, the inclusion of community gardens as one of the defining types of ‘recreation and open

space' use, and the use of a Tenderloin People's Garden photograph in the plan. SFUAA's work was essential in making these changes to the ROSE possible.

Another consequence of the 2010 recommendations of the SFUAA was that in July 2012 San Francisco Supervisors approved legislation, which added to the Administrative Code. This addendum called for the establishment of an Urban Agriculture Program to coordinate public efforts to encourage and develop urban gardens (Upton 2012). The legislation also updated city goals for urban agriculture to facilitate incentive programs and resource distribution to urban gardens (see Figure 6.3 below). In April 2013, the City Administrator's Office initiated a task force to gather information from the Recreation and Park Department, SFUAA, and SPUR's Food Policy Committee (which was responsible for the Public Harvest 2012 Urban Agriculture Report). The resultant report recommended establishing the Urban Agriculture Program housed within the Recreation and Park Department (Miller 2013). After Supervisor Chui and the Recreation and Park Department co-hosted an open house in May 2013 to present and gather feedback on the City Administrator's recommendation, the Board of Supervisors passed legislation and funded the creation of the Urban Agriculture Program in July 2013. On January 1, 2014, Hannah Shulman, a former CASFS apprentice and coordinator of the SFUAA, was hired as the full-time program coordinator with a one-year contract, with the expectation of future funding (Personal Communication). SFUAA members celebrated the creation of the Shulman's position and the institutional imprint the position could make in the long term.

Figure 6.3: Urban Agriculture Goals Amendments in Board of Supervisors Agenda July 10, 2012

The City hereby adopts the following goals related to Urban Agriculture:

- (1) To complete and publish, by January 1, 2013, an audit of City-owned buildings with rooftops potentially suitable for both commercial and non-commercial Urban Agriculture;
- (2) To develop, by January 1, 2013, incentives for property owners to allow temporary Urban Agriculture projects, particularly on vacant and blighted property awaiting development;
- (3) To develop, by January 1, 2013, a streamlined application process for Urban Agriculture projects on public land, with clear evaluation guidelines that are consistent across agencies;
- (4) To create, by July 1, 2013, a "one-stop shop" for Urban Agriculture that would provide information, programming, and technical assistance to all San Francisco residents, businesses, and organizations wishing to engage in Urban Agriculture;
- (5) To develop new Urban Agriculture projects on public land where residents demonstrate desire for the projects, with at least 10 new locations for Urban Agriculture completed by July 1, 2014;
- (6) To provide open garden resource locations ~~centers~~ in neighborhoods across the City, at existing sites where possible either at existing or new sites, that provide residents with resources such as compost, seeds, and tools, with at least 5 completed by January 1, 2014; and,
- (7) To analyze and develop, by January 1, 2013, a strategy to reduce the wait list for San Francisco residents seeking access to a community garden plot to one year. To develop sufficient Urban Agriculture resources such that by January 1, 2014, San Francisco residents seeking a community garden plot have to wait no more than a year for access to a plot.

Since January 2014, Shulman has worked with other City Departments, such as the Department of the Environment's Urban Forestry and Agriculture Coordinator and other agencies, to coordinate an urban agriculture working group whose goal is to figure out the commonalities between urban garden efforts of different offices and to make City policy more cohesive and strategic (Personal communication 2014). Thus far, the land inventory has not been made public, potentially due to differing information contained in different lists agencies have developed. To accomplish the

goals of increasing access to material support for urban gardeners, the Program has opened their first resource center in Golden Gate Community Garden where during each summer month, gardeners can obtain free mulch, compost, and soil (Urban Agriculture Resource Center at Golden Gate Park Community Garden Open 2014). Yet, the commitment to Shulman's position and the program has been an inexpensive one (one FTE and low costs associated with developing resources centers) as compared to the overall municipal budget.

Several other City efforts have increased support and visibility of urban gardening with more significant financial support. This included support for many garden projects through Community Challenge Grants, which in 2010 alone offered nearly \$300,000 to twelve garden projects and one farmers market (Jones 2010). It also included the development of gardens on agency land at the airport, libraries, public housing, and La Honda Hospital (see Figure 6.4) and the expansion of gardening projects within the San Francisco Public Utilities Commissions (PUC). In 2011 the PUC initiated an Urban Agriculture Pilot program to actively engage PUC land in urban gardening (Manzone n.d.). Prior to 2011, the PUC had already offered land for urban agriculture and food movement projects including Garden for the Environment, the Garden Project, and the Sunol Ag Park. The Pilot program intends to extend PUC's engagement and commitment to "harvesting public land to promote environmental, social and economic equity in our communities"(Manzone n.d.). The PUC owns or operates approximately 66,000 acres of land in the Bay Region and watersheds that provide water for Bay municipalities. According to Yolanda

Manzone, “fundamentally with that land ownership comes with both a responsibility to have, you know, maintain good environmental stewardship but, we think, also a great opportunity to grow actively and provide secondary opportunities on our land for community purposes like growing food, whether it’s a community garden footprint or more of an actual farm footprint.” (Personal communication 2014). She goes on to describe that gardens are good uses for PUC land that may have pipes or tunnels underground, where playgrounds or permanent structures aren’t possible, and parcels that are oddly shaped or small enough that they would likely never be developed, which means the PUC is not forfeiting potential profit from rent nor needing to ask gardeners for rent to offset costs. In addition to piloting three new projects in San Francisco over the next five years, the PUC has developed a simple application process for any residents interested in using PUC land (Urban Agriculture and Community Garden Project Information Sheet n.d.). These projects, while receiving more municipal financial support, depict the city’s commitment to using public land for gardening when it is not viable for other development.

Figure: 6.4: 2010 List of Additional City Support for Urban Agriculture in SFFPC Annual Report	
San Francisco City Administrator’s Office	Administers Community Challenge Grant Program
San Francisco International Airport	Provides land for San Bruno Community Garden (4-H club), New Belle Air Elementary school garden, organic garden operated by staff
San Francisco Real Estate Department	Supports gardening projects on public lands – Hayes Valley Farm, Tenderloin People’s Garden, Growing Home Community Garden, and pilot bee hives installation on City owned building

Office of Economic and Workforce Development	Supports gardening projects on public lands
San Francisco's Sheriff's Department	Provides land and support for the Garden Project – www.gardenproject.org
Juvenile Probation	Provides land and support for garden at Log Cabin Ranch
San Francisco Public Library	Installed new gardens at neighborhood branches (Mission and Noe Valley), plan to install additional gardens, operates programming to support sustainable gardening
Mayor's Office of Neighborhood Services	Supports community groups interested in gardening
Mayor's Office of Housing	Provides land for the Please Touch Community Garden
San Francisco Department of Public Health	Supports Growing Home Community Garden, Bret Harte school garden
San Francisco General Hospital	Staff and volunteers operate Community garden
Laguna Honda Hospital	Staff and volunteers operate a garden and therapeutic animal husbandry program
San Francisco Fire Department	Providing land
Academy of Sciences	Installed living roof
Treasure Island	Planning a 20 Acre Farm
San Francisco Unified School District with the San Francisco Green Schoolyard Alliance	Promotes and supports a thriving school garden network in San Francisco's schools - http://sfgreenschools.org/

Since the 2009 directive, The City of San Francisco has increased the opportunities and visibility of urban agriculture to the City's benefit. As San Francisco continues to get local and national press for their support for urban agriculture, the multiple benefits of gardens to the City or personal careers have not

been lost on officials such as Supervisor David Chui (Bland 2014). Gardening advocates at the SFUAA and SPUR are also aware of the potential benefits to building their political capital with supporters in the city.⁸ On October 6th 2014, SFUAA along with CUESA, the Marin Food Bank, and Roots of Change, hosted California's first food-focused political debate between the two candidates for a San Francisco seat in the State Assembly, San Francisco supervisors David Chiu and David Campos, a race that Chiu went on to win (Kauffman 2014).

San Francisco has developed new zoning and city policy, which encourages the development of urban gardens and commercial urban agriculture. City officials have enthusiastically supported gardening as a part of the continued growth of the city's economy, as evidenced by San Francisco being the first California city to enact AB 551. Projects like the Growing Home Garden, Hayes Valley Farm, and AB 551 have encouraged gardens as temporary community improvement projects that can align well with developers or the City's real estate development priorities. Through visible partnerships between city officials and projects such as Little City Farms, San Francisco is able to draw on the appeal of creative sustainable food businesses. Allowing for the sale of garden produce and urban gardening throughout the city promotes the image of San Francisco as an environmentally focused, creative hotbed of entrepreneurial activity. At the same time city officials have committed public

⁸ This political engagement has not been uncontroversial within SFUAA. Members have debated the degree to which SFUAA should be making political endorsements or even using alliance resources (such as the listserve) to discuss partisan politics that may advance particular politician's careers given their efforts support the alliance have not required sacrifice, only positive PR. (M.B. Pudup personal communication May 20, 2014).

space not suitable for residential or commercial development to urban gardening, sometimes with financial support from the city and sometimes by encouraging citizen public space management. The City has developed an active and supportive relationship with the SFUAA, which has played a key role in the relatively smooth and quick implementation of their initial goals.

A Flourishing Third Sector and Slow City Change: Oakland

As a community, Oakland has in many ways been at the forefront of the new wave of urban agriculture projects focused on food justice with projects like People's Grocery, City Slicker Farms, and Acta Non Verba. And yet, unlike San Francisco, the City has had only a tentative relationship to this movement. Urban gardening has thrived throughout East and West Oakland in communities where food insecurity, poverty, and histories of racism deeply affect residents. Oakland has had a majority non-white, predominately African American, population for decades since African American migration began during WWII with Oakland's industrial and maritime expansions. The city has been the home to iconic anti-racist struggles including the Black Panther Party and significant organizing in the Chicano movement. Today's food justice activists place institutional racism at the forefront of their work. Yet Oakland is also experiencing rapid gentrification, losing about a quarter of the African American population between 2000 and 2010 largely in part due to lack of affordable housing (Krasney 2011). Neighborhoods like North Oakland are attracting residents priced out of San Francisco and new tech industry employees. The complex

struggles over gentrification and its relationship to social movement gardeners are discussed in Chapter 4 and relevant here to a municipality both actively trying to attract investment and serve its current population. In contrast to San Francisco, Oakland city officials are suspect that enthusiastic municipal support for urban agriculture will aide with these goals.

In September of 2014, after a five-year advocacy process, the city revised its zoning regulations to better support gardening. In addition, while it had embraced public-private partnerships to allow garden projects to use parkland, little progress had been made on codifying these partnerships into programs or long-term agreements, such as the proposals from the Edible Parks Task Force. The City has taken the position that they are responsible for promoting the well being of all residents and that while gardeners are residents they are only a minority whose interests may be in tension with other community members and interests.

In June 2005, the office of former Oakland Mayor and now Governor, Jerry Brown, initiated a study of the Oakland food system. The study, *A Food Systems Assessment for Oakland, CA: Towards a Sustainable Food Plan*, was conducted by two masters students in the UC Berkeley Department of City and Regional Planning (Unger and Wooten 2006). It provided a baseline analysis in which the authors advocated the passage of a city council resolution authorizing “the Mayor’s Office of Sustainability to develop an Oakland Food Policy and Plan for thirty percent local area food production,” (Unger and Wooten 2006, pg. 4). In December 2006 the City Council allocated funding for the creation of the Oakland Food Policy Council in

support of the primary recommendation of the report to establish a Food Policy Council and Plan (Unger and Wooten 2006, McClintock 2011). In May 2008, after a competitive RFP process through the City Department of Human Services, Food First Institute for Food and Development Policy was contracted by the city to be the incubating agency for the Oakland Food Policy Council (OFPC) (Who We Are | OFPC 2014). In fall 2009 the OFPC met for the first time with twenty-one volunteer members selected through an application process. Nathan McClintock of Cultivating the Commons was one of these founding members. One of the initial and primary areas of advocacy of the council was a municipal code regulating urban agriculture.

In 2009, using the Public Health Law and Policy's work on North American urban agriculture (see Wooten and Ackerman 2011), OFPC members developed a set of recommendations outlining land use definitions for urban agriculture, providing guidance on where it could be practiced and the purpose of agricultural production (home use or sale) (McClintock 2011). Similar to in San Francisco and occurring at about the same time, Oakland advocates wanted to make zoning policy more friendly to urban agriculture. The first objective of the recommendation was to eliminate the need to obtain Conditional Use Permits (CUP) for small scale, neighborhood urban agriculture. Municipal code allowed for "Agricultural and Extractive Activities", which included crop and animal raising and plant nurseries, throughout most of the city with a CUP, but excluded the industrially zoned flatlands where many urban agriculture projects had arisen. In addition to addressing the restricted geographic range of the previous code, OFPC proposed changes to the expensive and time

consuming process needed to obtain a CUP - approximately \$3000 and up to twelve months (Key 2014b). Gardeners and advocates expressed strong opposition to city policy (the CUPs) that required residents to pay to be able to grow and eat their own food. McClintock described these changes, “While we felt that a CUP made sense for large-scale commercial urban farms—the type of urban agriculture that still existed in Oakland in 1932 and 1965 when the use definition was written and last updated—the requirement no longer seemed appropriate for the community gardens and small-scale market gardens that typify urban agriculture in Oakland today... Updating these use definitions and zoning to better reflect contemporary forms of urban agriculture therefore seemed a low hanging fruit on which to focus during our first year. Furthermore, these changes seemed to also be fundamental to protecting and expanding urban agriculture.” (2011, 187).

In their recommendations, OFPC advocated for the permitted use of “urban agriculture – civic” and “urban agriculture – residential” in all zoning districts without permit, and the use of “urban agriculture – commercial” in commercial and industrial zones without permit and “urban agriculture – commercial” with CUP in residential areas (McClintock 2011). Commercial urban agriculture was differentiated as for the primary purpose of food production for sale. In addition to zoning code definitions, the OFPC recommended operating standards including standards for hours of operation, fencing and on-site structures, accessibility, and ecological practices (McClintock 2011, 188). The OFPC first introduced these recommendations to the city in 2009 during a period when the City was updating residential and

commercial zoning regulations. Unfortunately for advocates the agency leading the updating work, the Community and Economic Development Agency (CEDA), had already concluded the majority of their work and were unwilling to include the recommendations at that time. During a public comment period, the Deputy Planning Director stated “that there was not time, staff, or money available to include such changes into the current Zoning Update” (McClintock 2011 quoting C. Waters, OFPC email to CEDA and City Council, September 14, 2010).

The OFPC continued their advocacy throughout the next year lobbying CEDA, Planning, and City Council representatives. With thirty-one other local organizations it released a Statement on Urban Agriculture in April 2011 (Oakland Food Policy Council Statement of Urban Agriculture 2011). In response to a directive from the City Council President, CEDA presented a report describing a process for the adoption of new urban agricultural zoning policy including a minor but immediate interim zoning update in October 2010 (McClintock 2011). In April 2011, the Oakland City Council adopted the interim change, which allowed for urban agriculture in all residential and commercial zoning districts with a CUP (Oakland, California 2014). The project of developing the zoning change plan was given to Planning and Zoning, a move that gave McClintock and other OFPC members hopeful after the Deputy Directory Eric Angstadt, “expressed his commitment to facilitating urban agriculture to the fullest extent possible” (McClintock 2011, 189). Later that year, the City Council Planning approved a change to the code defining “home-based business” to permit the sale of produce grown at home without the use

of farm equipment such as tractors (Kuruvila 2011). While advocates were hopeful that changes to zoning regulation would be seen by the end of 2011, progress seemed to slow to a stop at the beginning of 2012.

Esperanza Pallana, director of the Oakland Food Policy Council, in describing the attempt to work with Planning on making the zoning changes indicated that there was little success over the last two years, “There was some initial action in 2011 and then it just slowly fell off



to the wayside and kept getting the time line pushed back and

Figure 6.5: Support of zoning changes before the Sept 17th Commission Meeting (Tak 2014)

pushed back” (Personal communication 2014). In Spring 2014, the OFPC launched a petition entitled “Growing food is a right, not a conditional privilege”, claiming that “Nobody should have to pay the City to grow and eat your own food!” (OFPC 2014a; OFPC 2014b). With four hundred and twenty eight signatories, the OFPC presented the petition and their case against CUPs again at the June 4th Planning Commission meeting (Tak 2014). City Councilmember Rebecca Kaplan, who had been actively involved in this advocacy since 2011, spoke in support as part of this presentation. During the meeting the Planning Commission asked the Director of Planning and Building, Rachel Flynn, when an interim ordinance would be implemented (Oakland City Planning Commission Minutes 2014). She replied they would be ready to

respond in September of 2014. Good news came to the OFPC and other advocates at the September 17th Commission meeting: a new zoning policy meeting many of the requests of the OFPC was introduced.

The Planning Commission presented the new zoning policy, which proposed a significantly liberalized code to allow urban agriculture by right (Planning Commission Meeting 2014). The amendments included three categories for urban agriculture: “community gardens” (17.10.140), “limited agriculture activities” (17.10.610), and “extensive agriculture activities” (17.10.615) which have replaced the former “Crop and Animal Raising” Activity Type (Urban Agriculture Citywide Update 2014). “Community gardens” (non-commercial gardening) and “limited agriculture”(gardening for sale that does not utilize farm machinery, does not include livestock except bee keeping under three hives, and is not “Plant Nursery Agricultural Activities”) are both permitted without the need for a CUP in almost every zoning district, excluding open space. The Commission went beyond the recommendations of planning to remove CUP requirements in new commercial and transit-oriented development zones. Planning and the OFPC are continuing to work with the Parks Department to address the use of urban agriculture in parks in zoning code and through the Edible Parks Program (OFPC 2014b). In November the Oakland City Council approved the zoning changes, and the OFPC finally saw the fruits of over five years of labor and advocacy.

Prior to the Planning Commission passing the new policy, a Zoning Code Bulletin posted by Planning on September 5th intended to clarify existing regulation

and lay the ground work for the changes to be approved at the September 17th meeting (Zoning Code Bulletin: Zoning Regulations Related to Agricultural Food Production 2014). Interestingly enough, Planning identified that the language for community gardens as an activity type had been adjusted in 2011 and since that time policy allowed for gardening for personal consumption and donation without a CUP in residential, commercial, and industrial zoning districts. Further clarification came after argument over current policy at the June 4th, 2014, Commission meeting. There the Planning Director claimed that after 2011 the CUP process had only been necessary for urban gardens that sold produce (Key 2014b). This claim contradicted what Planning staff, the OFPC, and just about every other person involved with Oakland urban agriculture believed to be the necessary process for the last three years.

Unlike in San Francisco, Oakland city officials took a much slower route to supporting zoning changes in support of urban agriculture. When asked why the implementation of these changes was taking so long, Pallana speculated, “You could say because it hasn’t been prioritized. I think that, in addition, staff have not wanted to put time into something that they think was just a fad that would blow over and be done with and not recognizing that people are actually shifting to this as part of urban culture and practice” (Personal communication 2014).

This sentiment has been mirrored in the slow actions to support urban gardening through other city agencies as discussed in chapter 3. While the Parks Department has partnered with six non-profit groups to garden in public parks,

activists complain the agreements with these have varied. Despite requests for a simplified and consistent procedure to govern these relationships, Oakland has maintained a flexible, non-codified approach. The Edible Parks Task Force has advocated for more community management of park spaces that are underutilized or undermanaged in order to promote community self-determination. Advocates see possibilities in the Adopt-A-Park program where the city is shifting park management responsibilities onto individual volunteers. Instead of individual volunteers the Taskforce would like to see communities more engaged in managing public land. This is not a vision the city has embraced. City planner Heather Klein states, in reference to the Edible Parks proposal, “obviously long-term maintenance is going to be an issue with that, as well as, there’s the water and the services, but parks change; sometimes you’re going to want this use, sometimes that population changes and it becomes more family-friendly.” (Personal communication 2013).

Her message has been clear; changing park priorities and their physical landscapes has long-term consequences and impacts the broader community, not just urban agriculture advocates. She, in addition to others, has viewed this wave of urban gardening as not always coming from within Oakland communities, “it goes back to who’s the community, and how is the community defined. Some people see that, those groups as just sort of taking over those resources” (Personal communication 2013). She goes on to describe a concern that organizations will abuse the social purpose of parks. Klein noted that many gardening groups in Oakland frequently have a more commercial intent, which both requires more attention and regulation from the

city and is not an appropriate use of public space: “most of the groups are selling. They’re doing farm stands, sometimes there is a sliding scale, but for the most part it’s a commercial business. And we generally -- unlike I think other cities -- have very, very rarely have commercial businesses located within city parks” (Personal communication 2013). But overall Klein has been supportive of the growth of urban agriculture in the city. Commenting on the remarkable energy and ability of gardening projects to spring up and not rely on city infrastructure, she remarked, “They seem to be able to move these things forward on their own. I think with the city’s limited resources, it’s just difficult for us to be able to commit to providing some of the things that I think that they want to have us provide. And knowing, again, that somebody still has to manage it and keep track of it and make sure that it’s being run correctly and follow up; that’s like a whole level of review that we just don’t have staff for or the capacity to do” (Personal communication 2013).

Klein’s observation is keen. Food justice and urban agriculture are flourishing in Oakland despite unclear and sometimes antagonistic relations to city departments. Non-profit organizations with connections to city government and significant support have developed agreements with the city for land use. Less institutionalized groups have attempted to fly under the radar and avoid complaints to evade city regulation. Overall the city, which must acknowledge the gentrification and outmigration of historically African American populations, has held a tentative relationship to urban agriculture advocacy. Uneven development has created ‘vacant’ lots that are now growing gardens with increased property values. Oakland’s Planning and Parks

Departments have remained committed to serving the interests of Oakland residents, not all of whom may be interested in new gardens expanding quickly then falling into neglect. Their position hasn't been to oppose the development of urban agriculture (or rapid development and gentrification), for little enforcement of regulation against gardeners breaking the rules has occurred, and informal public-private partnerships have succeeded. Recent changes in city zoning policy may signify a shift toward more active support of this "special interest group".

Growing Gardens and Decreased Government Spending: San Jose

San Jose, like San Francisco, has taken an active approach to supporting urban gardening, embracing public-private partnerships as an effective municipal strategy. As the largest municipality in Silicon Valley, San Jose has been impacted by both the uneven economic development brought by the tech industry and the immense charitable giving of industry companies and individual employees. The growth of health related foundations and non-profits, funded in large part through tech money, has dominated the food access advocacy in municipal and activist circles. Gardens have been used as a strategy to improve healthy food access for the majority minority population (approximately 33% Latino and 32% Asian decent)(Census Quick Facts: San Jose, California 2014).

Over the last three years (2011-2014) San Jose has made changes to policy and community gardening practices that have allowed for the expansion of urban agriculture in the city. Overall, the city has created a more permissive policy

environment for a variety of urban agricultural practices ranging from home gardening to commercial production. In addition, the Department of Parks, Recreation, and Neighborhood Services has piloted models of public-private partnerships to both reduce the financial and managerial responsibilities of the city and empower local non-profits. Non-profit advocacy and program administration have played a key role in these political shifts over the last half-decade. Policy changes supporting urban gardening as a permitted land use began during the re-envisioning process for the General Plan.

In 2007 the City of San Jose began an outreach processes to engage San Jose residents and stakeholders in updating the existing General Plan, Focus on the Future San José 2020 (Envision San Jose 2040 General Plan Update Program EIR Public Scoping Meetings 2009). From 2007 to 2011 a City Counsel appointed task force of thirty-seven community members met fifty-one times and held multiple community workshops to gather input to advise the City Council in the development of the Envision San José 2040 General Plan (Task Force: Envision San José 20140 n.d.). Through significant advocacy from The Health Trust and members of the Silicon Valley Food System Collaborative, food gained a prominent position in the new plan.

The Envision 2040 plan identifies “Design for a Healthful Community” as one of twelve primary strategies in improving San José life (Envision San José 2040: General Plan 2011). This strategy highlights San Jose’s physical environment as a site where officials and residents can encourage access to healthful foods, as well as support the provision of health care and the physical health of community members.

Urban agriculture is identified as a means to increase access to healthy food and to a lesser extent, sustainable food production. In the General Plan, urban gardening is repeatedly highlighted as a means to change the landscape of health: “As a key factor to encourage the health of its residents, the Land Use/Transportation Diagram, and the Quality Neighborhoods and Land Use policies address improving access to healthful foods, particularly fresh produce. To this end, the General Plan also supports the development of urban agriculture and the preservation of the existing agricultural lands adjacent to San José to increase the supply of locally-grown, healthful foods.” Much of the language dedicated to the urban agriculture goal (Goal LU-12) applies to the protection of agricultural land “remaining within San Jose’s sphere of influence”. The language referring to urban agriculture within the city identifies the goal to “support” and “encourage” gardening in home gardens and other locations, including the use of food gardens in development to support residents and workers (ibid. 303). To achieve these goals the plan outlines the need for the City Council to develop specific policy to increase access to healthy food through expanded sales of fresh produce (primarily through expanding farmer’s market networks) and increased urban production, and the need to revise the Zoning Ordinance to allow for expanded urban agriculture. In addition the plan talks specifically about the expansion of community gardening. The city identifies developing partnerships with local non-profits, the County, and school districts as the primary actions to achieve this goal (ibid. 237).

After the release of the new Envision 2040 General Plan in 2011, the city

moved quickly on changes to support urban agriculture. In January 2012, in an amendment to Title 20 of the San Jose Municipal Code, the Zoning Ordinance, a new ordinance was approved to allow Neighborhood Agriculture as a permitted use in residential zoning districts (Horwedel 2012; Lewis 2012). In 2013, this was extended to industrial districts and aquaponics was added to the code as a permitted use with special permit. In 2014, the permitted use of neighborhood agriculture and aquaponics was extended to PQP Public/Quasi-Public Zoning District.

The Health Trust and other local advocates have played an important role in creating these changes, as well as other changes in municipal code to support gardening and farmers markets (Schultz and Sichley n.d.). With funding from the Santa Clara County Public Health Department for one year, the Campaign for Healthy Food San Jose, led by the Health Trust, brought together a coalition of the City of San Jose Department of Planning, Building and Code Enforcement, City of San Jose Department of Parks, Recreation and Neighborhood Services, FIRST 5 Santa Clara County, Pacific Coast Farmers' Market Association, and Working Partnerships USA. This coalition sought to advocate for increased healthy food access as a strategy for preventative medicine (Edmonds-Mares 2012; Health Trust 2013). In describing the campaign, Acting Director of Parks, Recreation and Neighborhood Services, Julie Edmonds-Mares, explained a context where budget cuts over the last decade had led to decreased available funding for city departments to address health goals outlined in the new General Plan. The community garden program manager, Manuel Perez (a half-time employee), also lamented the inability of the program to

expand due to budget constraints (Personal communication 2014). Through the campaign, the department was “exploring alternative financing and community partnership models that can result in increasing neighborhood access to healthy foods while minimizing the cost to the City of San Jose.”⁹ The Planning Commission stated ordinance proposals were “developed in close coordination” with the Campaign and The Health Trust.

The Health Trust, a San Jose based non-profit, has over the last half decade initiated a variety of programs and campaigns to change the food landscape of San Jose. The Health Trust, established in 1996 from the sale of four nonprofit hospitals, aimed to manage and distribute the assets from the sale to improve the health and wellness of the community, and has since that time increased their assets value from \$54 million and to over \$115 million, which benefits the community through grantmaking and program services (Edmonds-Mares 2012). The Health Trust has benefited greatly from donations and volunteer support from Silicon Valley tech companies including philanthropic partnerships with The David and Lucile Packard Foundation, the Cisco Foundation, SanDisk, Silicon Valley Community Foundation (which has received billions of dollars in donations from Silicon Valley including over \$1 billion from Facebook’s Mark Zuckerberg and Priscilla Chan), the HEDCO Foundation, and others (Van Susteren 2014; Our Philanthropic Partners 2013). In 2014 they won Google’s Bay Area Impact Challenge, winning a \$500,000 grant (Johnson 2014). Campaigns under their Healthy Eating Initiative have included

efforts to increase the number of mobile markets and small farmers markets, to bring salad bars to local schools, to support urban agriculture, and to feed hot meals to senior and disabled residents (Eat Well 2013). In Fall 2009, the trust launched the Silicon Valley HealthCorps, an AmeriCoprps funded program that partners the Heath Trust with ten local organizations, to provide these organizations with full-time paid volunteers. Organizations utilize these volunteers for running over 70 garden and farm projects. In 2009 alone the trust received \$342,116 to fund this work (Bortner 2009). In 2010 and 2011, the trust granted nearly \$1 million to local organizations that “seek to transform the health of communities by increasing the availability of fresh and locally grown produce in communities that lack such access” (Healthy Food Resources Grants | The Health Trust 2013). Garden to Table and its parent organization CommUniverCity, received \$175,000 of these funds to develop and implement a new community gardening model (ibid.). While this model is only recently (September 2014) being developed, the partnership with the City of San Jose that has made this model possible began several years earlier.

Zach Lewis and Tracy Minicucci, of Garden to Table, and Greg Currey, of CommUniverCity San Jose’s Growing Sustainably, were instrumental in the change allowing urban agriculture on industrially zoned property (Lewis and Choy 2013). After Farm2Table partnered with Berry Swenson Builders to turn a lot awaiting development into an urban farm, the city reached out to Lewis to identify needed changes to the land use ordinances that could be barriers to the growth of urban agriculture in the city. In September 2013, the organizations researched and presented

best practices from around the country to the Planning Commission and City Council, resulting in action to change the municipal code. CommUniverCity, a non-profit organization fiscally sponsored by the San Jose State University Tower Foundation, functions as a partnership between the City, San Jose State University, and community members interested service learning and community led change (Mercury News Editorial: CommUniverCity Is a Civic Gift 2013). The organization has played a key role in the integration of urban villages into the new General Plan. Garden to Table was born out of the engagement work of CommUniverCity, when Zach Lewis developed the organization as part of his thesis work in the Urban and Regional Planning Department. San Jose State University faculty play an important role in CommUniverCity (Romney 2013). The relationship built between the City, CommUniverCity, The Health Trust, and Lewis has lead to the development of the public-private partnership experiment described below.

Schultz and Sichley reported conversations between the Health Trust and the City during the Envision 2040 development period (2007-2011) in which the possibility of the trust overseeing the management of community gardens was discussed (Schultz and Sichley n.d.). In conversations with a garden organization leader in 2013, they also reported being approached by the city to see if the gardener was interested in contracting with the city to manage the community garden program. By August 2012, the Department of Parks, Recreation and Neighborhood Services reported the development of two new community garden projects “that involve alternative financing and the use of community partners to operate the site”

(Edmonds-Mares 2012, 2). The city describes how the community partners would be responsible for the majority of the cost of the project's development, operations, and maintenance. The first project described is the Garden to Table Gardens, a partnership between Santa Clara Valley Water District and CommUniverCity's Garden to Table, to develop a 26-plot community garden on SCVWD land near Coyote Creek. This project was ultimately not pursued due to high fees SCVWD was asking Garden to Table to pay for the start-up and maintenance of the project (Lewis, Personal communication 2014).

However, in 2013-2014 Garden to Table was funded through a City of San Jose Community Development Improvement Project Grant (\$78,000) to develop a community garden with Bridges Middle School in the same neighborhood and on school district land (Corsiglia 2013). On September 24, 2014 Garden to Table broke ground on the Santee Community Garden, which will have plots for three neighborhood schools and thirty families as well as communal gardening areas and a small orchard (Lewis 2014). Garden to Table has been involved with the start-up and will be staying involved for the first seven months of operation. After that the Franklin McKinley Children's Initiative, a part of Catholic Charities, will be taking over management of the garden with the plan of creating a community governance structure for the garden. Gardeners who have plots at the Santee Garden are required to live within one mile of the site and participate in collective maintenance of the communal spaces (Lewis, Personal communication 2014). Lewis described that if the garden had been added to the City of San Jose's community garden program the

people in the community wouldn't actually be able to get plots there because the around 500 people on the city waiting lists would have first priority. Santee neighborhood, a dense and economically disadvantaged Latino community, now has access to a 1/3 acre garden site for at least the next 15 years.

The second project described in the city memo, Veggielution, began in 2007. In 2008, the project gained access to one acre of land in Emma Prusch Farm Park, a park in downtown San Jose that is protected for agricultural use. By 2012 the organization signed a five-year contract with two two-year extensions (making it a nine-year agreement) with the City to farm six acres of the park's land. Associate Director of Veggielution, Mark Anthony Medeiros, described the process of working with the City as "friendly" and "without resistance" including during the competitive proposal process they went through to gain access to the additional five acres. Veggielution has benefited greatly from Silicon Valley funders, such as a \$350,000 grant in 2012 from the NVIDIA Corporation and a \$15,000 grant from Cisco in 2013 (FY2013 Silicon Valley Impact Grant Recipients n.d.). The City has exhibited the Veggielution project as a proud example of the value and potentials of public-private partnerships largely because of the NVIDIA grant the organization secured. In 2012 Julie Edmonds-Mares, Acting Director of the Department of Parks, Recreation and Neighborhood Services applauded the work of the grantor, "Programs like NVIDIA's Project Inspire not only strengthen community pride but they also enhance health and wellness opportunities for San José residents. We look forward to a fruitful public-private partnership among NVIDIA, Veggielution and Emma Prusch Farm Park

through Project Inspire and encourage other local businesses to follow in the footsteps of NVIDIA by helping build a sustainable community” (Pearson 2012). The City has shown interest in exploring public-private partnerships like the one with Veggielution in potential development of projects at the urban fringe including the future Coyote Valley and Martial Cottle Park projects, both located on the southern side of the city (Santa Clara County Food System Alliance 2013).

Through partnerships with local non-profits the City has increased the import of urban agriculture in the General Plan and zoning policy and has developed model projects of the use of city land for externally funded and managed community gardens. Through significant support from Silicon Valley funders, the Health Trust and garden projects like Veggielution are in the position to be seen as viable alternatives to municipally run programs such as traditional community gardens. The City, while facing budgetary constraints, looks to these public-private partnerships as a means to more effectively impact San Jose residents. Lewis sees great potential in these partnerships as non-profits can be more creative in using donations, volunteer labor, and building community support quickly (Personal communication 2014). Yet, he warns attention needs to be paid to making sure non-profits follow through on their word; city processes hold their departments and workers accountable, so the same standards should apply to these new public-private partnerships. Some questions remain with these relatively new relationships, such as who will benefit from non-municipal run programming and how will residents have a say in the management of projects on city land. Projects like the Santee Garden provide an inspiring example of

city resources supporting community management of land if it is successful. And yet, the continued defunding of the community gardening program puts many hundreds of other gardeners at risk.

Conclusion

In each of the three Bay area cities discussed above, urban agriculturalists and municipal policy makers have shifted the terrain in which gardeners grow. These changes were not made in each city in isolation; both informal and formal networks across the Bay Area have enabled advocates to learn from the others' efforts and work together. For many garden advocates these changes are seen as great successes and as evidence of growing institutional support for local food movements.

In these three largest cities in the region, gardeners have changed zoning regulation to be able to legally grow and sell garden produce in most zoning districts with little or no bureaucratic processes or fees. This is a significant gain over restrictions that are present in most municipalities across the US. While regulation aimed at preventing agricultural production in cities was widely adopted in the post-WWII era, today the Bay Area is demonstrating how planners and municipal officials can adopt a supportive role in the growth of urban agriculture. In addition, urban gardening has gained a firmer place in the future plans of these cities, or at least in the general plans describing future municipal goals. However, while gaining ground for garden projects, new support for gardening has in each city also contributed to neoliberalization of urban governance. The way these new political interventions and

consequences have taken hold differs with respect to each cities' power structure, political economy, and demographics.

In San Francisco advocates successfully increased urban agriculture's presence in the city plan, changed zoning regulation to permit sales of garden produce, encouraged a mayor's initiative to incentivize city departments and agencies to support or start gardens, made San Francisco the first California city to pass local AB 551 legislation, and acquired funding for several garden projects. In partnership with the SFUAA, the city has been largely supportive in facilitating in these changes, and certain local politicians now hope to cash-in on the political capital they have acquired with the urban gardening community. San Francisco, as the city with the most competitive land markets in the nation and at the heart of the new tech boom, has positioned itself as both the incubator of sustainable and socially responsible living and as a creative, entrepreneurial city. Gardens contribute to this image with small-scale urban farming ventures and innovative, visually sleek urban gardening projects gaining significant political attention. The gains made by the SFUAA and others make gardening a more viable option today but do little to address long-term tenure questions of gardeners. Most new municipal gardens are specifically given interim use agreements and the new AB 551 legislation encourages temporary urban gardening as a land use option to owners interested in later development. New municipally supported approaches to gardening encourage 'flexibility'. Some discussion has been raised of how to maximize use of to land for gardens that is undesirable for development, presenting one direction forward for gardeners

interested in long-term municipal support. San Francisco is a case of a city government aiding and benefiting from the good public relations of supporting urban agriculture at the same time of keeping it in its place within neoliberal urban governance – compatible with and secondary to land use for development purposes.

In Oakland, a city at the forefront of struggles against racism in the US, food justice activism has dominated the urban agriculture scene. Advocates, working diligently over many years to change zoning policy, have created public-private partnerships with the parks department and have created a potential for an adopt-a-spot like program to give gardeners greater access to public land. However, the city has been slow to act, citing limited resources and the contentious nature of letting a special interest group gain increasing access to land and resources. While many activists have called for the city to become more active in letting residents reclaim public space for public good, the city has chosen to engage in public-private partnerships that are poorly defined and poorly routinized. These new and insecure relations have saved city on resources and shifted urban governance towards volunteerism without having departments make long-term commitments. In a financially limited municipal environment, neoliberal governance that emphasizes personal responsibility and third sector management of public resources makes sense to many advocates. Unlike in San Francisco, gardening advocates have had to struggle to gain city attention and support even for these projects.

In San Jose, a minority majority city like Oakland, healthy food access has dominated institutional goals for supporting gardens. In the last five years, advocates

have changed the city plan to include urban agriculture as an asset to building healthy communities, changed zoning to allow gardening and urban agricultural sales in many zoning districts, and has piloted two public-private partnerships in an effort to experiment with a more non-profit led community gardening model for the city. Through partnership with The Health Trust and Garden to Table, city officials have benefited from Silicon Valley tech industry funding during a time of limited city resources and is actively seeking to augment these opportunities. Silicon Valley charity has played a significant role in discussions of restructuring municipal programming towards more partnerships with non-profits. Shifting to public-private partnership management of public space has obvious potential consequences discussed previously in the example of non-profits potentially limiting or dictating how the public accesses parks in Oakland. To shift management based on funding options also may decrease municipal motivation or priority to seek public funds for supporting community gardening. Municipal governments, like San Jose's, could easily fall into the trap many non-profits lament – basing programming on the priorities of powerful private funders, not the priorities of the greater public. Yet it also presents opportunities to empower residents to take up community management of public lands. The Santee Garden will be an interesting example to follow. This begs the question if neoliberal urban governance forms are opening possibilities for community groups to advocate for more authority and responsibility in making decisions about land resources.

Garden advocates strive for both immediate gains for land access for gardeners and to create a policy terrain that, at a minimum, permits and, in the ideal case, provides material and political support for the work of gardeners. The gains made by gardeners and advocates to liberalize zoning codes to allow for gardening open many possibilities for the future of gardening and are held as national examples of wins for the food movement. Yet, these advances must be distinguished from the other gains in these three bay area municipalities, which are more explicitly addressing the issues of use of public land and forms of municipal programming. Within this work is the explicit question: what form of municipal government do gardeners want to strive for? In San Francisco neoliberal urban governance and the work of gardeners significantly overlap where gardens can be used to create more attractive land markets and instill developer confidence that cities will prioritize their rights and interests. In Oakland gardeners may be trying to find possibilities in the neoliberal urban governance trends trying to shift municipal responsibilities to volunteers. Yet, some worry managing public land through non-profits that may limit broader opportunities for residents' engagement with governance, especially if they are outside the urban gardening interest group. And in San Jose, again, there is a tension between problems and possibilities in the trends of neoliberal urban governance. It may be problematic where gardeners facilitate private funding, and hence priorities, in programming that was once and could again demand public support and accountability. Yet there is also opportunity in the roll back of the community garden program for new gardens to develop that emphasize community

management structures instead of municipal governing strategies. I caution that it is necessary to analyze how movement coalitions are engaged with municipal actors to bolster or challenge neoliberal governance, and to analyze where neoliberal governance presents opportunities or risks. To jump to the immediate benefits of development friendly, privately funded, or non-profit led urban gardening has significant consequences for both the future of urban food movements and urban municipal structures.

Conclusion: Towards a Definitive Land Politic for Urban Agriculture

In summer of 2003 I traveled from Fort Collins, CO to Sacramento, CA to participate in a protest of the World Trade Organization Agricultural Ministerial. La Via Campesina, the Sacramento Coalition for Sustainable Agriculture, and others had called for protesters to converge at the meeting to object to corporate control in the food system, the growth of biotechnology, and unjust trade agreements creating poverty and environmental destruction. During the mobilization, thousands of activists from around the country and world connected with a local struggle to save the Mandela Community Garden.

The Mandela Garden was built in the early 1970s and for thirty years provided a space in Midtown Sacramento for community members to grow food and enjoy a green space not common to this area of town. The garden was considered downtown's second largest producer of oxygen (Feliciano 2009). I remember the large trees and cool shade the garden provided on the hot summer days of that June. When the Ministerial gathered in 2003, the gardeners had already been evicted and their plots awaited destruction. The city had decided to sell the land to developers interested in building 118 upscale condos on the site, with a small portion devoted to a new community garden. In a quickly gentrifying part of town, local gardener Michael Feliciano lamented:

“Amidst swelling land values and incentives to develop, those that deal in real estate take little time to consider that we are building ourselves into a concrete corner, by sacrificing the living earth...pillaging high-density plant-life without regard for the sacred relationship between the land and the people, the connection between ourselves, our food, and the cycles of nature” (Feliciano 2009).

Amidst a sea of oppositional tactics confronting the WTO and agribusiness at this convergence, the Ron Mandela Garden provided a narrative and material struggle for an inspirational alternative. It demonstrated that gardens could help promote a more integrated, holistic, and community focused approach to nature and food within cities. Well-known activists like Julia Butterfly Hill came out in support. Activists from the green-block, chained themselves together under an apricot tree in a garden occupation and were later surrounded by over one hundred riot police, forcibly removed, and arrested. In November 2004 the Capitol Area Development Authority took the final step in felling the thirty-year-old garden, bulldozing mature fruit trees and the remaining vegetation.

While the garden was demolished, it provided an important launching point for many young activists, like myself, to become engaged in local projects that provided alternative visions than the progress endorsed by economic and agricultural institutions such as the WTO. The power of the imaginary of urban gardening as an act of resistance grew. As a result, at many anti-globalization protests following the 2003 Ministerial, protestors joined with local garden efforts for workdays or educational workshops. Gardening became an important part of the cultures of anti-capitalist opposition.

The Mandela story exemplifies a political imaginary elevating the urban garden as a space of hope and resistance in a capitalist world system. The story is reminiscent of others' claims that gardens can be spaces of modern day utopias when land is used for community benefits, ecological resiliency, and healthy food production. Yet, similar to other physical spaces of utopia, there aren't inherent politics to a garden, to this spatial mode. A variety of politics are enacted through the landing strategies and property enactments of gardeners. It is the imaginaries and material politics that are enacted through gardens that we must examine.

Gardens are entangled in the histories of urban real estate development, social movement trajectories, and urban governance decisions. They are both limited by and producing of these dynamic social relations. This concluding chapter brings together these threads to contend that two dominant imaginaries of land politics are emerging in urban agriculture communities: one of flexibility, creativity, and acceptance of urban land use determined by capital, and one strategically oriented towards increasing social power to articulate a land politics based on human needs. While gardeners may go back and forth between these imaginaries in their everyday work in order to elicit support, these two tracks are in competition, which this next section of the dissertation will address.

Two Imaginaries of Bay Area Urban Agriculture

In this dissertation I argued that gardeners produce complex spatializations through land access and property politics. In the face of tenure insecurity on both

public and private land, gardeners discuss how the movements' relationship to permanency. The questions of whether gardeners need long-term tenure on particular parcels of land is at stake and how such tenure can and should be created in a region where property values spur contentious competition for land. The role of state institutions is in question, asking should governments fulfill their social duty to community members by providing garden space or is public property an opportunity in waiting for more community self-determination. And finally, gardeners are reaching beyond movements for healthy food access to ask how can gardening contribute to broader urban social change that empowers communities, not just particular land uses. It is through these questions and debates that gardeners are participating in landing that changes and constructs property today as well as the foundation for future movement actors.

Chapter 2 examined how the historical development of gardening as an interim land use in the US has limited previous iterations of urban agriculture and shaped a contemporary terrain of gardening. Urban gardening has had a rich history in the United States with waves of popularization during most periods of economic or social crisis. Yet after each crisis has passed gardening has largely disappeared from the urban landscape. This was due to reformers and politicians approaching gardening as a temporary land use, second to an owner's desire to develop the land. Temporary use agreements, partnerships with political and business elites that emphasized short-term and immediate problems, and land inventories that focused on 'vacant' land have contributed to the categorization of urban gardening as an interim land use for

collective spaces. At the same time gardening developed as a popular national hobby, deemed appropriate for one's private backyard. When today's urban agriculture movement advocates for permanent, collective garden spaces in the city, they face over a century of urban development, planning, and political history that has used gardening as temporary solutions. Today, a dominant thread of the urban agriculture movement has emerged from national food movements focusing on access and racial justice, which have been increasingly institutionalized through developing non-profit leadership and new institutions linking movement members with local governments. This has provided a substantial leg-up to gardeners seeking legitimacy and support on the local level. But it has also meant gardeners work with a limited set of tools involving cooperation with officials, subjection to the dictates of funders, and an emphasis on third sector social responsibility. Notably, today's movement is growing deeper roots with planning institutions and universities, creating hope that urban agriculture may be written in the cities' futures in a way US history has not yet seen.

In Chapter 3, we saw how agrifood movements are changing through external critique, self-critique and in response to national and global events. The community food security movement arose to confront the persistence of hunger in the US and the increasing disparity in physical access to food resources. As distribution of physical access points to food became the dominant rallying demand, the movement grappled with the dual impulses of focusing on communitarian strategies towards justice and the bolstering of social democratic food entitlement programs. Racial critiques of the whiteness of food movements and the racial inequality of poverty and food access led

to the birth of the food justice movement. In this iteration of food organizing, activists focused on creating opportunities for self-determination and a conception of justice that held room for difference and even separatism, while connecting food justice community projects through networks of support. Through connection to the anti-globalization movement and in response to the global financial collapse, US food activists in the late 2000s increasingly turned to food sovereignty as a framework for the movement. This multi-scalar approach to change engages attacks on neoliberal capitalism, concern for control of means of production and community autonomy, and the development of global networks of mutual aid. Food sovereignty shifts activists towards embracing a more reflexive justice connected to multiple and differing needs of communities through the new institutions of global social movements. These shifts in each iteration of food movements has opened possibilities for more a more explicit land politics in resistance to capitalist urban land development, moving from an emphasis on land access in low income communities to an explicit connection to resistance to land grab and a commitment to land management in the hand of local communities.

In Chapter 4, we began to explore the landing strategies of contemporary urban agriculturalists in the Bay Region. Through landing, gardeners shape property and socio-spatial relations, enact utopian desires, and settle, at least for the moment, directions for contemporary and future garden movements. Gardeners have used a variety of strategies with complex and contradictory property enactments. Land inventories have been used as tools to identify ‘vacant’ public and private lands.

While some activists have emphasized that both public and private lands should be targeted due to tenure insecurity on both, the most popular use of inventories has been to support advocating for municipal governments to make public lands available for cultivation, calling on the state to fulfill its responsibility to support community wellbeing. Similarly, activists have called on municipal governments to expand programs that promote resident and non-profit responsibility in managing public space. For some this has been a move away from state management of public lands and towards community management, while for others it is a strengthening of the public sphere through partnership with non-profits. In contrast to these strategies aimed at increasing direct access through engaging the authority of the state as a landowner, gardeners have also used short and long-term occupations to take control of underutilized spaces and confront decisions regarding land use for development. Similarly, backyard gardens and recent tenants rights legislation have been used to undermine the authority of private landowners, advocating for the rights or just preferences of tenants to put yards into production in spite of what their landlords desire. Yet, the form of gardening that has gained much attention from municipalities, funders, and press in recent years is one that accepts that landlords need to feel confident that their rights will be respected and without risk of occupation. Gardeners have developed technologies and agreements that allow for gardens to be temporary, flexible, and friendly to development. This landing strategy, rather than recreating or challenging contemporary property relations, reinforces the contemporary socio-spatial order that prioritizes land use for capitalist development and mirrors prior eras

of urban gardening as interim use.

In Chapter 5, we continued the exploration of the theme of contemporary gardener landing strategies and the acceptance or contestation of urban capitalist growth politics through discursive framing. I observed three dominant discourses circulating amongst activist gardeners who were interested in working towards sustainable socially just cities: commoning, community land management, and resiliency. Through commoning and community land management, gardeners advocate reframing of property and urban spatial relations by emphasizing the need to reject the primacy of private property and state property in favor of resource management determined by communities working across multiple needs. Through these discourses gardeners can create alliances with other urban social movements. Resiliency has been used to communicate two similar but significantly different relations to land and property. One suggests the need for resistance to unjust social systems within it. The other advocates for models that indicate flexibility and the ability to create benefits in less than ideal situations, which will then inspire more of similar work. This second version has been used by proponents of interim use and activists who embrace other land access strategies. It is a discourse that fits well with the assessment by many that urban gardeners should use all land access strategies at their disposal. However, when gardeners claim that all strategies are needed an essential conversation is avoided: what landing strategies move us more towards the utopian spaces we desire, not just gain us land in this temporary moment. By evading this question, activists may be evading potential moments of closure at a regional or

even municipal scale. Closure necessitates both the utopian thinking about processes and their enactment in space. Strategic conversations across urban agricultural communities facilitate the potential for these forms of closure, but thus far have favored the ‘diversity of tactics’ position. In practice this could signify that meaning of resiliency could be used to promote a form of gardening that is accepting of or in support of profit-oriented urban development and once again place urban agriculture as an interim use.

In Chapter 6, we saw how urban agriculture advocates and city officials are working to change the landscape of possibility for gardening. Advocates participated directly in state governance structures in the three largest municipalities in the Bay Area, all of which have taken a big step to liberalize zoning codes to make gardening a permitted use on most city land. San Francisco, the new seat of tech industry growth and highly competitive land markets, has adopted numerous measures to encourage gardening on public land, while at the same time prioritizing land for development purposes. Gardening has become part of green and sustainable growth promoted by city officials that give developers confidence that cities will prioritize their rights and interests. In Oakland, a city facing rapid gentrification and with a long history of activist resisting racial discrimination, gardeners may be trying to find possibilities for community self-determination in the neoliberal urban governance trends of shifting municipal responsibilities to volunteers and non-profits. Yet, some worry managing public land through non-profits that may limit broader opportunities for residents’ engagement with governance, especially if they are outside the urban

gardening interest group. In San Jose, again, there is a tension between the problems and possibilities in the trends of neoliberal urban governance. There may be problematic neoliberal trends where gardeners facilitate a shift towards relying private funding of community gardening, and hence adopt the priorities of these funders. For a city with a once robust community garden program, public support and accountability, privatizing garden development and management has impacts that are still unknown. Yet there is also opportunity in the roll back of the community garden program for new gardens to develop that emphasize community management structures instead of municipal governing strategies. Neoliberal urban governance is clearly entangled with the strategies and possibilities gardeners engage. I caution that it is necessary for movement actors to consider the question “what city government do we want to create or undermine” in the process of developing new opportunities for land access or garden support. To jump to the immediate benefits of development friendly, privately funded, or non-profit led urban gardening has significant consequences for both the future of urban food movements and urban municipal structures.

As we have seen, a real consequence of these landing strategies is the creation of imaginaries with material power. Two dominant imaginaries are emerging from urban gardeners work. One is focused on envisioning a city populated with gardens that are flexible, resilient, supported by governmental and business leaders. The other imaginary focuses on the importance of long-term tenure, community-management of

land resources, and developing social movements that are able to articulate their needs against development interests and contemporary property relations.

The first imaginary reflects the historical position urban gardens have occupied in the broader municipal, business, and social reform landscapes of the United States in which gardens are promoted as an interim use. As long as gardens are *continually* promoted as an interim use, this imaginary could contribute to gardening as a permanent attribute of contemporary cities, which contribute to healthy food access and some resiliency indicators. Developing mutually beneficial agreements with land owners for temporary use of their land, like AB 551 promotes, or developing agreements with municipal governments for interim use of their land provides gardeners with potentially immediate and easier access to land resources. It also contributes to neoliberal efforts at branding cities as sustainable and desirable places to live and promoting the political careers of those champion urban gardening, while allowing land use decisions to be dictated by development priorities. This imaginary cultivates practices of gardening compatible with a pro-development urban landscape, thus I refer to it as the development-friendly imaginary.

The other imaginary focuses on the importance of long-term tenure, community-management of land resources, and developing social movements concerned with land access. With this imaginary activists articulate their needs against development interests and contemporary property relations. When activists engage occupations, land trusts, discourses of commoning and community land management, and work with other local movements for community empowerment,

they contribute to an imaginary that problematizes contemporary private and public property as an institution not serving the needs of most urban residents. They highlight how urban land use is largely dictated by the desires to profit from land and development. This imaginary connects with the international work of food sovereignty activists who resist neoliberal capitalism, colonial legacies, and top-down governance. It pushes back on social-democratic assumptions on the left that reinforcing state institutions is the appropriate means towards a more just society, highlighting some opportunities in the shifts of neoliberal urban governance. Through this work activists hope to build community power that may allow for long-term tenure.

These are two imaginaries, not two discrete groups of advocates. Many gardeners draw from both imaginaries. For example, Garden to Table in San Jose has both worked to developed a longer-term lease (fifteen years) where Santee community members will be able to manage a community garden and they have developed a relationship with Swanton Builders, a local developer, to be able to develop a model of portable urban farming to take advantage of developers waiting to build on particular parcels. Yet, there are moments where tensions arise between these imaginaries. The Hayes Valley Farm interim use agreement and subsequent occupation is the most notable example. The conflict the arose out of this garden occupation points to the need for conversation across urban gardening projects about the strategic directions activists wish to take. Gardeners have the opportunity to more systematically and directly engage the region in conversation about land politics and

property as a foundational element to addressing food provisioning and sustainability.

Cultivating Urban Space and Potential Futures

This dissertation has demonstrated that urban gardeners land access decisions and actions have significant political and spatial consequences. Gardens are not isolated islands of aspirations for greening in seas of cementing urban industrial landscapes. Instead they are part and parcel of the social and economic trends producing cities in contemporary capitalism. As such the imaginaries and actual landing strategies of gardeners can influence trajectories of neoliberal urban regimes, as well as trajectories of contemporary food movements.

Scholars have argued urban agriculture can be the basis for radical land politics, challenging development logics and empowering marginalized communities. These claims have largely been based on individual case studies, such as the South Central Farm, or theorizing disconnected from empirical evidence, such as claims for the commons made by Federici (2012) and others. This dissertation portrays a different story. It is not a story of a gardeners banning together to change the social relations that dictate land resource allocation and management in one location. Instead, it examines the landing strategies and trends across a region to highlight multiple stories. Some gardeners challenge growth and development economics of both public and private actors. Some work with these urban growth regimes to find a place for gardens that is compatible with the prioritization of space for financial gain

by continuing the historical pattern of using gardens as an interim use for parcels awaiting a “higher” use when development becomes feasible.

There are many inspirational projects and seeds of potential within the hundreds of gardening projects across the region. Many projects are seeking to develop commoning strategies, redefining property outside the bounds of private or public, and asserting the need for community management of space. Many gardeners are using urban agriculture as a means to contest gentrification, or at least make urban food movements engage with the problems inherent in “improving” urban neighborhoods. I see much reason for hope that a regional urban agriculture movement could develop, with critical self-awareness of the socio-spatial consequences of their actions. One reason for this hope is the growing confluence of conceptions of justice between urban movements and food movements today that bring together traditional agrarian and traditional urban working class action against capitalist world systems.

Historically many Marxists have considered a political approach to the agrarian questions: will rural peasantry, organizing in their self-interest, act in reactionary ways that maintain the power of capitalists either by only demanding land redistribution and not addressing commodity production and wage-labor or by developing direct coalitions with capitalists who are sympathetic to their desires for land. In the contemporary, US context the same question could be asked using the two imaginaries outlined above to consider if gardeners who organize for control of land resources could be considered reactionary peasantry. I see the concerns of the

political agrarian question mirrored in the critiques of contemporary agrifood scholars who question if US food movements are too focused on communitarian forms of justice. The development-friendly imaginary engaged by gardeners may do just this, but with slightly different axis of concern than described above. As this dissertation has outline contemporary capitalism in increasingly concerned with finance and real estate (the FIRE economy) as principle mechanisms for capital accumulation through the production of space. Capitalism is no longer concerned with the erasure of serfdom and allocation of land to peasantry in an effort to bolster commodity markets and disempower landed aristocracy. Land grabs and capitalist investment in land for the purposes of rent extraction fuel accumulation. The development-friendly urban agricultural imaginary, while creating benefits in land access for gardeners, does not confront the commodity form or capital accumulation through wage-labor or the FIRE economies.

Alternatively, the second imaginary does just this; activists directly confront the FIRE economy as a basis for capital accumulation and instead advocate for use of urban land to benefit communities determined by those communities. Through developing alliances with other urban advocacy efforts and highlighting the importance of garden non-waged labor, possibilities for understanding and confronting the exploitation of the capitalist division of labor are opened. Urban agriculturalists who are engaging with local movements, like Planting Justice working with local union efforts, and gardeners connecting with global social movements for food sovereignty, like Occupy the Farm and Movement Generation,

bridge movements demanding agrarian communities' access to land and urban communities struggling against the consequences of capitalist value systems. These bridges are more than just momentary political alliances. They are being forged through a common struggle.

It is to these rural-urban, transnational and hyper local struggles that I turn for inspiration. This dissertation contributes to learning from the forms of conflict, revolutionary organizing, and pre-figurative building that these alliances engage with gardening communities. The praxis enacted through landing is significant to understanding how these actors are entangled within and also impact shifts in the socio-spatial terrain of US cities in economies increasingly steered and communities increasingly galvanized by financial and real estate investment. How this praxis develops through tensions, debate and critique of garden land politics in and around the movement will say much for the possibilities of more just urban ecologies for today and the future.

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