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Measured Expectations: An Examination of Urban Agriculture Development and Operations in Milwaukee, WI

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MEASURED EXPECTATIONS:

AN EXAMINATION OF URBAN AGRICULTURE DEVELOPMENT AND OPERATIONS IN MILWAUKEE, WI

by

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ABSTRACT

MEASURED EXPECTATIONS:
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Urban agriculture has begun to shape urban spaces throughout the United States. Building from research on urban agriculture projects in Milwaukee I argue that in order for researchers to better understand urban agriculture, they must more thoroughly examine the various developmental and operational strategies that urban agriculture nonprofit organizations implement. The research questions that guides my thesis are the following: first, how do the developmental and operational strategies of urban agriculture projects differ? Second, how do different stakeholders perceive the implications of these approaches for creating positive and negative effects? To do this, I collected data through interviews and participant observation with organizers and residents working at and/or living near two different urban agriculture sites in Milwaukee. First, the Victory Garden Urban Farm, a 1.5 acre farm located in Harambee and operated by the nonprofit organization Victory Gardens Initiative. Second, the Young Farmers Garden, a youth education program run by Groundwork Milwaukee and located within the Metcalfe Park neighborhood. I highlight how both Harambee and Metcalfe Park have made use of different networks to realize their goals. I also shown that these goals have influenced the scales at which these organizations operate and where the benefits they create are felt.

To

my family,

my committee,

and Isabella

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Agricultural practices, often considered exclusively rural in nature, have begun to appear more frequently in urban spaces throughout the United States in recent decades. Farms and greenhouses are taking over abandoned industrial areas, community gardens are being established in vacant lots, and farmer's markets are opening in the middle of cities to sell locally grown food. This change is evident in cities such as Milwaukee, St. Louis, Detroit, and Chicago where various economic and political processes have created an abundance of abandoned space that is now being used for agricultural practices.

As urban agriculture activity has increased, a growing number of people have identified different ways in which urban agriculture can positively address a variety of issues. A wide assortment of actors, from politicians to urban residents, have entered into networks where issues related to food access and land use go hand-in-hand with the goals of social and environmental justice movements.[1] With each actor comes a different understanding of urban agriculture's purpose. To many, urban agriculture is a cure for ailments commonly associated with urban life, particularly problems affecting the poorer, predominantly minority sections of cities. Proponents of urban agriculture believe that it addresses issues of food access by providing cheap, locally grown produce to neighborhood residents that may not live near or have the means to reach the closest grocery store.[2] They also argue that it creates green space where vacant, unused lots once were.[3] Furthermore, many of these proponents believe that urban agriculture builds social capital

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[1] Paul Milbourne, "Everyday (in)justices and ordinary environmentalism: community gardening in disadvantaged urban neighbourhoods," *Local Environment* 17, no. 9 (2012): 943-957.
Anastasia Telesetsky, "Community-Based Urban Agriculture as Affirmative Environmental Justice," *University of Detroit Mercy Law Review* 91 (2012): 259-276.

[2] Jennifer Cockrall-King, *Food and the City: Urban Agriculture and the New Food Revolution* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 2012).

[3] Sarah Bell and Cristina Cerulli, "Emerging Community Food Production and Pathways for Urban Landscape Transitions," *E:CO* 14, no. 1 (2012): 31-44.

by connecting various community members to each other, to green space, and to resources that were not once available at them. Finally, and inherent in all of this, some researchers argue that urban agriculture provides a form of resilience to local residents by providing a local, sustainable food source that decreases reliance on the industrial food system.[4]

However, a number of researchers have argued that urban agriculture activity, while well-intentioned, can just as easily produce negative effects. Urban agriculture is a movement rooted in existing social, political and economic structures. These structures greatly influence how urban agriculture has been realized, and who has benefitted from it. Some researchers have looked into the effects existing racial dynamics have had on urban agriculture as a movement. They have cautioned that, as a result of many urban agriculture advocates being white, the movement is informed by purposes that do not necessarily reflect the desires of the predominantly African-American communities that agricultural activity often takes place in.[5] Other researchers have sought to situate urban agriculture within the process of neoliberalism.[6] Like many other nonprofit efforts, urban agriculture is often viewed by researchers as an alternative to the public works projects that have been decreased over the years by both municipal and state governments. However, as an activity that requires resources such as land, water, and labor urban agriculture work often requires advocates to work within existing political

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[4] Stephan Barthel, John Parker and Henrik Ernstson, "Food and Green Space in Cities: A Resilience Lens on Gardens and Urban Environmental Movements," *Urban Studies* (2013): 1-18.
Heather A. Okvat and Alex J. Zautra, "Community Gardening: A Parsimonious Path to Individual, Community, and Environmental Resilience," *American Journal of Community Psychology* 47 (2011): 374-387.
[5] Julie Guthman, "Bringing good food to others: investigation the subjects of alternative food practice," *Cultural Geographies* 15 (2008): 431-447.
Helena C. Lyson, "Social Structural Location and Vocabularies of Participation: Fostering a Collective Identity in Urban Agriculture Activism," Rural Sociology 79, no. 3 (2014): 310-335.
[6] Rina Ghose and Margaret Pettygrove, "Actors and networks in urban community garden development," *Geoforum* 53 (2014): 93-103.
Nathan McClintock, "Radical, reformist, and garden-variety neoliberal: coming to terms with urban agriculture's contradictions," *Local Environment* 19, no. 2 (2014): 147-171.

and economic networks to obtain what they need. Research examining these processes questions whether or not urban agriculture activity is creating new opportunities for residents who have been historically excluded from these channels of power to have access to new networks of resources, or if it is simply reinforcing the existing model.[7]

Building from research on urban agriculture projects in Milwaukee I argue that in order for researchers to better understand urban agriculture, they must more thoroughly examine the various developmental and operational strategies that urban agriculture nonprofit organizations implement. More specifically, the research questions that guides my thesis are the following: first, how do the developmental and operational strategies of urban agriculture projects differ? Second, how do different stakeholders perceive the implications of these approaches for creating positive and negative effects? Urban agriculture spaces are created by a variety of people for a variety of purposes. A site's location, its purpose, the programs established there, and who these sites and programs are meant to serve are all rooted in developmental and operational strategies that reflect the intentions of those creating the space. Developmental strategies reveal the purposes and networks behind the creation of an urban agriculture site. Questions pertaining to developmental strategies highlight the purposes and networks behind the creation of an urban agriculture space and/or program. For example, what programs were created to achieve the goals of the organization? Or, how is an urban farm or garden meant to achieve these goals? Operational strategies reveal how these purposes are realized through the actions of those working on site. Who has been brought in to assist in achieving these purposes? Who is being encouraged to use the space and programs these urban agriculture sites provide? I use these

[7] Ghose and Pettygrove, "Actors and networks," 93-103.
McClintock, "Radical, reformist, and garden-variety neoliberal," 147-171.

questions to uncover what effect strategies have on people's perceptions of urban agriculture activity and spaces.

To answer the two research questions above, I examined two urban sites, operated by two different urban agriculture organizations, and located in two separate neighborhoods in Milwaukee, WI. The sites located in the neighborhoods of Metcalfe Park and Harambee represent important examples of how different organizational goals and strategies have either limited or enhanced local involvement in urban agriculture activity, and the benefits these locals receive. I found that in Harambee, the nonprofit organization Victory Gardens Initiative (VGI) has, for the most part, worked towards its goals of "creating a community-based, socially just, environmentally sustainable, nutritious food system" by initiating a variety of programs and an urban farm that provide multiple ways for people to engage with agricultural practices, and/or the food it produces.[8] The diverse ways in which VGI promotes urban agriculture activity, and the connections it has made with the municipal government, local businesses and nonprofits has made the organization quite successful in meeting its goals of creating an alternative food practice. In Metcalfe Park, the Young Farmers program and garden created by the nonprofit organization Groundwork Milwaukee has had success in achieving its goals as well. As "an educational program that offers elementary and middle school aged youth an opportunity to learn about urban agriculture through experiential based learning," the Young Farmers Program (YFP) has provided resources to local children and their families for the past four years.[9] The program's goals of benefitting local Metcalfe Park children has been accomplished through efforts of Groundwork employees to engage with the same families over a long period of time. Based on the perceptions of those I interviewed this has had the positive effect of creating a local desire to

[8] https://victorygardeninitiative.org/
[9] http://www.groundworkmke.org/young-farmers/

see the program continue and stay a part of the neighborhood. Each site highlights two different ways in which urban agriculture can be used for different purposes as a means to benefit different groups of people.

My interviews for each site also reveal that different stakeholders perceive potential negative side effects that accompany these purposes and strategies. In VGI's case, interviews revealed a perception that there has been limited success in engaging with the neighborhood surrounding the organization's urban farm. As a nonprofit with the purpose of building community, this lack of engagement is viewed by some organizers and residents as shortcoming that has not been properly addressed due to VGI's growing focus on economic goals. These goals are realized through strategies, such as the construction of a fence to protect the garden, that interview participants suggest might inadvertently discourage many locals from using the organization's farm. At Metcalfe Park, questions over how best to expand the Young Farmers program and garden have revealed ways in which local involvement in urban agriculture activity is perceived as limited. According to research participants, the Young Farmers Garden receives consistent care as a result of it being the site of a multi-month program that guarantees children will be using the site. However, one lot away, a separate community garden exists that was described by multiple interviews as being infrequently used, and in need of activation. Recently raised questions over how best to use the space that these two gardens exist on highlights how the narrow focus of a youth program could potentially limit the number of people that engage with the Metcalfe Park sites.

In the thesis that follows I first situates these two case studies within the existing literature on urban agriculture, examining research that both upholds the dominant paradigm of urban agriculture as an inherently desired and beneficial practice, as well as research that

challenges this paradigm by examining the problematic space that urban agriculture often reproduces, and the networks organizers rely on to create this space. A methodology section follows the literature review where I explain the study area for this thesis as well as the methods used to collect the data that this study was built on. Finally, I use data collected from participant observation and in-depth interviews to discuss how the differences in the developmental and operational strategies that each organization used has resulted in varied levels of success in establishing local networks with local residents and encouraging them to engage with the space they have created.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Urban agriculture is most closely associated with the creation of alternative food systems and the greening of urban landscapes.[10] However, much of the literature on urban agriculture activity has argued that there is far more to it than that. Defined by Luc J.A. Mougeot as "an industry located within or on the fringes of a town, city or a metropolis which grows and raises, processes and distributes a diversity of food and non-food products, (re)using largely human and material resources, products and services found in and around the urban area, and in turn supplying human and material resources, products and services largely to the urban area," urban agriculture has evolved as a practice and movement with a variety of forms.[11] Urban farms, community gardens, and vertical aquaponics systems are just a few of the many forms agriculture has taken in the urban setting.[12]

For many, the diverse purposes found in urban agriculture are representative of an overarching form of resilience that urban agriculture activity creates within local neighborhoods.[13] The arguments found in the literature on urban agriculture suggest that, as a grassroots movement, urban agriculture directly engages urbanites by teaching them how to create alternative forms of green space and food networks removed from existing political, economic, and social structures. This "bottom-up" approach to creating urban agriculture space

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[10] Nathan McClintock, Dillon Mahmoudi, Michael Simpson and Jacinto Pereira Santos, "Socio-spatial differentiation in the Sustainable City: A mixed-methods assessment of residential gardens in metropolitan Portland, Oregon, USA," *Landscape and Urban Planning* 148 (2016): 1-16.

[11] Luc. J. Mougeot, "Urban agriculture: definition, presence, potential and risks," in *Growing Cities, Growing Food: Urban Agriculture on the Policy Agenda. German Foundation for International Development*, edited by Nico Bakker, Marielle Dubbeling, Sabine Gundel. Ulrich Sabel-Koschella, and Henk de Zeeuw (Deutsche Stiftung fur internationale Entwicklung, 2000): 10.

[12] Michael Broadway, "Growing Urban Agriculture in North American Cities: The Example of Milwaukee," *FOCUS on Geography* 52, no. 3 (Winter 2009): 23-30.

[13] Barthel et al., "Food and Green Space in Cities," 1-18.
Okvat and Zautra, "Community Gardening," 374-387.

has been a defining purpose of the movement, and one that is reflected in both the mission statements of urban agriculture organizations and the studies researching this topic.[14] Resilience has provided a lens for academics to frame urban agriculture as an alternative practice and movement that's purpose goes beyond issues of food and land access, and account for the complex goals of its practitioners. What follows is a review some of the literature that highlights the many ways urban agriculture is purported to benefit people.

Perceived Benefits of Urban Agriculture

The immediate benefits of urban agriculture are a result of the movements' most obvious purpose: food production. As a form of food production, urban agriculture's purpose is to create a space in which food is both produced and distributed to the local communities surrounding urban agriculture sites.[15] Many urban agriculture practitioners view the creation of these local food systems as an important purpose of urban agriculture due to the belief that they provide an alternative resource for urban residents who may have previously lacked access to healthy, affordable food. A common argument found within urban agriculture scholarship is that inner city residents live in "food deserts" where a lack of proper grocery stores has led to a reliance on convenience stores and fast food restaurants for dietary needs.[16] By establishing gardens and farms in inner city neighborhoods, urban agriculture organizations hope to serve the purpose of providing easily accessible, healthy food options to poorer, local residents.

[14] Okvat and Zautra, "Community Gardening," 374.
[15] Bell and Cerulli, "Emerging Community Food Production," 31-44.
[16] Cockrall-King, *Food and the City*.
Milbourne, "Everyday (in)justices," 943-957.
Telesetsky, "Community-Based Urban Agriculture" 259-276.
Okvat and Zautra, "Community Gardening," 374.

Another beneficial effect attributed to urban agriculture is land restoration. The increasing number of vacant properties in Rust Belt cities such as Detroit and Milwaukee has become a serious concern for many city officials who are trying to counter the long-term effects of sprawl and deindustrialization.[17] As urban agriculture activity has become more popular, city planners, politicians, and residents have come to see urban agriculture as a viable strategy to recreate vacant lots into locations of "green infrastructure."[18] These once abandoned and neglected properties are transformed by urban agriculture in various ways. As a method of soil rejuvenation, urban agriculture has the potential to alter contaminated city soil by removing hazardous elements such as lead.[19] As a process of land transformation, urban agriculture takes sites that were once trash-riddled and overgrown by weeds and turns them into spaces that promote activity and production.[20]

Many scholars view urban agriculture as a method of creating social capital between neighborhood members.[21] Defined here as the ability of communities and individual citizens to leverage personal resources in order to create supportive networks, social capital has become an important benefit related to urban agriculture activity.[22] Urban agriculture sites are often seen as locations in which social capital is developed through the promotion of community interaction

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[17] Kathryn J.A. Colasanti, Michael W. Hamm and Charlotte M. Litjens, "The City as an 'Agricultural Powerhouse'? Perspectives in Expanding Urban Agriculture from Detroit, Michigan," *Urban Geography* 33, no. 3 (2012): 348-369.
[18] Colasanti et al., "The City as an Agricultural Powerhouse," 353.
[19] Kirsten Schwarz, Bethany B. Cutts, Jonathan K. London and Mary L. Cadenasso, "Growing Gardens in Shrinking Cities: A Solution to the Soil Lead Problem?," *Sustainability* 8, no. 2 (2016): 1-11.
[20] John Ferris, Carol Norman and Joe Sempik, "People, Land and Sustainability: Community Gardens and the Social Dimensions of Sustainable Development," *Social Policy & Administration* 35, no. 5 (2001): 559-568.
[21] Broadway, "Growing Urban Agriculture," 23-30.
Cockrall-King, *Food and the City*.
Ferris et al., "People, Land and Sustainability," 559-568.
Okvat and Zautra, "Community Gardening," 374-387.
[22] Bell and Cerulli, "Emerging Community Food Production," 31-44.
Hilda Kurtz, "Differentiating Multiple Meanings of Garden and Community," *Urban Geography* 22, no. 7 (2001): 656-670.

and cooperation. Through the use of urban agriculture sites, local residents are not only growing their own food, but also engaging with others that have a vested interest in bettering a shared community. As urban agriculture sites attract a more diverse group of actors, networks form that increase community awareness, as well as local pride in the site.[23]

Finally, some recent studies have used the theory of resilience to frame the current urban agriculture movement and its many purposes.[24] In Okvat and Zautra's study on community gardening, resilience is defined as "the capacity to sustain well-being and recover fully and rapidly from adversity."[25] In these studies, urban agriculture is viewed as a means of providing that capacity for local residents through the creation of locally developed and operated food networks and green spaces. Urban residents are able to use these spaces to strengthen community resilience by producing "multiple forms of capital," through sustainable agricultural practices that stay within the community.[26] Okvat and Zautra argue that gardens not only create physical capital such as food and land that can be shared by community, but social capital through the ways urban agriculture encourages others to "work together" and "achieve common goals."[27] This effort towards self-sustainability results in a decreased reliance on industrial food systems, and an increased reliance on neighbors and other local resources.[28] But where do these networks originate? And how do they influence urban agriculture developmental strategies?

Okvat and Zautra argue that "community gardens are created by and for their member-participants, who are the primary stakeholders and develop their own social capital."[29] Barthel,

[23] Okvat and Zautra, "Community Gardening," 374-387.
[24] Barthel et al., "Food and Green Space in Cities," 1-18.
Okvat and Zautra, "Community Gardening," 374-387.
[25] Okvat and Zautra, "Community Gardening," 376.
[26] Ibid, 383
[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid, 374-387.
[29] Ibid, 383.

Parker and Ernston similarly cite the importance of local urban agriculture participants as carriers of "ecological knowledge" that assists in the process of "place-making in neighborhoods."[30] In both cases, community members are viewed as the key contributors to creating a place that promotes resilience. The network originates in their desire to transform an unused space into a location that encourages production. And their desires influence the development and operations of that site as a site of urban agriculture activity by ensuring that the site functions in a way that best serves the community. Barthel, Parker, and Ernston contend that to truly be effective as a form of resilience against existing production practices, urban agriculture must "shift scales" to encompass a broader range of actors and interests, but that local voices remain at the heart of the movement.[31]

The purported benefits of urban agriculture as highlighted in the existing literature appear to be significant. It addresses issues of food security by bringing people closer to locally grown food sources. It improves neighborhood landscapes through the transformation of vacant lots into usable green space that can be interacted with in a variety of ways. Urban agriculture also creates opportunities for people to create social capital by providing a space for them to interact and help each other out by providing resources such as food, or services such as education on planting. Combined, these benefits are meant to create a form of local resilience where urban residents become less reliant on the industrial food system and more reliant on sustainable spaces that they themselves have developed, and now operate. This section has highlighted just some of the literature that proves that, at times, these benefits are in fact realized. The following section will highlight why these benefits might not always be realized.

Perceived problems with urban agriculture

[30] Barthel et al., "Food and Green Space in Cities," 6-7.
[31] Ibid, 9.

Despite these perceived benefits, a number of researchers have raised important questions about whether urban agriculture activity always results in positive effects. Some of this literature questions how urban agriculture, as an activity performed by a predominantly white majority in neighborhoods that are predominantly black might replicate problematic racial dynamics. Other literature questions the role urban agriculture plays within neoliberalism. This research highlights how the political and economic networks that many urban agriculture organizations exist within are the same networks that have historically excluded poorer, predominantly African American people. These studies show that the purpose of urban agriculture, while often beneficial, is complicated by a variety of existing political, economic, and social practices that influence how it is developed and perceived by different people.[32] The following section will highlight four studies that show how existing urban agriculture practices are indeed framed by existing racial dynamics and neoliberalism.

Urban Agriculture and issues of race

Many scholars have argued that it is impossible to understand or evaluate urban agriculture without considering racial dynamics. Neighborhoods with higher populations of people of color are disproportionately exposed to the many social and environmental injustices that urban agriculture is meant to address.[33] A frequently cited goal of many urban agriculture organizations is to create community-based movements that address issues related to such injustices by teaching local communities how to produce their own food and become more self-sustaining.

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[32] Ghose and Pettygrove, "Actors and networks," 93-103.
Guthman, "Bringing good food to others," 431-447.
Lyson, "Social Structural Location," 310-335.
McClintock, "Radical, reformist, and garden-variety neoliberal," 147-171.
[33] Chiara Tornaghi, "Critical geography of urban agriculture," *Progress in Human Geography* 38, no. 4 (2016): 551-567.

Many of these efforts have taken place in inner-city neighborhoods where people of color have faced economic and political discrimination.[34] However, some scholars have questions how urban agriculture efforts might in fact reproduce injustices instead of correcting them.

One potential way urban agriculture reproduces injustice is through the creation of space that prioritizes white desires. Guthman and Lyson argue that urban agriculture cannot simply be viewed as a benefit to a community, but a practice in which racialized space is used in promoting the "white desires" of the agricultural activists over "those of the communities they putatively serve."[35] Guthman's article examines the whitened culture of the alternative food movement, and the missionary-like desire of white activists to "enroll black people in a particular set of food practices."[36] By focusing not on local African American residents, but her mostly white student volunteers, Guthman shows that these students are "hailed by a set of discourses that reflect whitened cultural histories".[37] Agricultural knowledge and memory play an important role in developing urban agriculture sites. As Guthman points out, African Americans have experienced a much different "history of agrarian land and labor relationships" than many of the young, white volunteers that partake in urban agriculture activity.[38] Getting one's "hands dirty" may coincide with a do-it-yourself attitude for some, but for others the idea of working with soil may be more closely related to slavery.[39] In many cases, these differing viewpoints have had the effect of alienating minorities from urban agriculture practices because the intended purpose of the practice is not one that they identify with.[40]

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[34] Ghose and Pettygrove, "Actors and networks," 93-103.
Guthman, "Bringing good food to others," 431-447.
[35] Guthman, "Bringing good food to others," 431.
Lyson, "Social Structural Location," 310-335.
[36] Guthman, "Bringing good food to others," 433.
[37] Ibid, 432.
[38] Ibid, 435.
[39] Ibid
[40] Ibid, 442.

Similarly, Lyson's study uses interviews with twenty-five activists living in the San Francisco Bay Area to show that the urban agriculture movement is defined by a certain type of social identity that is predominantly white, educated, and middle to upper class.[41] She goes on to argue that the result of this identity is a "missionary-like desire to educate others as to the benefits of growing their own food," and the desire to alter a community in order to fit the identity of a whitened alternative food growing network.[42] This work is similar in nature to Guthman's study, but goes on to address the "structurally homogeneous group of activists" at the heart of the alternative food system in Oakland.[43] By arguing that the movement as a whole is framed by a very specific set of discourses, Lyson proves that any sense of community created from urban agriculture processes is a community where the existing "social hierarchies" are still present.[44] The perspectives gained from these studies show that while agricultural activity may have the potential to address issues of racial and environmental injustices, a white "coding" of alternative food movements often prevents people of color from fully engaging in urban agriculture.[45]

Furthermore, many scholars have not only questioned the role urban agriculture plays in recreating problematic racial dynamics, but the frameworks used to promote urban agriculture as a beneficial practice. Resilience, while viewed by many as an advantageous way to frame the effects of urban agriculture activity, is also viewed by many current scholars (including myself) as a theory that problematically approaches issues of resource distribution and security by emphasizing adaptation instead of prevention and structural changes.[46] Bonds argues that

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[41] Lyson, "Social Structural Location," 310-335.
[42] Ibid, 325.
[43] Ibid, 332.
[44] Ibid, 325.
[45] Guthman, "Bringing good food to others," 442.
[46] Anne Bonds, "Refusing Resilience: The Racialization of Risk and Resilience," Urban Geography (2018): 1-7. Susan S. Fainstein, "Resilience and Justice: Planning for New York City," Urban Geography (2018): 1-8.

"resilience as a planning frame is rooted within a capitalist logic enmeshed within a racial system that differentiates people and places along the lines of value and risk."[47] Due to this lack of racial awareness, resilience planning frequently fails to address existing racial hierarchies that have limited minorities access to the resources that would allow them to adapt to changing market conditions. In the following subsection I will examine two studies that situate urban agriculture within neoliberalism in order to better explain how past and present economic practices inform urban agriculture activity.

Urban agriculture and neoliberalism

Another critical approach to researching urban agriculture emphasizes the contradictions that come from developing a grassroots movement within the current urban political economy.[48] The underlying argument of this perspective is that sites must be recognized as locations that offer opportunities for resisting neoliberal processes by providing locally developed, alternative food systems and green space. However, they must also be recognized as spaces developed through networks situated within a neoliberal context. I use Theodore, Peck, and Brenner's description of neoliberalism as an ideology that "rests on the belief that open, competitive, and 'unregulated' markets, liberated from state interference and the actions of social collectivities, represent the optimal mechanism for socioeconomic development."[49] Urban agriculture, as a process that largely takes place as a result of nonprofit work has become one such mechanism.

[47] Bonds, Refusing Resilience," 5.
[48] Ghose and Pettygrove, "Actors and networks," 93-103.
McClintock, "Radical, reformist, and garden-variety neoliberal," 147-171.
[49] Nik Theodore, Jamie Peck and Neil Brenner, "Neoliberal Urbanism: Cities and the Rule of Markets," *The New Blackwell Companion to the City* (2011): 15.

The growth of urban agriculture practices is also rooted in many of the broader urban processes that came before it. As mentioned in the previous sections, processes such as deindustrialization and urban renewal have had a significant influence on both the spaces that allow urban agriculture to exist, and the practice of urban agriculture itself. During the mid-twentieth century, Milwaukee, like many other Rust Belt cities at the time, was significantly altered as a result of whites and industrial companies leaving the city. With them went a large portion of the city's tax base and employment opportunities. Commonly referred to as deindustrialization, this process resulted in the disinvestment of urban areas by both politicians and businesses who worked to accommodate the mostly white suburbanized population and the economies that they supported.

This public and private support is clearly seen in the urban renewal projects that many municipal governments undertook during the second half of the twentieth-century. Most common of these projects was the development of the interstate system. Developed as a means to connect people on the outskirts of urban areas, to the cultural and economic opportunities that existed within cities, interstates and freeways were constructed throughout America to enable this movement. Milwaukee had its share of urban renewal projects with the development of projects such as Interstate 43 and the failed Park West freeway.[50] While the completed interstates did work to bring suburbanized people back into the city temporarily, they also brought on the destruction of many residential areas in the city. These areas were primarily made up black Milwaukeeans. Forced to move, these African Americans often relocated to neighborhoods that had been devalued as a result of the municipal policies of the era that emphasized renewing

[50] John Gurda, *Milwaukee: City of Neighborhoods* (Milwaukee, WI: Historic Milwaukee Incorporated, 2015), 248-249.

white economic interests in urban areas instead of the housing issues that affected the vast majority of its minority population.[51]

Today, the effects of deindustrialization and urban renewal can still be seen in government and private practices. Downtown redevelopment projects such as the new Bucks basketball arena are prioritized as a means to bring more consumer cash into the city, while housing stock in the inner city continues to degrade. Urban agriculture has benefitted from this in that because of this degradation and devaluation there is an abundance of affordable and unused land that is available to those with the connections and resources to obtain it. The following section will highlight two studies that show how urban agriculture practices are informed by the problematic socioeconomic practices of the past and present, while at the same time working to counter their effects.

Ghose and Pettygrove use varying community garden organizations in Milwaukee's Harambee neighborhood to examine how social networks between individuals and organizations develop at different scales in order for urban gardens to function.[52] Their study reveals that as these networks develop, power hierarchies are formed that force local residents with limited resources to "conform to the interests" of other, more "powerful actors", such as well-established nonprofit organizations.[53] In this way, local urban agriculture practitioners are required to work within the networks that these organizations have created in order to obtain the resources that are essentially to urban agriculture, such as land, soil, and water. The result of this is often a loss of local control over the developmental and operational processes surrounding urban agriculture sites. In their study, Ghose and Pettygrove highlight this process in how volunteerism works

[51] Mindy Fullilove, "Root Shock: The Consequences of African American Dispossession," *Journal of Urban Health* 78, no. 1 (2001): 72-80.
[52] Ghose and Pettygrove, "Actors and networks,", 93.
[53] Ibid.

within many urban agriculture networks. Gardens established by Groundwork Milwaukee require a certain amount of upkeep "to ensure plant beds are tended, grass is mown, and snow is shoveled in winter."[54] These tasks are often the responsibility of the neighborhood members that worked to establish the garden, but outside laborers are regularly recruited through nonprofit networks to assist with these jobs. The use of this "extralocal network" by the nonprofit organizations that oversee these gardens, while well intentioned, often result in outside advocates bringing in certain ideas of agriculture that do not reflect the ideas of the local community. Ghose and Pettygrove's study highlights the contradictions found in urban agriculture by acknowledging these networks as both an opportunity for inclusion and exclusion from urban agriculture developmental practices.

In McClintock's study, the contradictions between urban agriculture's "radical, reformist" and "neoliberal" characteristics are directly addressed through an examination of research on urban agriculture in Oakland, CA.[55] This study recognizes that urban agriculture exists not only as a movement influenced by neoliberal tendencies, but also as one that was created because of them. The "rolling back of the social safety net" in the current urban political economy has forced nonprofit and local organizations to take on the burden of producing and providing healthy food to those that wish to obtain it.[56] By recognizing this developmental process, we can recognize that while urban agriculture may result from the reduction of government services, it is also a way of engaging in activity that works against current political and economic structures. The crux of McClintock's argument lies in his acknowledgement that this contradiction in urban agriculture is simply a part of the movement, and that in order to gain

[54] Ghose and Pettygrove, "Actors and networks," 99.
[55] McClintock, "Radical, reformist, and garden-variety neoliberal," 147.
[56] Ibid, 148.

the most out of movement's "transformative" properties, academics and practitioners alike must come to terms with this contradiction.[57] The next step is figuring out what needs to be done after this contradiction is accepted.

Future research on urban agriculture

I argue that in order to build on the critical scholarship of urban agriculture, future researchers must address the developmental and operational differences that exist between urban agriculture organizations. By examining the different developmental and operational processes of different urban agriculture organizations, scholars may be able to better understand which strategies have, or have not, recreated existing forms of inequality. It is not enough to simply recognize the benefits and failures of urban agriculture. Researchers must make use of local case studies to determine what methods are being used by various urban agriculture organizations to create alternative food networks, green space, and community resilience. The many goals of urban agriculture share a common theme of serving local communities. When an urban agriculture organization is not serving the local community, it should be questioned whether or not that organization has been successful in its mission.

It is also important for researchers to recognize urban agriculture spaces as a product of organization, and/or neighborhood objectives. Urban agriculture sites always serve a purpose. Whether that purpose is simply to provide green space for the surrounding neighborhood, or to create an economically sustainable practice that grows sellable food and provides jobs, each site is a manifestation of specific group desires. These desires become realized within that space. If a site is designed to be economically viable, an organization may work to protect its assets (vegetables) by limiting accessibility. Alternatively, if a site is primarily meant as a social

[57] McClintock, "Radical, reformist, and garden-variety neoliberal," 149.

gathering place, areas where food can be grown may decrease in favor of open green space where visitors can sit and interact. Inherent in both manifestations, as well as in the various other forms of urban agriculture, is the desire to make space usable and beneficial to a variety of people.

However, the ways in which these spaces are developed and operated cannot be divorced from the socio-economic processes that have allowed organizations to access and transform this space. As highlighted in the literature review, urban agriculture sites exist within highly racialized urban spaces.[58] The vacant lots that so many of these spaces occupy are the result of decades of economic and political disinvestment in African American neighborhoods. While the current urban agriculture movement is greatly influenced by whitened ideas of what food and land mean to people. Therefore, the racial characteristics of the spaces in which urban agriculture activity takes place is in direct contradiction with the movement as one that is predominantly white.[59]

[58] Lyson, "Social Structural Location," 333.
[59] Guthman, "Bringing good food to others," 434, 436.

Chapter 3: Study Area & Methodology

Study Area

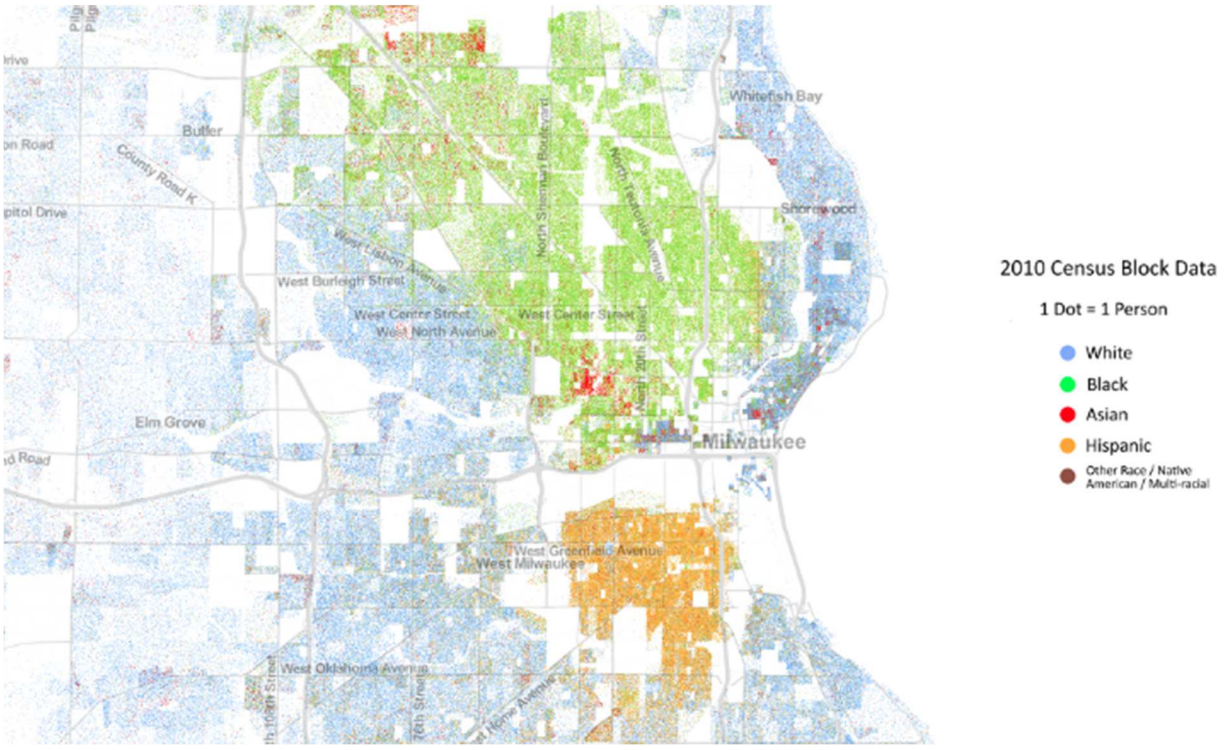

Figure 1 — 2010 Census Block Data, Racial Dot Map of Milwaukee, WI
Source: Weldon Cooper Center for Public Service, University of Virginia.
https://demographics.virginia.edu/DotMap/index.html

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the developmental and operational strategies of urban organizations, and how stakeholders perceive the potential impacts of these strategies. Milwaukee, with its high percentage of vacant land and growing number of urban agriculture nonprofit organizations is an excellent place to examine these perceptions. Also, as one of the most segregated cities in the United States, Milwaukee is an ideal setting to determine how existing forms of inequality are recreated in spaces of urban agriculture activity. To do this, I collected data from two urban agriculture sites, located in two different neighborhoods, and operated by two different nonprofit organizations. The Victory Garden Urban Farm and the

Young Farmers Garden provide two different examples of how urban agriculture is being used in the city of Milwaukee, the first as a large-scale operation with a variety of purposes and the second as a small-scale operation specifically focused on youth education. In order to better understand these uses, I interviewed organizers and residents working at the sites, and/or living near them to determine the various ways in which different people perceived the effects of each organization's developmental and operational strategies. These interviews, and the conversation I had through participant observation, allowed me to hear directly from the people that have been, or are meant to benefit from the presence of these sites. The following section explains in more detail the study area of this thesis, the methods used to obtain data, and why they were used.

Study area

Milwaukee, Wisconsin is a city of roughly 600,000 people located on the southwestern shore of Lake Michigan.[60] It is the largest city in Wisconsin, making up just under 10% of the state's population, and the 31st largest city in the United States.[61] Like many other major American cities, the population of Milwaukee is noticeably divided based on racial and socioeconomic characteristics. In 2013, Milwaukee was ranked the most segregated city in the country.[62] While it no longer holds that rank at the time of this study, the stark spatial divide between racial groups in the city remains one of its defining characteristics. In 2010, roughly 40% of

[60] "Profile of General Population and Housing Characteristics: 2010," U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 Census.
[61] Ibid.
"Top 50 Cities in the U.S. by Population and Rank.," *Infoplease*, accessed April 13, 2018, https://www.infoplease.com/us/us-cities/top-50-cities-us-population-and-rank.
[62] Stephanie Lecci and Michelle Maternowski, "Ranking: MIlwaukee Still Country's Most Segregated Metro Area," *WUWM*, Nov. 27, 2013, http://wuwm.com/post/ranking-milwaukee-still-countrys-most-segregated-metro-area#stream/0.

Milwaukee's population was African American.[63] The majority of that population was located in the northwest section of the city (Figure 1).

Table 1 — Economic Characteristics at National, State, and City Level

	Median Income	Poverty %	Unemployment %
United States	$55,322	12.7	n/a
Wisconsin	$54,610	12.7	3
Milwaukee	$36,801	28.4	10.3

Source: "2012-2016 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimate," U.S. Census Bureau.

2016 estimates show that the city of Milwaukee has a significantly higher poverty and unemployment rates than both state and national averages. People living in Milwaukee have a median income of nearly $20,000 lower than the state and national average. The 2010 unemployment rate in Milwaukee (10.3%) is also much higher than the state unemployment rate of 3.0% (Table 1).[64] Within the city, those negative effects are felt more prominently by the Milwaukee's black population. 2016 estimates show that 38.2% of Milwaukee's African-American population lives below the poverty line. In addition, the unemployment rate is 17.3%, 7% higher than the city average and just over 13% higher than the state average. This rate is drastically different than the 4.3% unemployment rate experienced by whites living in the city. Similarly, the difference in median income between white and black Milwaukeeans is severe. The average white Milwaukeean was expected to make $62,600 in 2016, while the average black Milwaukeean made $25,600 (Table 2).

[63] "General Population and Housing Characteristics: 2010," U.S. Census Bureau.
[64] United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

The socioeconomic conditions highlighted above have, in part, contributed to the rise of urban agriculture in predominantly African-American neighborhoods that have faced decades of government and economic disinvestment. And while urban agriculture does not directly address

Table 2 — Economic Characteristics for Milwaukee Based on Race

	Median Income[^]	Poverty %[▽]	Unemployment %[†]
Milwaukee Total Population	$36,801	28.4	10.3
Milwaukee's African American Population	$25,600	38.2	17.3
Milwaukee's White Population	$62,600	18.2	4.3

[^] National Urban League, "State of Black America 2017 Report," pgs. 21-23.
[▽] "POVERTY STATUS IN THE LAST 12 MONTHS, 2012-2016 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimate," U.S. Census Bureau.
[†] "EMPLOYMENT STATUS, 2012-2016 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimate," U.S. Census Bureau.

many of the economic disparities mentioned above, it nonetheless operates as a form of social investment into local neighborhoods. In Milwaukee, urban agriculture has grown over the years as a variety of actors within nonprofit and political spheres have been sold on the practice as a method of correcting some of the issues faced by the city's minority population.

The recent emergence of urban agriculture activity in Milwaukee is most associated with the founding and growth of the nonprofit organization Growing Power from 1993 until 2017. Within this period a number of Milwaukee based organizations such as Groundwork MKE, Walnut Way, and Alice's Garden have been founded with various purposes related to food, green space, and community development. Many smaller organizations as well as independent residents have also become a part of the urban agriculture movement. Individual raised bed

gardens and lot sized community gardens can be found in neighborhoods throughout the city. Even the local government has bought into the idea of urban agriculture as a viable funding option. Home Gr/own, a government led program that started in the 2000s, focuses on "greenspace developments" as a means to promote economic development in Milwaukee.[65] Cream City Farm, a multi-acre urban farm run by the organization, is currently under construction in the northwestern part of the city.

Urban agriculture has also faced many setbacks in the city. Sweet Water Organics Inc., which opened an aquaponic and hydroponic-focused urban farm in 2008, closed its doors in 2013 after significant financial and management problems. And recently, Growing Power, the local giant that has influenced so much of the urban agriculture movement in the city closed its doors at the end of 2017 due to financial struggles. The cases of Sweet Water and Growing Power highlight the potential limitations of urban agriculture, and what it can do for a city and its people. However, urban agriculture as a whole is still quite strong in Milwaukee, and its significance in how the city is being shaped, and for who remains an important question.

Data collected from Milwaukee nonprofit organization maps and figures highlights just how prevalent urban agriculture activity has become within the last two decades. These maps also show that this activity largely takes place in areas of Milwaukee with a large African-American population (Figure 2). Milwaukee Grows, formerly Milwaukee Urban Gardens, is an "Urban Garden Network" program run by the nonprofit organization Groundwork Milwaukee.[66] Operating as a facilitator between the city government and local residents, Milwaukee Grows provides Milwaukeeans who wish to start a community garden with many of the legal protections and resources needed to develop such sites. Milwaukee Grows helps residents file the

[65] http://city.milwaukee.gov/homegrownmilwaukee.com#.WwrS31Mvy34
[66] http://www.groundworkmke.org/milwaukee-urban-gardens/

proper land lease forms with the city, provides liability insurance for the site, and assists in the development of new gardens with their "Green Team youth employees," and volunteers (Appendix A).[67] As of 2018, Milwaukee Grows has established over 100 community gardens within the city of Milwaukee. As shown in Figure 2, the majority of those gardens are in the northwest part of the city.

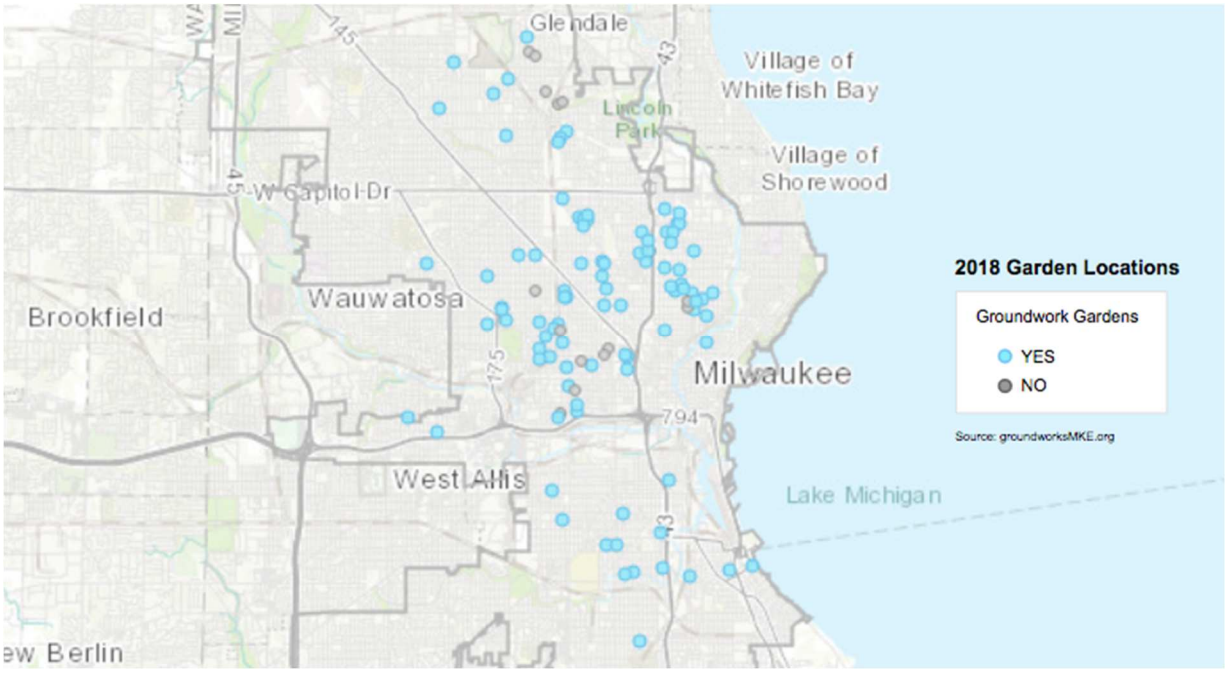

Figure 2 — Milwaukee Grow's Interactive Garden Map
Source: http://www.groundworkmke.org/milwaukee-urban-gardens/.

The gardens created with the help of Milwaukee Grows do not encompass the entirety of urban agriculture activity in the city. A number of large, well-funded urban agriculture organizations as well as smaller, neighborhood organizations have appeared in Milwaukee in recent history. These organizations are developed in different ways and provide different agriculture-based services to the neighborhoods they are meant to serve. However, the majority of them use similar

[67] "Milwaukee Grows," Groundwork Milwaukee, accessed April 13, 2018, http://www.groundworkmke.org/milwaukee-urban-gardens/.

language in their mission statements and goals (Appendix B). A significant number of these organizations are also located and/or operate in the northwest part of the city.

Table 3— Demographic Characteristics of Milwaukee, Harambee and Metcalfe Park

	Population Total / Black Pop.	Median Income ($) Total / Black Pop.	Unemployment % Total / Black Pop.
Milwaukee^	594,833 / 237,769 (40%)	36,801 / 25,600	10.3 / 17.3
Harambee▽	16,511 / 13,426 (81.32%)	21,000 / 18,500	16.3 / 19.5
Metcalfe Park†	2,882 / 2,712 (94.1%)	17,100 / 15,900	16.2 / 18.1

^ Milwaukee, WI 2010 Demographic Profile, U.S. Census Bureau,, https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?src=CF.

▽ City of Milwaukee Neighborhood Strategic Planning (NSP) fact sheet for "6 Harambee," https://itmdapps.milwaukee.gov/publicApplication_SR/NeighborhoodServlet?nspNumber=6&fromDate=04%2F10%2F2018&toDate=04%2F11%2F2018&submit=Submit.

† City of Milwaukee Neighborhood Strategic Planning (NSP) fact sheet for "8 Metcalfe Park," https://itmdapps.milwaukee.gov/publicApplication_SR/NeighborhoodServlet?nspNumber=8&fromDate=04%2F10%2F2018&toDate=04%2F11%2F2018&submit=Submit.

Two neighborhoods located within this area of Milwaukee and hosting urban agriculture projects are Harambee and Metcalfe Park. Harambee and Metcalfe Park are predominantly black neighborhoods that share similar demographic characteristics with Milwaukee's African-American population as a whole (Table 3). The Harambee neighborhood has an area of 1.13 square miles and bordered by Capitol Drive to the north, Holton Avenue to the east, Brown Street to the south, and Interstate 43 to the west (Figure 3). The population of Harambee is 81.32% (13,426) African American. The median income for residents of Harambee is $21,000 a year. For African Americans, that number is $18,500 a year. Unemployment rates are also higher in Harambee than in the Milwaukee as a whole. The neighborhood as a whole has an unemployment rate of 16.3%, 6% higher than the city average. African Americans in Harambee

have an unemployment rate of 19.5%, which is 2% higher than that of the black population of Milwaukee as a whole.

Figure 3 — Harambee Neighborhood

Source: "Neighborhood Strategic Planning (NSP), 6 Harambee," City of Milwaukee, https://itmdapps.milwaukee.gov/publicApplication_SR/NeighborhoodServlet?nspNumber=6&fromDate=04%2F10%2F2018&toDate=04%2F11%2F2018&submit=Submit.

Metcalfe Park, located roughly a mile and a half west of Harambee, is significantly smaller. The neighborhood of Metcalfe Park has an area of roughly 0.35 square miles and bordered by Center Street to the north, 27th Street to the east, North Avenue to the south, and 38th Street to the west (Figure 4). It has a population of 2,882 people. 94.1% (2,712) of that population is African American. The median income for all residents of Metcalfe Park is $17,100. The median income of African Americans living in Metcalfe Park is $15,900. Similar to Harambee, Metcalfe Park residents experience higher rates of unemployment. The neighborhood as a whole has an unemployment rate of 16.2%, nearly identical to the unemployment rate of Harambee. African Americans in Metcalfe Park have an unemployment rate of 18.1%, slightly lower than the rate experienced in Harambee.

In addition to the socioeconomic conditions mentioned above, the number of vacant lots in the predominantly African-American neighborhoods of Milwaukee plays a significant role in where organizations site locations of urban agriculture activity. In this thesis I use vacant to refer to plots of land with or without manmade structures on them that are no longer occupied by residents or workers. Milwaukee as whole has just over 160,000 properties. 88% (141,062) of those properties are for residential purposes. 4.12% of the total properties in Milwaukee, WI are vacant. Within the neighborhoods of Harambee and Metcalfe Park, the percentage of vacant properties is significantly higher than the city (Table 4). There are 4,711 total properties in the Harambee neighborhood. 3,624 (76.93%) of these properties are for residential purposes, and 618 (13.12%) of those total properties are vacant. To get a sense of the number of vacant lots within a block of the urban agriculture sites being used for this study, I walked around the

neighborhood and counted how many properties were vacant and how many empty lots there were. For the Harambee walk I started from the intersection of

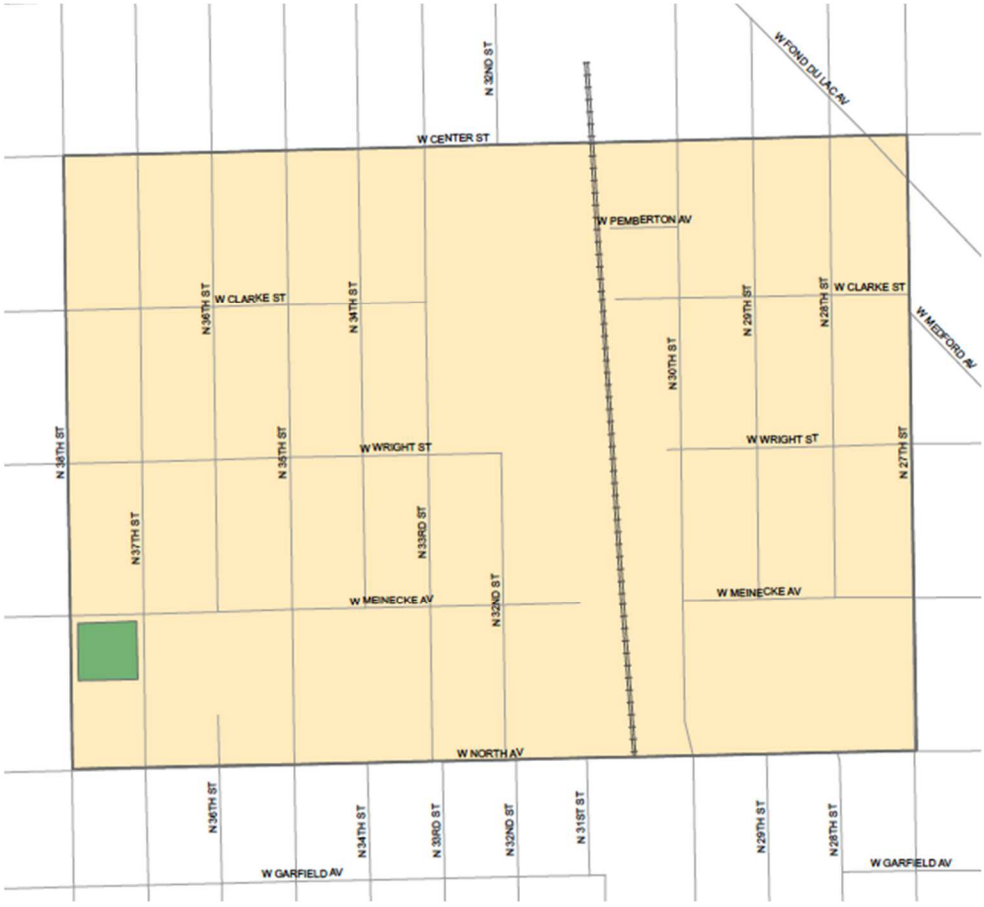

Figure 4 — Metcalfe Park Neighborhood
Source: "Neighborhood Strategic Planning (NSP), 8 Metcalfe Park," City of Milwaukee, https://itmdapps.milwaukee.gov/publicApplication_SR/NeighborhoodServlet?nspNumber=8&fromDate=04%2F10%2F2018&toDate=04%2F11%2F2018&submit=Submit.

North Richards Street and East Concordia and walked around the block on which the Victory Gardens Urban Farm is located. There are two vacant houses and one empty lot on the block. There are three vacant houses and one empty lot on the facing blocks around the garden block. The block in total has thirty total houses, and one apartment complex on the north side of the block.

Metcalfe Park has 779 total properties. 552 (70.86%) of these properties are for residential purposes, and 150 (19.26%) of the total are vacant. For the Metcalfe Park walk I started at the intersection of N 28th Street and W Wright Street and walked around the block on

Table 4 — Housing Characteristics of Milwaukee, Harambee, and Metcalfe Park

	Total Properties	Residential Properties (%)	Vacant Properties (%)
Milwaukee^	160,300	141,065 (88%)	6,605 (4.12%)
Harambee▽	4,711	3,624 (76.93%)	618 (13.12%)
Metcalfe Park†	779	552 (70.86%)	150 (19.26%)

^ ▽ City of Milwaukee Neighborhood Strategic Planning (NSP) fact sheet for "6 Harambee," https://itmdapps.milwaukee.gov/publicApplication_SR/NeighborhoodServlet?nspNumber=6&fromDate=04%2F0%2F2018&toDate=04%2F11%2F2018&submit=Submit.

† City of Milwaukee Neighborhood Strategic Planning (NSP) fact sheet for "8 Metcalfe Park," https://itmdapps.milwaukee.gov/publicApplication_SR/NeighborhoodServlet?nspNumber=8&fromDate=04%2F0%2F2018&toDate=04%2F11%2F2018&submit=Submit.

which the Young Farmers Garden and the Metcalfe Park Garden is located. There are four vacant houses and four empty lots on the block. There are two vacant houses and two empty lots on the facing blocks. The block in total has 33 residential properties. When this study began there were 34, but the vacant property between the two Metcalfe Park gardens was torn down in the fall of 2017.

The amount of vacant space in both of these neighborhoods helps explain why so much urban agriculture activity is taking place in these areas. As stated above, vacant lots are a requirement for many types of urban agriculture activity. The fact that both Harambee and the Metcalfe Park neighborhoods have a significantly higher percentage of vacant lots than the city of Milwaukee as a whole means that neighborhood residents living in these areas have more available space to transform into gardens. However, this fact is not enough to explain what

effects, if any, these urban agriculture sites are having on the local population. In order to understand the different developmental and operational strategies at work at these sites, and to argue that these differences highlight the non-monolithic nature of urban agriculture activity and its outcomes, I sought out resident perspectives on the gardens, the neighborhoods, the organizations, and urban agriculture itself.

Methods

In this study, I used a mixed-methods approach combining discourse analysis, participant observation, and in-depth qualitative interviews. I collected and analyzed the literature that each organization published through social media, email, and organization websites. I also conducted participant observation through visits to garden sites, attending garden events, and going to different neighborhood association meetings where the garden sites were discussed. Finally, I conducted in-depth interviews with current and past organization members of Victory Gardens Initiative, and the Groundwork Milwaukee's Young Farmers Program. I also conducted interviews with residents of Harambee and Metcalfe Park who made use of the garden in some way, and with residents who did not participate in urban agriculture activity in any way. In total, I interviewed eight people, four from each site.

I analyzed the literature each organization published through social media, email, and organization websites in order to collect mission/purpose statements, and information on the various events hosted by the organizations. To gather this information for the Victory Gardens Urban Farm, I used VGI's website, joined VGI's monthly mailing list "The Beet," and followed VGI on Facebook. [68] For the Metcalfe Park gardens, I used Groundwork Milwaukee's website, and followed Groundwork Milwaukee, Milwaukee Urban Gardens (now Milwaukee Grows),

[68] https://victorygardeninitiative.org/.

Young Farmers MKE, and Metcalfe Park Community Bridges on Facebook.[69] The majority of the documents I analyzed were from the two-year period of this thesis project. However, annual reports posted on to the VGI website starting in 2013 were also used to collect information on the development of the organization. I analyzed this data by looking for keywords within organization mission statements and program descriptions that spoke to local action, such as *community* and *neighborhood*. What community/neighborhood are these statements referencing? Is it neighborhood specific, or is it a vague description? What are the common narratives tied to these places? How are they helping? Why? While these questions did not directly answer how these organizations were engaging with the surrounding area, they did give me a basic understanding of the intended purposes of each organization and how organizers expected to interact with local residents.

Participant observation was done at both garden sites from the summer of 2017 to the summer 0f 2018. I conducted participant observation for the Victory Gardens Urban Farm, located in Harambee, during the farm's business hours. In total, I attended one event, and visited the farm five times during this time period. While there I talked to volunteers and organization members about their experiences at the garden, and the neighborhood. These were off-the-record conversations in which I would discuss with them their relationship to the garden, what they do there, and how they found out about it. I was forthcoming about my research and the study during the discussions. VGI also offers a variety of events to promote the garden, and the organization itself. The Victory Garden and Fruity Nutty Blitzes are spring events hosted by VGI every year. A variety of classes, from yoga to worm composting seminars are also taught at the

[69] http://www.groundworkmke.org/.

garden. However, due to the timing of this study, and the sparse winter and fall schedule for these events, most of these events did not coincide with the period of my fieldwork.

I conducted participant observation at the Metcalfe Park gardens specifically during garden events and various neighborhood association meetings. In total, I attended two garden events, one neighborhood association meeting, and visited the Young Farmers Garden once while the program was running. The Metcalfe Park community garden does not operate as a business, and therefore has no set hours for the people using the site. The Young Farmers Garden is in operation from early June to the end of September every year, serving as a type of "after school program" for elementary and middle school children living in the neighborhood. While in operation, the children in the program, the program manager, and at times parents of the children are working at the garden. To get a sense of the local perspectives of the two gardens in Metcalfe Park I visited the Young Farmers Garden once while the kids were working, and I attended a tree planting ceremony near the end of August 2017 to celebrate the work the children did that summer. I also met with residents of the Dr. Wesley Scott Senior Living Center, located directly across the street from the gardens, during resident association meetings where the garden was discussed. As was the case at the Victory Garden Urban Farm these were off the record conversations in which I would discuss with them their relationship to the garden, what they do there, and how they found out about it.

Finally, I conducted semi-structured, in-depth interviews with past and present organization members, residents that made use of the garden in some capacity, and residents that did not participate in any garden activities. In total, I interviewed eight people. Three people, consisting of one organization member, one resident participant (involved in garden activities), and one resident nonparticipant (not involved in garden activities were interviewed for the

Harambee site. Three people, consisting of two organization members, and one resident participant for the Metcalfe Park site. Two interviewees had direct experience and knowledge of both sites. In order to protect the identity of my interviewees, I do not use their real names in this thesis.

I used past connections made while working as an undergraduate research assistant and later a graduate project assistant for the Wisconsin Farms Oral History Project.[70] These existing contacts got me in touch with other organization members that they thought would be interested in my research. In order to obtain resident interviews, I relied on urban agriculture organizers and members of the neighborhood associations to direct me to local residents living in the area who might be willing to speak with me. After first discussing my research with potential interviewees through email, and/or phone conversations, a one-on-one interview was scheduled. Each interviewee signed a consent form. The interviews were recorded for coding purposes.

As stated above, the interviews were semi-structured around the three broad themes of neighborhood/community, the garden site in question, and urban agriculture as a whole (Appendix C). The theme of neighborhood/community was used in order to get a sense of what the person thought about the area surrounding the urban agriculture site, as well as their relationship to it. Questions such as, "Do you live in the neighborhood? If so, for how long? What do you like about living here? Dislike?," while simple, provided some insight into what a person thought about the area before getting into the specific impacts of the urban agriculture site. While I mention community here, it was a word that I avoided unless the interviewee talked about community themselves in an attempt to avoid influencing their own perceptions of community. Determining what community meant to them in a personal way that went beyond

[70] http://wisconsinfarmers.weebly.com/.

geography was revealing in relation to how the garden fit into the interviewee's life. A more detailed look at community, and the networks of relations that each interviewee spoke to when talking about community will be discussed in the qualitative section.

Garden-related questions worked to expand on the interviewee's idea of community, to get a background into how the garden was developed and is operating in the neighborhood, and if the garden has been embraced by the neighborhood. "Do you use the garden? If so, how and why? If not, why? Do you see the garden as being a part of the neighborhood, or the community you previously mentioned? Is it benefiting the community? In what ways? What do you remember about how the garden started?" These questions allowed me to better understand what each interviewee saw as the garden's role and purpose, and if that purpose was being met. In the case of the organizer interviews, these questions also helped provide background as to who started the garden, and why the site was chosen.

Finally, I asked questions related to urban agriculture itself. These were generally the broadest of all the questions and included, "What do you think of urban agriculture? What do you believe its purpose is? Locally? Overall? Is it achieving that purpose." As expected due to their role in urban agriculture practices, organizers often had the most to say on these topics. They could speak to how they got started at their organization, what their role was, what attracted them to the work, and so on. However, while they could not often speak to the business side of urban agriculture, most residents had a great deal to say about the role of urban agriculture in their neighborhood, and what they hoped it would accomplish.

The themes of neighborhood/community, garden site, and urban agriculture were not presented in a specific order during the interviews. The semi-structured nature of the discussions resulted in various topics coming up at different times as a result of unscripted follow-up

questions, and/or unprompted stories that spoke to each one of the themes. The majority of the analysis around these themes was developed during the coding process.

Once completed, the interviews were coded in order to better analyze the collected data. A two-part coding system was used to arrange the interview content. First, I divided my data between the two case study locations. As I analyzed the data further, I began to split the interview content in a second way. This more inductive method involved dividing what was being talked about into the three categories of space, networks, and scale. Space refers specifically to instances in which the interviewee was discussing a matter that related to the urban agriculture space in question. Comments coded in relation to space either had to do with the physical features of the neighborhood and the urban agriculture site, and/or how the space is interacted with. By networks, I mean the various actors that each organization relied on to develop the site and continues to rely on to operate the site. Lastly, comments coded in relation to scale specifically had to do with the programs implemented at each site and the people that these programs targeted. There was often overlap between the three categories. For example, the scale at which a food sharing program operates is important, but there is also significance in how the program is influenced by the existing networks that are used to promote the program and distribute the food. Comments that spoke to multiple themes were highlighted and used to in my analysis to connect space, networks and scale together.

There were certainly limitations to the methods used. By using Groundwork Milwaukee and VGI members as a source for other interviews I ran the risk of meeting people that had already had a strong opinion, or stake in the garden. I also ran the risk that my group of interviewees would not be representative of the Harambee and Metcalfe Park populations as a whole. This second concern ended up being an issue in the final study. All but three of my

interview subjects were white, while, as stated above, the majority of both neighborhoods are African American. Further research of this nature would need to address the lack of diversity in the group of interviewees. However, the diversity in the interviewees' relationships to the neighborhood and garden found in this interview should be a goal in future studies of this nature.

Although my final group of interviewees each represented varying and valuable perspectives to this study, the lack of interviews with resident nonparticipants has led to what I believe to be an incomplete analysis of the neighborhood perceptions of these gardens. Obtaining these interviews proved to be difficult. Many residents I talked to either did not see the point in providing an interview because they did not feel that they could speak to my area of research, or because they were not comfortable with discussing neighborhood matters with someone from outside the neighborhood. Even some organization members refused to provide interviews. While I had the opportunity to meet and talk with many of the members of Metcalfe Park Community Bridges at garden events, very few of them wanted to be interviewed about the garden. Having been through similar processes with other researchers from outside the neighborhood, the people I talked to voiced valid concerns about how the garden and the neighborhood might be portrayed in this study. The perspectives from these organization members and more resident nonparticipants living in both neighborhoods would have provided a much fuller picture of the garden and its role within the neighborhood.

Part of the issue in collecting interviews from certain residents also came from my position as a white, male researcher working in a neighborhood that is predominantly African American. Because they viewed me as an outsider—a representative of the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee and, at times, the urban agriculture nonprofits I was researching—many locals I spoke to rightfully questioned whether or not my research was a benefit to the

neighborhood, or simply a benefit to the research itself. This was most obvious in my discussions with members of Metcalfe Park Community Bridges. As a neighborhood organization, one Community Bridges member repeatedly questioned what value my research would be to neighborhood residents. How could my research better their urban agriculture efforts? What could it tell them about their neighborhood that they did not already know, and are experiencing on a daily basis? These were important questions for me to ask about my own research, but ones that I could not do justice to without the perceptions of those living in the neighborhood.

This personal account highlights the important role race plays in urban agriculture and the process of researching it. As I emphasized in the literature review, studies have also shown how people's involvement of urban agriculture are often informed by perceptions of the practice that are rooted in race and history. However, the analysis that follows in this thesis cannot comprehensively address the role race plays in shaping the spaces, networks, and scales of operations at both the Harambee and Metcalfe Park sites. This limitation has much to do with the people to whose perspectives I had access and the data I collected. One of the primary reasons I chose both sites was my assumption that race played an important role in how each site was developed and operated. This proved to be true based on the four interviews I conducted at the Harambee site, but race was only explicitly discussed by one interviewee in Metcalfe Park. Despite recognizing that race played an important role at each site, I felt that I was unable to compare and contrast the two sites in a meaningful way due to the lack of perspectives that highlighted the issue of race in Metcalfe Park.

Despite these shortcomings, I believe that this study still has significant value. Harambee and Metcalfe Park serve as valuable case studies for understanding the different ways urban agriculture is promoted, implemented, and used in different neighborhoods. Separately, my

examination of each site provides a narrative that explains how an organization's motives and intentions are not always in line with the actual effects that they bring to a neighborhood. Together, these case studies show how different strategies have worked in different ways to create urban agriculture spaces that rely on different networks, and forms of power. Also, while not representative of the neighborhood populations, the interviewees do represent distinct perspectives from different people with different relationships to the garden sites, the neighborhoods, and urban agriculture. Nearly every interviewee spoke both critically and positively about urban agriculture and their respective site. This thesis has value in that it highlights these contradictions when they appear, and questions why they exist.

Chapter 4: Discussion & Analysis

Compared to larger cities such as Chicago, Milwaukee's history, particularly in regard to race and economic processes, is one that seems slightly delayed. Unlike Chicago, a city that experienced a significant influx of African-American residents during the earlier period of the Great Migration (1910s and '20s), the growth of Milwaukee's black population did not come until around the mid-1960s. Up until 1970, African Americans made up only about 15% of the total population.[71] As shown in the previous section, this percentage has grown since then. The result of this "Late Great Migration" to Milwaukee was an already urbanized black population that entered the city not during the early years of the areas industrial growth, but at the tail end of it.[72] The process of deindustrialization was taking off in Milwaukee roughly around the same time that the city's black population was significantly growing. As a result, the growing black population faced high levels of unemployment as employment opportunities declined.[73]

Equally problematic throughout this process were the segregated neighborhoods that black migrants moved into when entering the city. White out-migration was already in full force in Milwaukee during the 1960s. The arrival of African Americans and the racist housing practices of realtors enhanced this process, and as a result led to the creation of the "Inner Core" in Milwaukee's near north side.[74] Since then, little has been done to address segregation in Milwaukee. As mentioned above, it continues to be one of the defining features of the city. And like many other current municipal strategies influenced by neoliberal practices, the city has focused on downtown redevelopment projects to correct the continuing effects of

[71] Jack Dougherty, "African Americans, Civil Rights, and Race-Making in Milwaukee," In *Perspectives on Milwaukee's Past*, ed. Margo Anderson and Victor Greene (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2009), 132.
[72] Ibid, 137.
[73] Ibid, 138.
[74] Ibid, 137.

deindustrialization instead of providing resources to poorer neighborhoods that have been deprived of them for so long.

The legacy of these broader processes has significantly shaped how urban agriculture has developed in the city of Milwaukee. While there are likely earlier instances of urban agriculture in the city, the establishment of Growing Power in 1993 acted as a catalyst for future agricultural activity. Growing Power development of a multi-acre farm in northeastern Milwaukee, and its founder Will Allen's purpose of providing local teens an opportunity to "acquire work skills" through farming introduced a number of Milwaukee residents, politicians and activists to the practice of urban agriculture.[75] As the practice grew in popularity, Milwaukee's abundance of vacant lots and neighborhoods in need of resources proved to be a great opportunity for a number of activists and nonprofit organizations who wished to replicate and improve on the model that Growing Power established. While urban agriculture did not take off immediately in the 1990s, the growth of popularity of the slow food movement, and the desire to eat locally and organically throughout the 2000s has combined with Milwaukee's continued socioeconomic problems to create a network of actors throughout the city that views urban agriculture practices as a solution to many people's needs.

In the following section I will look more closely at how these broader processes have influenced the neighborhoods of Harambee and Metcalfe Park specifically. First, I provide some historical context for the neighborhoods of Harambee and Metcalfe Park, positioning them within the broader socioeconomic processes discussed in the literature review. Both neighborhoods have been similarly affected by deindustrialization, urban renewal projects, and nonprofit activity. I will highlight these similarities and explain how the presence of urban

[75] Cockrall-King, *Food and the City*.

agriculture activity can be explained by each neighborhood's history. In the section that follows I describe how the networks that each nonprofit organization implemented to develop their respective urban agriculture sites, along with the scales of operation of their programs, have influenced the strategies each organization has used to engage with local residents.

Harambee

Originally called Garfield Park, the area of Milwaukee now known as Harambee was a predominantly German neighborhood up until the 1960s.[76] The area developed in the nineteenth century around the small German settlement of Williamsburg which was located on the triangular patch of land made by Green Bay Avenue, Port Washington Road, and Keefe Avenue.[77] The German population increased significantly during the second half of the 19th century as Milwaukee's city borders expanded to include the settlement, and farmland in the area was replaced by residential homes.[78] As the population of the area increased, businesses and tourist attraction began to define the southern half of the neighborhood. "Third Street and the Williamsburg section of Green Bay Avenue" became the areas primary commercial corridors, and the part of the neighborhood north of Keefe Avenue became the industrial district in the 1920s when the Seaman auto body plant was constructed.[79] For a time, these industrial and commercial attractions made the neighborhood one of the primary locations for German migrants to settle in the city.

[76] Niles William Niemuth, "Urban Renewal and the Development of Milwaukee's African American Community: 1960-1980" (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 2014), 36.
[77] John Gurda, *Milwaukee: City of Neighborhoods* (Milwaukee, WI: Historic Milwaukee Incorporated, 2015), 222.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Ibid, 222, 225.

Harambee, like many of the predominantly African-American areas in Milwaukee, formed during the 1970s at the tail end of the Great Migration.[80] The racial makeup of the area started to change in 1950s when highway construction destroyed large swaths of African-American neighborhoods in Milwaukee, and forced black Milwaukeeans to relocate to different parts of the city.[81] Facing limited choices as a result of racist socio-economic practices, many African Americans moved to neighborhoods within what was referred to by city officials as Milwaukee's "inner core."[82] The neighborhood of Garfield Park, with its old, residential housing stock and its diminishing white population ended up being one of the primary areas for these displaced individuals to relocate to. Within two decades the neighborhood transformed from what was once a white, working class neighborhood to a black, working class neighborhood.[83]

As with many African-American neighborhoods in Milwaukee and throughout the country, Harambee faced a myriad of socio-economic problems as a result of decades of disinvestment. The negative effects associated with deindustrialization, a process that significantly affected Milwaukee as whole starting in the mid-1960s, were experienced more regularly by Milwaukee's black population. The Seaman factory, which employed roughly 6,500 workers in the 1920s, was shut down in 1988, leaving many Harambee residents without work.[84] The unemployment rate for African Americans living in the city rose from 8.3 percent to 13.9 percent in the 1970s, and the real median family income for African Americans dropped a whole twenty-two percent during that same time period.[85] Directly related to rising poverty levels in

[80] Joe William Trotter Jr., *Black Milwaukee: The Making of an Industrial Proletariat, 1915-45* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2007), 285.
[81] Trotter, *Black Milwaukee*, 284.
[82] Milwaukee Mayor's Study Committee on Social Problems in the Inner Core Area of the City "*Final Report to the Honorable Frank P. Zeidler, Mayor, City of Milwaukee*" (1960).
[83] Niemuth, "Urban Renewal," 71.
[84] Gurda, *City of Neighborhoods*, 227.
[85] Ibid, 65.

these areas was the growing number of vacant and dilapidated houses. Labeled as blighted areas by urban renewal advocates, the conditions of these areas were not seen by government officials as direct signs of government and economic disinvestment, but as opportunities for redevelopment projects such as Interstate 43.[86]

In an effort to combat these trends, a number of organizations and local leaders worked to make Harambee a "self-sufficient and vibrant" African-American neighborhood during this time period.[87] Reuben Harpole, a local activist and reformer, became a prominent figure in Milwaukee during the second half of the twentieth century as one of the founders of the Harambee Revitalization Project (HRP), and as a member of UW-Milwaukee's Center for Leadership Development.[88] Through these organizations, activists like Harpole worked to address many of the issues faced by Harambee residents with programs ranging from home repair services to free medical screenings.[89] However, by the end of the 1970s, the HRP, and its subsidiary organization, the Harambee Development Corporation, were seen by many as projects that failed to properly alleviate many of the issues they set out address. Funding became limited, and Harambee residents continued to face high levels of poverty.[90]

Today, Harambee continues to be the site of a variety of social organizations that work towards neighborhood revitalization and community empowerment. Founded in 2007, the Harambee Great Neighborhood Initiative (HGNI) is a nonprofit organization with "aims to pool the resources, knowledge, passion and expertise of its members to positively impact community

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[86] Colin Gordon, "Blighting the way: Urban renewal, economic development, and the elusive definition of blight," *Fordham Urban Law Journal* 31 (2003): 305-337.

[87] Gurda, *City of Neighborhoods*, 4.
[88] Ibid, 70.
[89] Ibid, 82.
[90] Ibid, 83-84.

development and quality of life issues in the Harambee community."[91] One of the HGNI's many undertakings was the initiation of the Harambee Neighborhood Improvement District, a program that pools a certain amount of local property taxes into a grant package that local homeowners can potentially use for housing repairs.[92] And while HGNI works to revitalize Harambee through

Table 5 — Groundwork Milwaukee Garden Activity in Harambee

Site Name	Year Founded	Active (Y/N)	# of Garden Beds
All People's Garden	1991	Y	29
Garden of Love	1992	Y	10
Victory Over Violence	1992	Y	10
Scooter's Garden of Hope	2000	Y	6
5th Street Gardens	2010	Y	0
Grow & Play	2010	Y	18
Joshua Glover Garden	2010	Y	9
Nigella Commons	2010	Y	21
A Fresh Look	2011	Y	0
Summer of Peace	2012	Y	9
2nd Street Pocket Park	2014	Y	0
All People's Orchard	2014	Y	0
Harambee Homestead	2014	Y	33
RBG Garden	2014	N	0
RBG Garden 2	2014	N	0

[91] "The Harambee Great Neighborhood Initiative," About Us, The Harambee Great Neighborhood Initiative, accessed May 2, 2018, http://www.hgnimke.org/about.
[92] "What is the NID?," Happenings in Harambee, The Harambee Great Neighborhood Initiative, accessed May 2, 2018, http://www.hgnimke.org/nid/.

Five Points	2015	Y	4
Oasis of Love	2015	Y	0
Peace Place	2015	Y	8
St. Francis	2015	Y	28
Buffum C.E. Block Club	2017	Y	2

Source: Milwaukee Grow's Interactive Garden Map, accessed April 13, 2018, http://www.groundworkmke.org/milwaukee-urban-gardens/.

mostly housing-related projects, other nonprofits that operate in the area work to improve Harambee through the development of local green space.

The Harambee neighborhood has experienced a significant amount of urban agriculture activity as a result of both local and outside interest. According to the Milwaukee Grows interactive garden map, there have been twenty green spaces founded in the Harambee neighborhood between 1991 and 2017 by Groundwork Milwaukee alone (Table 5). Two of these gardens no longer exist, and all but three of them were created after 2000. Of the eighteen that are still operational, only five of them are not used for agricultural purposes.

This table does not represent all urban agriculture activity in Harambee. As highlighted in the study area section, Groundwork Milwaukee is just one of the many urban agriculture nonprofit organizations operating in Milwaukee. However, as an organization whose model is to develop green space only when local residents have the desire for it, Groundwork Milwaukee's activity in Harambee represents a growing local interest in urban agriculture. The twenty sites listed in Table 5 not only represent Groundwork activity, but twenty separate instances of local residents working to make better use of vacant space in the neighborhood. It remains to be seen what long-term effects these urban agriculture sites might have on the Harambee neighborhood. Four of the sites developed by Groundwork have been in operation for eighteen-plus years,

including the All People's Garden, a church operated space that has grown over the years to include an orchard and greenhouse. The longevity of some of these projects, and the local involvement they attract suggests that many of these sites will be long-term fixtures within the neighborhood.

However, as spaces rooted in nonprofit activity, it is important to examine how urban agriculture work in Harambee could suffer from the same faults that limited the effectiveness of other nonprofit organizations in the past. Despite being locally run, the HRP of the 1960s and 1970s was viewed by many as a failure because it focused primarily on educating Harambee residents on how to better maintain their homes and their health, instead of giving them the resources to do so.[93] While the recent work of the HGNI reflects an attempt to get resources into the hands local residents that need them, research into the organizations past dealings with Habitat for Humanity highlight how the larger nonprofit organization has influenced HGNI's developmental and operational strategies in the past. At times these nonlocal connections have proved to be a detriment to HGNI and its attempts to involve local Harambee residents.[94]

Urban agriculture in Harambee, while for the most part locally implemented, runs the risk of recreating both the education-first approach that limited the HRP's effectiveness, and the broader networks that has prevented HGNI from being a fully embraced local resources. Urban agriculture activity is often rooted in the desire of advocates to teach people the value of growing their own food and eating certain types of vegetables. This desire, while well intentioned, is often built on the assumptions that local residents have both the desire to grow food themselves, and the time and resources to consistently maintain a garden.[95] The urban agriculture spaces that are

[93] Gurda, *City of Neighborhoods*, 83-84.
[94] Anne Bonds, Judith T. Kenney and Rebecca Nole Wolfe, "Neighborhood revitalizations without the local: race, nonprofit governance, and community development," *Urban Geography* 36, no. 7 (2015), 1064-1082.
[95] Interview with current VGI worker, Summer 2017

maintained in the neighborhood are often done so by nonprofits such as VGI, which has regular access to resources such compost and volunteer labor. The connections VGI has made through political and economic networks has allowed it to do this, but these networks are also largely made up of actors that live and operate outside of the Harambee neighborhood. According to both organizers and activists I spoke with, this has limited the effectiveness of some urban agriculture work in the neighborhood because, like HGNI, it is viewed as an activity developed and operated by and for people living outside of the area.[96]

Recent efforts to alter this perception have been made by VGI. The organization recently purchased a property directly across the street from the Victory Garden Urban Farm. The current headquarters is located at 1845 N. Farwell Avenue, two and a half miles southeast from the farm. The former VGI employee I interviewed mentioned how he always perceived this as a drawback.

> VGI, our offices are on Farwell. We're all on Farwell. And it's (the garden) over here in the Harambee neighborhood. So, there's definitely this kind of distance, and that's definitely felt… Perhaps not talked about.[97]

By moving from their current offices to this site, Mead hopes that the organization can better situate itself within the Harambee area.[98] Soon, this building will be the primary headquarters of the nonprofit, and as Mead envisions it, "a gathering space for the community."[99] Including an outdoor patio, spaces to host various classes, and eventually a commercial kitchen, the new property will allow VGI to roll out even more programs for people interested in urban agriculture activity. It remains to be seen if these programs will be used by local residents, but VGI's

[96] Interview with current VGI worker, Summer 2017.
Interview with Harambee resident, Summer 2017.
[97] Interview with former VGI worker, Fall 2017.
[98] Lauren Anderson, "Victory Garden Initiative plans to put down roots in Harambee," BizNews (March 15, 2018).
[99] Ibid.

willingness to operate within the neighborhood highlights an effort on the organizations part to make their services more accessible to the neighborhood it was designed to primarily serve.

Metcalfe Park

Similar to Harambee, Metcalfe Park was once a predominantly German neighborhood that changed significantly over the course of the twentieth century. The area developed in the 19th century around Fond du Lac Avenue, a highly trafficked corridor used by farmers going to and from the city center.[100] As traffic through the area increased through the nineteenth century, a growing number of residents and businesses took root in in what is now the Metcalfe Park neighborhood. With this increase in population came an increase in industry. At the turn of the twentieth century, the Thirtieth Street rail corridor became, like Fond du Lac Avenue, a main thoroughfare for industry in the area.[101] Cutting directly through Metcalfe Park, the railroad brought with it large industrial companies such as Briggs & Stratton and Master Lock.[102] For a time, the Fond du Lac Avenue and Thirtieth Street rail corridor turned the area into one of the industrial hubs of the city.

However, as was the case in Harambee, both the industrial and demographic characteristics of this area changed significantly in the mid-twentieth century as a result of African American in-migration, white out-migration, urban renewal, and deindustrialization. Throughout the 1960s, African Americans moved to the area in increasing numbers. By 1970, the area was fifty-three percent African American, a significant increase from having nearly zero African American residents in 1950.[103] Those who moved to the area were met with many of the

[100] Gurda, *City of Neighborhoods,* 246.
[101] Ibid, 247.
[102] Ibid.
[103] Ibid, 248.

socio-economic conditions common to so many African-American neighborhoods during this time period. Many of the industrial companies, such as Briggs and Stratton, had relocated to the suburbs, leaving behind vacant structures that once provided jobs to many neighborhood residents.[104] And urban renewal projects, such as the abandoned Park West freeway of the late 1960s, destroyed local homes and uprooted many residents living in the south side of the neighborhood.[105] Over the course of the second half of the twentieth century, the area was increasingly identified by government officials and outsiders as one of the "most dangerous," and "careworn" sections of the central city."[106]

This process of disinvestment, and the contrast between resident and government identification is perfectly represented in how Metcalfe Park got its name. Named after 1932 African American gold medalist, Ralph Metcalfe, Metcalfe Park was originally just the name of a park in the area. The park was a grassy area located near the northwest intersection of Twenty-Seventh Street and North Avenue that existed due to the failed Park West Project. In 1990, the mayoral administration of John Norquist branded the area Metcalfe Park in an attempt to take a more targeted approach towards identifying and addressing the issues of crime and poverty in the area.[107] In 1997, the Milwaukee nonprofit Project West, attempted to rebrand the neighborhood Amani (Swahili for "peace").[108] And while some still refer to the area as the Metcalfe Park/Amani neighborhood, the former of the two titles is more often used as an identifier by the city, local businesses, and area residents.

[104] Ibid, 248-49.
[105] Gurda, *City of Neighborhoods*, 248-249.
[106] Ibid, 246, 249.
[107] Ibid, 249.
[108] Ibid, 250.

Despite its origins as a government-targeted area, organizations and residents operating and living in the area have turned Metcalfe Park into more than just a neighborhood in need. Multiple local organizations in the area, such as Metcalfe Park Community Bridges, run a variety of neighborhood-based events and classes that promote neighborhood development. Next Door, a Milwaukee-based youth education and care organization that made Metcalfe Park its base of operations in 1992, provides early development programs for Metcalfe Park children as well as other central city residents.[109] Metcalfe Park is also located near many well-known Milwaukee locations. Fondy Farmers Market, established in 1917, is located just east of Metcalfe Park near the intersection of North Avenue and Fond du Lac Avenue, and the Wisconsin Black Historical Society is located on Center Street, near the northeastern tip of the neighborhood.[110] These and many other organizations within the area work to give neighborhood residents access to educational and cultural programs. Similar to Harambee, Groundwork Milwaukee has also done a good deal of work to establish green spaces in the neighborhood within the last six years.

Within the last six years, urban agriculture activity in Metcalfe Park has increased. According to the Milwaukee Grows interactive garden map, there have been four green spaces founded in the neighborhood between 2012 and 2015 (Table 6). Four urban gardens have been founded with the help of Groundwork Milwaukee, two of which are part of this case study. Only one garden that was founded in Metcalfe Park is no longer operational.

Table 6 — Groundwork Milwaukee Garden Activity in Metcalfe Park

Site Name	Year Founded	Active (Y/N)	# of Garden Beds

[109] "Our History," Next Door Milwaukee, accessed May 4, 2018, https://www.nextdoormke.org/about-us/our-history/.
[110] "Fondy Farmers Market," Fondy Food Center, accessed May 4, 2018, http://fondymarket.org/fondy-farmers-market/.
"About Us," Wisconsin Black Historical Society, accessed May 4, 2018, http://www.wbhsm.org/about-us/.

I Have A Dream Garden	2012	Y	6
Metcalfe Park Garden	2013	Y	19
Young Farmers Garden	2014	Y	9
Infaliable Hands	2015	N	9

Source: Milwaukee Grow's Interactive Garden Map, accessed April 13, 2018, http://www.groundworkmke.org/milwaukee-urban-gardens/.

Metcalfe Park has fewer Groundwork created green spaces than Harambee, in part, because it is a much smaller area. However, the three active gardens in the neighborhood highlight a growing local interest in urban agriculture. As was the case in Harambee, this is largely in part of local residents using agricultural activity as a means to revitalize vacant land and make use out of it.

The organizational work done in Metcalfe Park reflects a strong desire from both nonprofit workers and local residents to provide resources that will improve the lives of children in the neighborhood. From the K-5 learning center Next Door, to the Young Farmers Program, the neighborhood has become the site of many opportunities for children to engage in educational programs. [111] According to one nonprofit organizer who works in the areas, youth involvement is the primary advantage of urban agriculture activity.[112]

> The younger children are that they start playing in the dirt, the more interested and the more value they'll see in growing their own food later on Especially if they understand that a seed can grow into something that you can eat and enjoy. [113]

While the perception of only one person, these quotes highlight just how important connecting youth with urban agriculture is in Metcalfe Park.

[111] Interview with Metcalfe Park nonprofit worker, Spring 2018.
Interview with former employee of YFP, Fall 2017.
[112] Ibid.
[113] Interview with Metcalfe Park nonprofit worker, Spring 2018.

However, by focusing specifically on the youth of the area, some people I spoke with saw urban agriculture as a limited endeavor in Metcalfe Park.[114] Unlike in Harambee, where various forms of urban agriculture have allowed different people to engage with land and food in new ways, the Metcalfe Park sites are primarily bringing in children and their families. For some residents living in the senior apartments across the street, the garden has had a limited effect on their lives. Despite being interested in the food that is grown across the street, they felt that the space was not for people who did not want to work to grow food themselves.[115]

> Some people want to participate in the garden, but they're not able to get down and do the physical work. But they want the stuff that comes out of it.[116]

The program has worked to alleviate this concern by providing opportunities for residents to interact with the children and the organization. Canning and cooking classes sponsored by Groundwork Milwaukee are held at the senior apartments. And because the young farmers sell their produce door-to-door, residents in the area frequently given the opportunity to obtain food grown at the garden.

In this section, I have highlighted how both Harambee and Metcalfe Park have experienced a growing level of urban agriculture activity as a result of similar histories of government and economic disinvestment. Urban agriculture activity in both neighborhoods is just the newest chapter in a long line of strategies that have been used to bring resources into these neighborhoods. In Harambee, this activity has taken many forms as nonprofit organizations such

[114] Interview with former VGI worker, Fall 2017.
Interview with Metcalfe Park resident, Winter 2018.
[115] Interview with Metcalfe Park resident, Winter 2018.
Unrecorded accounts from the April 2018, Wesley Scott Senior Living Center Association Meeting
[116] Ibid.

as Groundwork Milwaukee and Victory Gardens Initiative work to transform the neighborhoods vacant lots into multi-use spaces that provides various forms of engagement for different people. In Metcalfe Park, urban agriculture activity has been most prominently used to develop youth education programs that engage local children with local food systems. While both sites have had limitations in engaging with certain portions of the local population, each has made efforts to be as accessible as possible. The following section will expand on the theme of developmental and operational strategies by examining the networks the organizations in each neighborhood have used to create their respective urban agriculture spaces, and how these networks have had both positive and negative effects on community engagement efforts.

Networks & Scale

In order to better understand the developmental and operational strategies used by Victory Gardens Initiative and the Young Farmers Program, I examine the different networks each organization engaged with to achieve their purpose and bring people into the urban agriculture spaces they created. By networks, I am referring to the various actors (individuals, businesses, city government, other nonprofit organizations) that each organization has partnered with to accomplish its goals. These networks have played an important role in what these organizations have been able to accomplish. For VGI, partnerships with local restaurants and other nonprofit organization have allowed it to develop a level of economic and political strength that has allowed it to expand its programs to reach more people. Rooted specifically in child engagement, the YFP network is primarily made up of families located within the neighborhood itself. Due to its size, the program has not engaged with as many people as VGI. However, it too has

developed a certain level of strength by providing a resource to local children that parents in the area believe is much needed.[117]

Scale of operations also plays an important role in how these organizations are realizing their goals. By scale, I mean the reach of each organization's purposes and programs. As highlighted above, VGI and the YFP are very different in size. The latter focuses specifically on one neighborhood, while the other has continued to grow since its inception. As a result of its focus on providing a program to neighborhood children, the YFP's scale has stayed relatively local. By this, I mean that its services and the resources they provide rarely benefit people living outside of the surrounding neighborhood. For VGI, its scale is much broader as a result of its economic goals. Partnerships with restaurants and organizations throughout Milwaukee have resulted in the benefits the organization being felt by people that live outside of the neighborhood that surrounds VGI's primary site. Both scales of operations have advantages and disadvantages in helping these organizations realize their goals. The following section will go into greater detail on these advantages and disadvantages, as well as how the developmental and operational strategies have been influenced by the networks and scales of each organization.

Victory Gardens Initiative & the Victory Garden Urban Farm

Victory Gardens Initiative is a nonprofit organization centered around urban agriculture activity. Founded in 2009, VGI became an independent nonprofit organization in 2013.[118] Its mission is to build "communities that grow their own food," in the hopes of "creating a community-based, socially just, environmentally sustainable, nutritious food system for all."[119] The organization

[117] Interview with current VGI worker, Summer 2017.
[118] Victory Garden Initiative, "Victory Garden Initiative 2013 Annual Report," (Winter 2014), 4.
[119] "Welcome to Victory Garden Initiative," Home, Victory Garden Initiative, accessed May 2, 2018, https://victorygardeninitiative.org/.

works to achieve these goals in a number of ways. Garden mentor programs link people new to gardening with experienced gardeners who will help them get their new garden started. Class-based programs such as the Food Leader Certificate Program and the Youth Education Program train younger generations to both garden and develop their own "community-based food projects."[120]

At the heart of VGI's operation is a 1.5-acre plot of land located in the north side of Harambee on E Concordia St., between N Richards St. and N Palmer St. Before the mid-2000s, the land was simply a vacant lot. In VGI's 2013 Annual Report, Gretchen Mead, the founder of VGI, referred to the site as a "piece of wasted land."[121] The majority of people I asked about the lot's past reflected similar sentiments referring to it as a "park for drunks," or a "dumping site."[122] A resident who has lived next to the lot since 2001 described it to me as a site where "people would walk their dogs," or a place that kids would use "as a backdoor" to break into peoples' houses.[123] Based on these accounts, the site served very little purpose to the surrounding residents and had the effect of increasing crime in the neighborhood.

In 2008, a local resident decided to make use of the lot that would eventually turn into the Victory Garden Urban Farm.

> I thought this would be a great site for a community garden. I threw down some clover seeds, some kind of little cover crop in the area, and started digging and kind of surveying the area, and realized that there was a lot of rubble. And then I went around the neighborhood. I put out a flyer. I had a group of eight or nine people from just this block radius come and all expressed interest in a community garden or doing something with the area. And that year I think I contacted MUG, which is Milwaukee Urban Gardens, and got a year-long lease from the city to do an urban garden project.[124]

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[120] "What We Do," Victory Garden Initiative, accessed May 2, 2018, https://victorygardeninitiative.org/whatwedo
[121] VGI, "2013 Annual Report," 3.
[122] Interview with current VGI worker, Summer 2017.
[123] Interview with Harambee resident, Summer 2017.
[124] Interview with current VGI worker, Summer 2017.

The resident that started the garden ran it for a year, and while his efforts failed to turn the lot into a regularly used green space, they did attract the attention of a group of people that could do just that.

In the late 2000s, Gretchen Mead, the founder of VGI, began to look for a place to grow local, organic food for her family and friends.[125] Due to Shorewood's strict zoning laws, Mead was not able to have a garden bed for vegetables in her front yard. Working in tandem with Milwaukee Urban Gardens, Mead discovered the Concordia site and in 2009 signed a three-year lease with the city to use the land, eventually buying the property in 2012. The lot was named Concordia Gardens, and was quickly cleared and transformed into a multi-purpose urban farm. Over time, the space became "less for personal use, and more for creating this nonprofit [VGI]."[126]

Since its inception, the site has grown from a small community garden run by one man, to the "tangible manifestation" of VGI, a nonprofit organization that is growing in size and scope.[127] It is described on VGI's website as

> hub of inspiring activity and real-life picture of various solutions to the disparities that negatively impact the Milwaukee's food system and the prevalence of hunger associated with poor nutritious and lack of food access as well as improving the neighborhood environment.[128]

Relabeled the Victory Garden Urban Farm in 2017, the location now houses VGI's primary urban farm, 30 rentable raised beds, the organizations composting and rainwater collection

[125] Victory Garden Initiative, "Victory Garden Initiative 2016 Annual Report," (Winter 2016), 2.
[126] Interview with former VGI worker, Fall 2017.
[127] VGI, "2013 Annual Report," 5.
[128] https://victorygardeninitiative.org/Farm.

projects, and is the primary site for many of VGI's programs and classes. The raised bed plots are rented out from May 1 to October 31 for $10 to rent for Harambee residents, and $30 to rent for non-Harambee residents.[129] There are also "Community U-Pick" gardens that allow residents in the area to come to the garden and pay what they can for fruits and vegetables.[130] As highlighted above, the food grown at the farm is sold through CSAs, to the Riverwest Food Pantry, and to local restaurants.

The farm was designed to serve multiple functions in an effort to engage with as many people as possible. Rentable raised beds provide people with the opportunity to have their own garden in a place that also offers resources such as compost and rainwater. For those who do not want to garden but are still interested in obtaining fruits and vegetables, the site's food forest and urban farm are open to all. Based on my interviews with two VGI employees, it would appear that these resources are most definitely made use of.

> You can see the evidence of how much people love the vegetables. There's not a plant that hasn't been picked over, combed. I mean it gets plenty of attention."[131]
> A car will drive up and people will get out with bags and they'll just go through the garden row by row picking collard greens, tomatoes, peppers, you know, anything, cucumbers, squash. And then taking it home. And you can tell that they took the time out of their day to come here specifically. It was a destination for them. They're going to use this produce. They're going to go home. They're going to cook with it. It's super... I love seeing that.[132]

These accounts suggest that the site has indeed become a part of some people's food system. The garden is indeed visited regularly. During my visits to the garden, there was hardly a time when

[129] "Garden Rentals," Victory Garden Initiative, accessed May 2, 2018, https://victorygardeninitiative.org/Garden-Rentals.
[130] "Community U-Pick," Victory Garden Initiative, accessed May 2, 2018, https://victorygardeninitiative.org/COMMUNITY-U-PICK.
[131] Interview with current VGI worker, Summer 2017.
[132] Interview with former VGI worker, Fall 2017.

there were only one or two people there working. It attracts many visitors looking to either help out, or just get some food.

The mission of VGI to make as many people as possible "grow their own food" originally informed how its networks were developed.[133] As highlighted in the previous section, the idea behind VGI was the result of Mead and a small group of friends looking to create a healthier, more environmentally friendly way to engage with food. However, born from the belief that urban agriculture was meant to serve more than just a small group of people, the mission of VGI expanded, and with it, the group of people it was intended to engage with.[134] The underlying mission of growing one's own food remained the same, but in order for VGI to truly address issues related to food and social justice, it needed to convince more people that growing food had the potential to be a solution to these issues.

A former employee of VGI argues that VGI did this by "getting straight to the point of economic reasons for why someone would want to garden."[135] The locally grown food found at garden farm stands and local farmers markets is generally cheaper than the food at grocery stores. Home grown food is even more affordable. Urban agriculture's economic viability is also based on the idea that agriculture sites have the potential to improve an area's economic standing by providing jobs and creating a locally accessible resource pool that meets location-specific needs.[136] VGI wholly embraces these ideas and works to turn them into a reality by providing cheap, rentable raised-beds, affordable produce, and a multitude of resources such as water and compost that gardeners can use to grow what they want. Former programs, such as the Youth

[133] https://victorygardeninitiative.org/mission.
[134] Ibid.
[135] Interview with former VGI worker, Fall 2017.
[136] Gail W. Feenstra, "Local food systems and sustainable communities," American Journal of Alternative Agriculture 12, no. 1 (1997), 28.

Farm Stand provided local children with the opportunity to sell what they grow and keep the money for themselves.[137] In this way, VGI sees itself as a promoter of urban agriculture activity and as a resource to those that wish to partake in agricultural practices. Simply put, the network is open to those that wish to be a part of it.

As VGI has grown, it has worked to broaden this network in an attempt to become more dynamic and gain access to more ways in which it can become an economically sustainable entity.

> VGI has a broad net, and a very large space that can accommodate a lot of people. Gretchen is very well connected. She knows a lot of groups that love to come by.[138]

VGI has used these connections to form partnerships with other organizations throughout the city of Milwaukee. VGI's 2103 Annual Report listed nineteen-plus partners.[139] The 2016 report listed thirty-one-plus.[140] It partners with Whole Foods by taking almost "two-thousand pounds of food waste" collected at the grocery store, and turning into compost for the Victory Garden Urban Farm.[141] VGI donates "many pounds of produce each year" to the Riverwest Food Pantry, a nonprofit organization with two locations to the east of the farm, that focuses on addressing food insecurity in Milwaukee.[142] It also "brings in a certain amount of money" by partnering with a number of Milwaukee-based restaurants.[143] Outside of the food system, VGI partners with other local entities such as the Urban Ecology Center as a means to getting people to volunteer at the organization's garden.

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[137] Victory Garden Initiative, "Victory Garden Initiative 2015 Annual Report," (Winter 2015), 4.
[138] Interview with former VGI worker, Fall 2017.
[139] VGI, "2013 Annual Report," 15.
[140] VGI, "2016 Annual Report," 10.
[141] Interview with former VGI worker, Fall 2017.
[142] http://www.riverwestfoodpantry.org/#about7.
[143] Interview with current VGI worker, Summer 2017.

Not all VGI programs are for economic purposes. The above-mentioned Food Leader Certificate Program and the Youth Education Program (YEP) serve the purpose of educating local children and others interested in gardening and learning about their "local food system."[144] YEP was started two years ago through partnerships with "Franklin Pierce Elementary, Martin Luther King Elementary, and Escuela Fratney Elementary."[145] Since then, YEP has brought in a number of local children by offering internship opportunities at the organization, field trips to the Victory Garden Urban Farm, and chances for the children to grow their own food.

Educational opportunities are also provided for adults through a variety of classes and programs. In my interview with a nonprofit employee working in the Metcalfe Park area, she mentioned that after years of watching her mother garden the thing that really got her into agriculture was a class she took with Gretchen Mead at the Urban Ecology Center.[146] Already a relatively experienced gardener, this interviewee found value in what the class taught her about gardening.

> Every time I took one [gardening class], I'm like, 'I can't wait for the next class. What else am I going to learn?' So, that's when I really learned about rotating what you grow in different places and growing in stages so that you can harvest stuff from spring all the way until almost November.[147]

The resident participant I interviewed also highlighted how the social and educational engagement opportunities VGI offers has allowed her to expand her personal network by making new connections with people help her achieve her agricultural goals. These accounts show that

[144] https://victorygardeninitiative.org/YEP-Youth.
[145] VGI, "2016 Annual Report," 4, 10.
[146] Interview with Metcalfe Park nonprofit worker, Spring 2018.
[147] Ibid.

as an educational endeavor, VGI has indeed formed connections with a variety of people and has allowed these people to increase their own personal networks.

Through its educational programs, VGI has had some success in forming partnerships with Harambee residents. This feeling was most pronounced when people spoke of the youth programs operating at the Victory Garden Urban Farm. Organizers and residents both spoke to how frequently children from the neighborhood and beyond came to get some free food or learn how to garden.[148] The former employee I interviewed commented on how this affected more than just the kids. When commenting on the Youth Farmstand Program he said,

> To me that was the bread and butter. Picking produce from the garden, loading it up on bikes, going out with ten kids, and going door-to-door and selling. People loved it. It obviously made people aware of the garden. We certainly got more people interested in the garden that way.[149]

One resident I talked to at the farm reiterated this point by claiming that he had no clue the area existed until his young son mentioned to him that there was a farm just two blocks away from their house. Based on these accounts, VGI does seem to be making some connections within the neighborhood due to their involvement with local children.

However, of all the activities VGI provides and endorses, no one program is more representative of the organization's goals and expanding network than the Victory Garden Blitz. As mentioned previously, the Blitz is an annual event where volunteers spend two weeks building raised-bed gardens for people living within the "delivery zone," and who can pay $175-200 (Figure 6). Over the years, the Blitz has become VGI's most marketable product. It has resulted in over "3,500 gardens" being built in the Greater Milwaukee area since 2013 (Figure

[148] Interview with current VGI worker, Summer 2017
Interview with VGI garden participant, Summer 2017.
[149] Interview with former VGI worker, Fall 2017.

7).[150] In the past few years the program has expanded to reach other cities both in Wisconsin and locations as far as Kentucky through VGI's Blitz Your Town program.[151] The Blitz's growing popularity has allowed VGI expand its reach and bring more "gardeners" into its network.

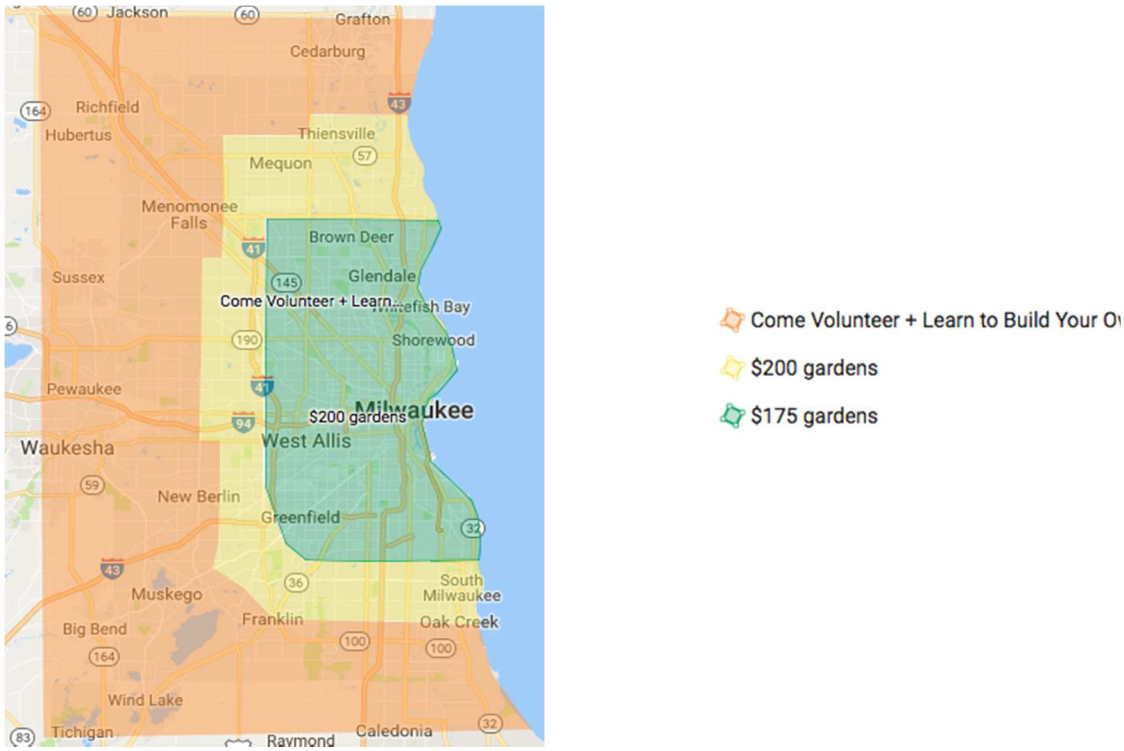

Figure 6 — VGI Blitz Delivery Map
Source: https://www.google.com/maps/d/viewer?mid=1RU19jxrTm5-RVEiP5VEGPisBZm03l5yo&ll=43.06286803848457%2C-88.02658080000003&z=10

The result of these networks is a growing scale at which VGI can champion its cause of getting more people directly in touch with the alternative food system they are creating. As highlighted above, this happens at the organizational level through restaurant and grocery store partnerships that work together to sell and make use of locally grown food and food waste. At the individual level, it is done through events like the Blitz. While many of people that receive gardens and volunteer are what one interviewee calls "one-time touches" (people who only

[150] https://victorygardeninitiative.org/BLITZ.
[151] https://victorygardeninitiative.org/BLITZyourtown
VGI, "2015 Annual Report," 2.

partake in garden activity once), VGI operates with the idea that these people have found value in connecting with the land and food through the organization's efforts.[152] This results in many of them sharing their experiences with others. One garden participant I interviewed exemplified

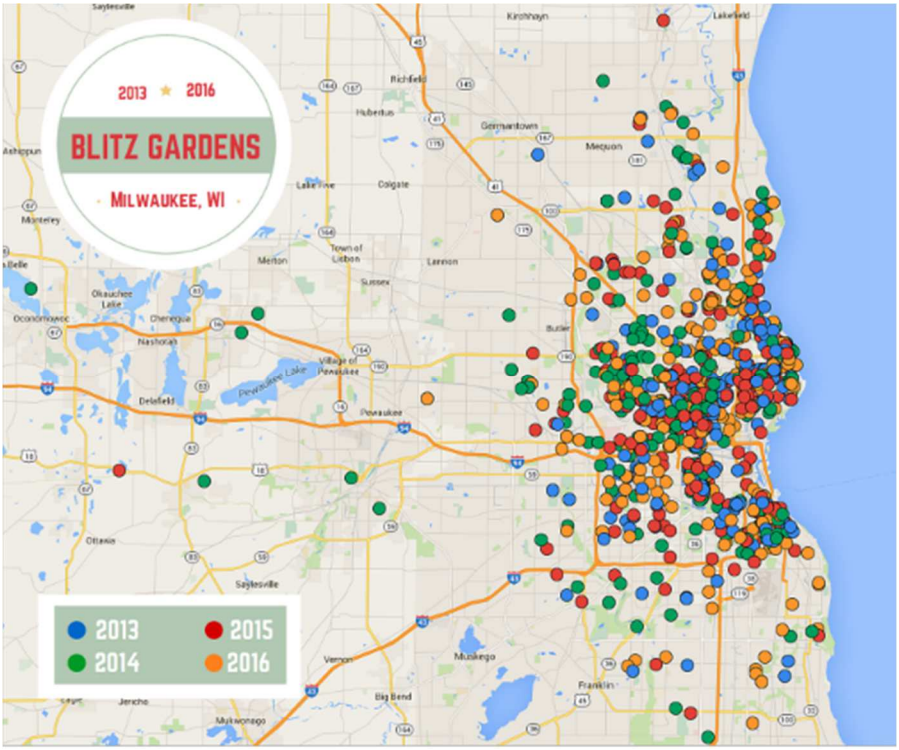

Figure 7 — 2013 to 2016 Blitz Garden Map
Source: https://victorygardeninitiative.org/BLITZ

this idea when she stated, "I talk about VGI wherever I go, and I get a lot of people to come see it. … Word of mouth is the best advertiser."[153] By acting as personal garden promoters, many of them have become a part of an informal network of gardeners that further VGI's mission by example and through word of mouth.

However, the question remains as to whether or not these networks extend into the surrounding neighborhood in more ways than just through youth programs. The above-

[152] Interview with former VGI worker, Fall 2017.
[153] Interview with VGI garden participant, Summer 2017.

mentioned garden participant's experience with VGI suggests that it does. However, as someone who has had previous connections to urban agriculture before VGI, she is distinctive from many of her neighbors, who viewed a farm in their neighborhood as a "completely new" concept.[154] In my interview with a Harambee resident whose backyard abuts the garden, he emphasized how little outreach the garden has done in the surrounding neighborhood. This resident describes VGI as "insular," and its own "entity."[155] When I asked whether or not he felt that VGI was doing what it could to interact with the surrounding neighborhood the resident responded:

> I don't think so. Nobody has knocked on my door. Nobody is coming to me and saying, 'Hey, wanna garden?'... It doesn't creep into the perimeter of the neighborhood.[156]

The level of interaction between this resident and VGI (a "community-based" organization right next door) is so limited that he had never even heard of the Blitz.[157] While this is the experience of only one Harambee resident, the view that the surrounding neighborhood and VGI have not formed a connection was also discussed by people within the organization. In my interview with a current VGI employee, he mentioned how little contact he has had with the surrounding residents.

> Neighbors don't come out a lot. Most of these houses, I rarely see them. And I'm here every day for a few hours, and I can't tell you who lives in that house. I don't see them[158]

[154] Interview with former VGI worker, Fall 2017.
[155] Interview with Harambee resident, Summer 2017.
[156] Ibid.
[157] https://victorygardeninitiative.org/mission.
[158] Interview with current VGI worker, Summer 2017.

These accounts do not mean that the garden participants experiences should be dismissed. For her, the garden has created a network for neighborhood residents to take advantage of. She meets new people while working in her raised-bed, spends time with children in the neighborhood planting seeds, and has even turned one of her neighbors on to what the garden offers.[159] What these accounts suggest is that the simple presence of a garden in a neighborhood is not always enough to bring local residents into networks of urban agriculture activity.

Because VGI has struggled to make local residents a part of its network, the organization has needed to rely on a network of actors that, for the most part, are already enmeshed in the broader urban agriculture movement in order to achieve its economic and educational goals. VGI's volunteer base provides a perfect example of what this network looks like. In response to a question about who is typically involved in urban agriculture activity, a Riverwest garden organizer said, "Young professionals who just needed to not be working for a little while so that they could get outside and get their hands in the dirt."[160] To her, these were the people with both time and an interest in urban agriculture. In VGI's case, this often means people that do not live in the Harambee neighborhood. As one VGI employ said,

> This garden gets more help and more volunteers from people outside this ten-block radius. There's more involvement from people outside of the neighborhood than people within the neighborhood.[161]

Whether "young volunteers from Madison," or employees from Milwaukee's Urban Ecology Center, the people that are engaging in VGI's programs and spaces are generally not part of the neighborhood that surrounds the Victory Garden Urban Farm.

[159] Interview with VGI garden participant, Summer 2017.
[160] Interview with Riverwest activist, Winter 2018.
[161] Interview with current VGI worker, Summer 2017.

At the organizational level, this point was reinforced in discussions I had with one interviewee about the church across the street from the farm. The Northminister Presbyterian Church, as they described it, is a well-established local organization whose congregation is made up of many Harambee residents. According to one interviewee, VGI has never approached the church in an effort to promote their mission or to attract local residents to the farm.

> The fact that there isn't a strong relationship with that church… It almost seems nonsensical. There's this church, who have children in their congregation, and here we are across the street in our urban farm, garden beds for rent with a youth program. It seems like, in my mind, that it's a no-brainer that we can try and make that connection and that partnership. It just seems like a good collaboration to have in the neighborhood. But it just never really happened.[162]

This former VGI employee believed that the church could have worked to help VGI extend its network into the surrounding neighborhood by making more locals aware of what the new farm space offered them. The church could have also been used as a space to ask locals what they wanted out of the site. All People's Garden, a Harambee garden founded in 1992 by Milwaukee Urban Gardens and All People's Church, was developed around such a partnership and is still used as a resource by local residents twenty-five years later.[163] VGI, an organization that will be celebrating its tenth anniversary soon, has also developed into a long-standing urban agriculture organization, but for arguably different reasons. Some interviews suggest that suggests that VGI's longevity is not the result of it becoming a strong neighborhood resource with ties to the surrounding residents, but due to its organizers having the ability to develop a network that has brought in city government and private business owners whose goals are similar to those of VGI. As mentioned above, VGI organizers were able to make use of existing connections to establish

[162] Interview with former VGI worker, Fall 2017.
[163] Susan Bence, "A Milwaukee Congregation's Commitment to Nurturing Green Space Continues," *WUWM*, August 11, 2017,

the organization, find a site, and implement programs that reflected their ideals. The growth of this network has allowed VGI to "flex a certain kind of power" in its efforts to expand.[164] Like Growing Power and Sweet Water Organics before it, VGI is embraced by the city government because of its efforts to address economic issues such as land devaluation and unemployment in a space that was once neglected.

According to one VGI employee, this has given VGI a level of security at a time when the future of urban agriculture is still in question.

> I think urban ag is something that is allowable but is not embraced. If you think about vacant lots, that is an opportunity for a house to be built so a city can collect property taxes. But in neighborhoods where urban ag is so popular and frequent it's because the city will allow this community garden to have a permit because they know within the next 5-10 years the chances of that lot being developed into a residential home is slim to none, and they'd rather see something done with it. It's just allowed because it's the next best thing possible for the city to do … The city is very favorable to something that is large like Concordia Gardens [now Victory Garden Urban Farm].[165]

As mentioned, this security has much to do with how the organization has developed. However, the security of VGI is still rooted in the Victory Garden Urban Farm and its role within the organization's expanding network.

VGI's occupation of the Harambee lot was not the product of questionable intentions. The organization's goal was to create a local, alternative food system by making as many people as possible gardeners. A part of that goal was bringing this food system into a neighborhood that they felt needed it. To do this they incorporated programs that promoted this goal and made partnerships that allowed them to expand these operations in order to reach more people. The

[164] Interview with former VGI worker, Fall 2017.
[165] Interview with former VGI worker, Fall 2017.

fact that many of these partnerships were made outside of the Harambee neighborhood seems inevitable to one VGI employee I spoke with.

> I don't think this place would be here if it relied just on this community alone. It wouldn't happen. Unfortunately, we're at that point in society where we need these outside influences and outside money to make it work. And to me it's a question of what are the alternatives?[166]

But have neighborhood residents living in the area been made a part of these networks, or have they been excluded from the networks that give VGI its economic and political power?

Accounts from former and current employees, and multiple residents of the area reveal that VGI's goal of creating a "community-based food system" only extends so far. As highlighted by these perceptions, VGI has had some success in establishing connections with local Harambee residents through programs such as YEP. However, the rest of the organization's projects have not extended into the surrounding Harambee neighborhood resulting in what are perceived by some as closed networks made up primarily of businesses, other nonprofits, and individual urban agriculture advocates that all believe that becoming connected to an alternative food system provides solutions to issues of sustainability and justice. This, in a way, has created a community-based food system. However, it is system that some believe does not include the local residents that urban agriculture is intended to benefit.

The Young Farmers Program & Garden

In Metcalfe Park, organizations like Groundwork Milwaukee, use urban agriculture as a means of combining education, culture, and food into a number of locally-based efforts. Its mission is to "bring about the sustained regeneration, improvement and management of the physical

[166] Interview with current VGI worker, Summer 2017.

environment by developing community-based partnerships that empower people, businesses and organizations to promote environmental, economic and social well-being."[167] Founded by the National Parks Service in 1996, Groundwork programs have spread to a number of cities across the U.S. over the last couple decades. After five years of planning, Groundwork Milwaukee became an official nonprofit organization in 2007. Since then, the organization has established a number of programs centered around promoting urban agriculture activity within the city. As stated above, Milwaukee Grows is a program that works as a facilitator between local government officials and neighborhood residents working to start a community garden. The Young Farmers Program, founded and located in Metcalfe Park, is also another one of Groundwork Milwaukee's agricultural-based programs.

Founded in 2014, the Young Farmers Program would not have existed as it does without Milwaukee Grows. In 2013 a Metcalfe Park resident and organizers for Metcalfe Park Community Bridges contacted Groundwork Milwaukee in hopes of establishing a community garden on a vacant lot near the southwest intersection of Wright Street and 28th Street. The residents' efforts were rewarded in 2013 when Kayla's Garden was built by both local residents and members of Groundwork Milwaukee.[168] One of those members was the founder of the YFP. For years, he had been hoping to establish a youth program focused on urban agriculture in the city of Milwaukee, but could not find the right organization to work with, or space to work in. While helping to build Kayla's Garden, he noticed how often the neighborhood kids would come and help out.

> We worked with Metcalfe Park in 2013 to build Kayla's Garden. And it was a really big garden. It was like 20-some beds, stacked double high, some benches. So, we were there for an extended period of time, probably over a week. It was

[167] http://www.groundworkmke.org/
[168] Interview with former employee of YFP, Winter 2017.

> during the summer time and kids were off school, and as soon as we'd show up with our materials the kids from nearby would be like, 'How can I help?' They were just so into it. It was both a sign that they enjoy it, but it was also a sign that there's something missing here.[169]

With help from local residents and another woman working for an agriculture organization in Milwaukee's Riverwest neighborhood, the YFP started in 2014 under Groundwork Milwaukee on a vacant lot one property west of Kayla's Garden.

Since then, the Young Farmers Program has run an agriculture programs for children in the area every summer. Starting in June, middle schoolers living in the area are taught how to care for their own raised-bed garden and grow their own food. The kids then take what they have grown and sell their produce to local residents at a stand in front of the garden, and on neighborhood walks, where the young farmers go from door-to-door selling their vegetables in brown paper bags.[170] With plans to expand, the young farmers may have even more to sell in the near future. In September of 2017, the first apple tree of a new orchard at the site was planted to commemorate the end of that year's program. Weeks after the tree planting ceremony, the vacant house that divided Kayla's Garden and the Young Farmers Garden was torn down by the city, leaving a vacant lot that offers many opportunities. It remains to be seen what will be done with the land, but some organizers hope that the space will allow the Young Farmers Program to expand, and potentially work more closely with the residents growing in Kayla's Garden.

Similar to VGI, Groundwork Milwaukee's Young Farmers Program relies on networks that are the result of the goals of the program. Groundwork Milwaukee describes the Young Farmers Program as an "educational program that offers elementary and middle school aged

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[169] Ibid.
[170] "Young Farmers," Groundwork Milwaukee, accessed May 4, 2018, http://www.groundworkmke.org/young-farmers/.

youth an opportunity to learn about urban agriculture through experiential based learning."[171] Since its inception, this program has focused on achieving this goal in the Metcalfe Park neighborhood by engaging specifically with the children that live there. The underlying mission of educating children to the values of urban agriculture has remained the same because in its three years of existence the program has engaged with the same children and the same families.

This model is born from the belief that urban agriculture should first and foremost serve as a tool for community engagement. In my interview with one of the founders of the Young Farmers Program he said,

> My framework was not how do we grow as much food as possible, but community engagement. Gardening in and of itself isn't going to solve any problems... It can be a helpful tool, a helpful engagement tool.[172]

For the Metcalfe Park area, a youth program was seen as the most effective engagement tool. By providing a program that taught neighborhood kids how to grow their own food and sell it, Groundwork created a way to engage with the surrounding neighborhood through both gardening and economic lessons. This is done primarily by engaging with the children through the program directly. But these engagements are also taking place between other neighborhood members. Kids are selling food to their neighbors, parents are coming to events to support their children in the program, and all of them are making use of the resources that the site provides.

One result of these activities is a relatively small, yet strong network that operates exclusively at a neighborhood level. According to one founder, this small scale is the point.

> I want it to be about this neighborhood. I was a big proponent of having a realistic idea of the size that organizations really need to be in order to still carry on

[171] http://www.groundworkmke.org/young-farmers/.
[172] Interview with former employee of YFP, Winter 2017.

> something. I think people get visions of grandiosity, but at the end of the day if the movement is to serve community things don't have to be massive.[173]

This small scale has allowed the manager of the YFP to form close connections with a number of families from the area. These connections have strengthened the local network around the Young Farmers Program which, according to one local resident, has created a great deal of support for the program within the neighborhood.[174]

Another reason for this support is the organizations that Groundwork engaged with before establishing the program in the area. As mentioned above, the Metcalfe Park Community Bridges neighborhood association was already familiar with urban agriculture through its work to develop Kayla's Garden. A new YFP employee argues that because of this Groundwork already had a "strong infrastructure" to rely on within the neighborhood that was receptive to urban agriculture. The neighborhood association also allowed Groundwork to connect directly with local residents and ask what they wanted out of the program. For one founder, this process was essential in making the YFP a resource for the neighborhood.

> You have to listen to your people, or the people you are working with in the program. I come up with these ideas, but I have no idea if they're actually going to meet the needs, or how it's going to work.[175]

This approach allowed for a collaborative effort between multiple organizations that had to manage what they wanted out of the program with what resources they had available to them.

[173] Ibid.
[174] Interview with Metcalfe Park resident, Winter 2018.
[175] Interview with Riverwest activist, Winter 2018.

Underlying this entire developmental process was the desire to ensure that there were enough children in the neighborhood who were interested in the garden. In my discussion with one of the YFP founders, he emphasized how important it was to have the children's approval.

> I didn't just want to plop down a program, and say 'Ok kids, come work with us.' Instead it was like, 'Ok. These kids really want to do this program.' So, now that I know we have these kids that are very interested… I guess what it was was I got the ok from the kids. The kids were like, 'Yes, you can come do this program.'[176]

This level of interest is one of the primary reasons the YFP has been able to operate the way it does. By ensuring that there was enough local interest from both the children and the parents, Groundwork was able to set up a multi-year program where the small group of children returned every year to a program that they are familiar with.

> I set it up to be specifically like a summer school. The same kids are coming to the same classroom every week with the same teacher. It's just the classroom doesn't have a ceiling.[177]

Furthermore, what the kids do within the classroom is not confined to the garden itself. Through neighborhood walks, the children at the program are engaging with neighborhood residents by selling produce to the people within a two-block radius.

As a result of these connections, the YFP has created a level of security for itself by ensuring that there is a strong local backing behind what it is doing. This has resulted in a form of power that one organizer believes is much different than the economic and political power available to VGI. To him, the YFP is strengthened by "community power" that comes from how the program was developed.

[176] Interview with former employee of YFP, Winter 2017.
[177] Interview with former employee of YFP, Winter 2017.

> The young farmers program is trying to really create these deep social relationships that can thrive. [Name redacted] has created a network that is strong enough to where we would be up there standing in front of a bulldozer.[178]

This organizer went on to say that because this power is rooted within community engagement it allows the neighborhood to benefit from the networks created by Groundwork and the YFP. Earlier in my interview, he stressed the importance of who determines the changes that result in urban agriculture activity.

> There's certain things that are happening and it all comes down to who's creating that change. And it depends on who's creating it because it depends on where the benefit from that change, where does that get redistributed. Is it going to get redistributed to people in the neighborhood, or are the people in the neighborhood going to get displaced?[179]

He believes that the Young Farmers Program is an example of what can be done when neighborhood residents are determining what changes, and who benefits. This has given them a power to decide how urban agriculture can work best for them, and in that process, it has provided the Young Farmers Program with the local support needed to continue and grow.

However, the role Groundwork Milwaukee plays in the development and operation of this program cannot be ignored. For the most part, Groundwork has had a relatively small role to play in the Young Farmers Program since establishing the program and assisting in the construction of both Kayla's Garden and the Young Farmers Garden. The organization has relied on one garden manager for the past three years to run the entire operation. While it appears that this will continue, there are questions about how the program can grow. This has resulted in discussions between members of Groundwork Milwaukee and the Metcalfe Park Community

[178] Interview with former VGI worker, Fall 2017.
[179] Interview with former VGI worker, Fall 2017.

Bridges about Kayla's Garden and its potential. Groundwork hopes to extend its reach to the neighboring lot in an attempt to better maintain the site and encourage more consistent use.

> I don't really see too many people in that garden. There's tons of stuff planted there so at some point somebody was working that garden at the beginning of the summer, but towards the end of the summer you just see less and less people. But we're in talks with Danell now about how we can collaborate because Young Farmers Program... We're starting to gain some steam. Hopefully we can get some more funding through the offseason here, and we would like to expand. And if there is garden space that is available to expand into, you know, to kind of activate that space more, that would be ideal.[180]

It remains to be seen if, and how this transition plays out. However, if the program expands, it could result in the program being the only agricultural resource in the area. And as well-beloved as the program is, this could limit how people in the neighborhood make use of urban agriculture.

The above quote also highlights one of the key limitations found at the Metcalfe Park sites. The Young Farmers Garden, as the site of a summer-long program that receives consistent support from Groundwork Milwaukee is well-maintained throughout the year. However, according to one resident who makes use of Kayla's Garden, the space suffers from a lack of continued interest within the local community.

> Some people plant, and you still see the stuff in the garden. They never go get it out, and I'm like, 'Why they do that?'[181]

As this trend continues, the perception that the community garden could use Groundworks help has increased. This outside help could result in the space being used more. However, it could also change the purpose of the space and why some residents enjoy using it to begin with.

[180] Interview with former VGI worker, Fall 2017.
[181] Interview with Metcalfe Park resident, Winter 2018.

While Kayla's Garden may not be as consistently used as the Young Farmers Garden, it does offer a casual, and free place for local residents to grow food for themselves. In an interview with a senior living in the apartment complex across the street from the garden, he emphasized that while the garden may not be used consistently, it provides an opportunity for older residents to engage in garden activity. For him being in the garden itself is what allows for connections to be made and networks to grow. He told a number of stories that emphasized the value of these connections.

> In the summertime across the street people will pass by and ask me can they have something out. And I'm like, 'Sure. Come on. The only thing you got to do is bring your own bag.' And they'll get their bag and come. And they'll get what they want.[182]

This interviewee feels that the Young Farmers Program would not provide this same kind of engagement because it is meant for only a specific group of children, and while he enjoys the fact that they sell produce in the area, he does not feel that buying food is enough to get some people involved.

As was the case with VGI, the question remains as to whether or not the Young Farmers Program has stayed true to the underlying mission of the program, and if that mission has involved local residents of Metcalfe Park. The perceptions of the people I interviewed suggest that the youth program has been successful in what it set out to do by creating a program that addressed the specific needs of the neighborhood and limiting the scale to the area itself.

> We're not making a lot of money doing this, but it's just more that those folks are there. They know the garden. And the kids that go to the garden, almost all of them are from the neighborhood. They know the person at that house now.[183]

[182] Interview with Metcalfe Park resident, Winter 2018.
[183] Interview with former VGI worker, Fall 2017.

This has resulted in a program that, according to one founder, is not about urban agriculture, but about the neighborhood.

> Whether it's getting people to enroll their kids into the Young Farmers Program or having a canning class... We're not as adamant about everyone being a gardener because it's more of a... It's more about community than it is about economic sustenance.[184]

When the YFP was first being worked out, those involved made a point to get the input from the children in Metcalfe Park, and the organizations already present in the neighborhood. This resulted in a partnership that brought local residents into a network where they could make use of the resources that Groundwork Milwaukee provided. Today, those same actors are still a part of this network. It remains to be seen whether or not Groundwork will take over Kayla's Garden and the vacant lot between the two gardens, but based on my discussions with those involved it is clear that the people that had a say in how the YFP was developed will also have a say in how it expands.

In this section, I have highlighted how both Harambee and Metcalfe Park have made use of different networks to realize their goals. I have also shown that these goals have influenced the scales at which these organizations operate and where the benefits they create are felt. In Harambee, a variety of actors from private and public spheres have been brought into VGI's network as a means for the organization to promote its goal of developing a new, community-based food system. In an attempt to bring more people into this food system, VGI has created programs that promote urban agriculture activity not just in the Harambee neighborhood, but nationwide. In Metcalfe Park, the YFP has made use of primarily local actors to promote its

[184] Ibid.

goals educational goals as youth program. Due to its specific purpose, the YFP's scale of operation and the benefits these operations create have remained within the Metcalfe Park neighborhood. Perceptions gained from interviews with organization members and local residents reveal that the effects of these organizational strategies are for the most part positive.

However, the people I interviewed for this thesis believed that each organization has faced setbacks in achieving their goals in part due to the networks and scales at which they operate. While educational programs run by VGI have promoted some local involvement, the organization's economic goals have limited this involvement. By bringing in volunteers and making partnerships outside of the neighborhood, VGI has created a space in the Victory Garden Urban Farm that some believe to be not representative of the desires of the surrounding neighborhood. In Metcalfe Park, the one-dimensional nature of the Young Farmers Program has resulted in only children and their families making use of the space. Despite these shortcomings, each organization has made strides to involve as many people as possible in realizing their respective missions by situating themselves within the neighborhoods they are meant to serve, and working to bring local actors into their networks.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

In this thesis, I have argued that in order for researchers to better understand both the positive and negative effects of urban agriculture, a better understanding of the developmental and operational strategies of urban agriculture nonprofit organizations is required. Developmental and operational strategies are important to understanding how urban agriculture organizations work to achieve their goals through the creation of spaces and programs that are designed to benefit a wide variety of people. Researching these strategies also reveals what effect they may have on people's perceptions of urban agriculture activity and spaces.

To do this, I collected data through interviews and participant observation with organizers and residents working at and/or living near two different urban agriculture sites in Milwaukee. The first was the Victory Garden Urban Farm located in the northern section of Harambee and operated by the nonprofit organization Victory Gardens Initiative. The second was the Young Farmers Garden, a youth education program run by Groundwork Milwaukee and located within the Metcalfe Park neighborhood. The previous sections have highlighted how these sites has developed differently as a result of the different purposes of each organization and the networks used and created to achieve these purposes.

VGI's goal of creating a community-based food system for all has resulted in the organization and the space it operates to develop a number of programs that provide different forms of engagement for people interested in urban agriculture activity. From the Youth Education Program, to the Victory Garden Blitz, VGI has operated at different scales to promote the belief that urban agriculture can serve to provide a just sustainable food source for all. As a result of this diversity, VGI has brought a number of people into its cause, making the organization stronger, and better suited to meet the needs of those looking to grow their own

food. However, interviews reveal that perceptions of the organization's efforts to create a community-based food system have fallen short of their goals to bring local Harambee residents into that community. This is viewed by many as a severe limitation for the organization, and one that needs to be corrected through more local outreach programs.

The YFP's goal of creating a youth education program specifically for children within the Metcalfe Park neighborhood has resulted in the development of one single program with a very specific purpose. Unlike VGI's multi-scale operation, the YFP is meant to specifically serve one neighborhood and the families that live there. As a result of these networks, close ties have been made between local residents and organizers allowing for the development of the organization to be informed by the needs of the local parents and children. Despite these connections, others in the area feel that because the program is so youth focused, the space used by the young farmers is not as accessible for people without children in the program. The community garden next to the Young Farmers Garden has served local residents by providing a free space to grow food, but as Groundwork's desire to expand the YFP increases, some feel that the ways in which that space can be engaged with will decrease.

Despite their differences both sites offer an opportunity to better understand how urban agriculture has served various people through a number of programs and spaces that provide different forms of engagement. As argued in my literature review, urban agriculture cannot be characterized as a monolithic movement. Urban agriculture advocates and organizations have worked to achieve their goals through the use of various strategies such as the development of accessible food forests for local residents, or education programs specifically designed for children. Both the positive and negative effects that these strategies create speak to the non-monolithic nature of urban agriculture, and the need for more site-specific research that will help

people better understand how urban agriculture might serve them. Future research needs to attend to the diversity found within urban agriculture by focusing on the specific strategies used by different organizations. This has the potential to inform future urban agriculture projects that strive to improve the lives of people who have faced issues related food insecurity and social injustices.

The specific sites that I chose for my case studies in this thesis, along with the results I obtained from my research on these two locations have value to both researchers and nonprofit workers involved with urban agriculture activity in other urban areas. As mentioned above, future research needs to address the differences between urban agriculture organizations. They also need to attend to the diverse perceptions of people being affected and/or targeted by urban agriculture activity. Although I struggled to gain access to the perspectives of nonparticipants in this thesis, I contend that future research should investigate these perspectives. Urban agriculture affects more people than just the ones that are making use of it. Due to its varied nature, a multitude of actors are brought into contact with urban agriculture networks and spaces in different ways. My goal to discover what nonparticipants perceive of as the effects of different urban agriculture strategies in Milwaukee should be extended to additional cities where new sets of actors, working in different networks can inform site-specific research. A more focused look at the perspectives of nonparticipants could also have the effect of informing future organizational efforts within urban agriculture, resulting in a more all-inclusive practice that considers more than just the people directly engaging in urban agriculture activity.

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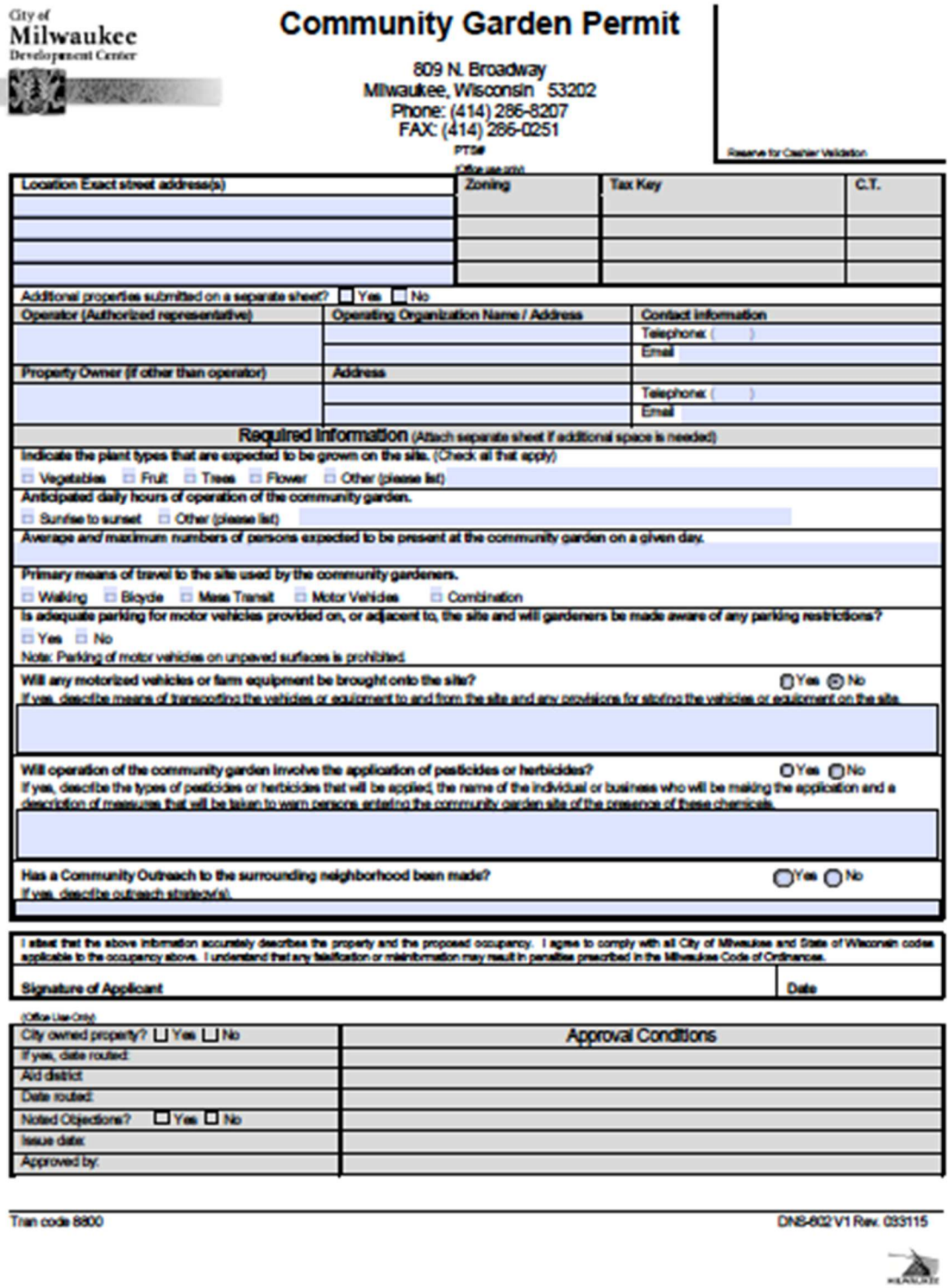
Appendix A — City of Milwaukee Community Garden Permit



City of Milwaukee
Development Center

Community Garden Permit

809 N. Broadway
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53202
Phone: (414) 286-8207
FAX: (414) 286-0251

PTS#

Reserve for Cashier Validation

Location Exact street address(s)	Zoning	Tax Key	C.T.

Additional properties submitted on a separate sheet? ☐ Yes ☐ No

Operator (Authorized representative)	Operating Organization Name / Address	Contact Information
		Telephone: ( )
		Email
Property Owner (if other than operator)	Address	
		Telephone: ( )
		Email

Required Information (Attach separate sheet if additional space is needed)

Indicate the plant types that are expected to be grown on the site. (Check all that apply)
☐ Vegetables ☐ Fruit ☐ Trees ☐ Flower ☐ Other (please list)

Anticipated daily hours of operation of the community garden.
☐ Sunrise to sunset ☐ Other (please list)

Average and maximum numbers of persons expected to be present at the community garden on a given day.

Primary means of travel to the site used by the community gardeners.
☐ Walking ☐ Bicycle ☐ Mass Transit ☐ Motor Vehicles ☐ Combination

Is adequate parking for motor vehicles provided on, or adjacent to, the site and will gardeners be made aware of any parking restrictions?
☐ Yes ☐ No
Note: Parking of motor vehicles on unpaved surfaces is prohibited.

Will any motorized vehicles or farm equipment be brought onto the site? ◯ Yes ◉ No
If yes, describe means of transporting the vehicles or equipment to and from the site and any provisions for storing the vehicles or equipment on the site.

Will operation of the community garden involve the application of pesticides or herbicides? ◯ Yes ◯ No
If yes, describe the types of pesticides or herbicides that will be applied, the name of the individual or business who will be making the application and a description of measures that will be taken to warn persons entering the community garden site of the presence of these chemicals.

Has a Community Outreach to the surrounding neighborhood been made? ◯ Yes ◯ No
If yes, describe outreach strategy(s).

I attest that the above information accurately describes the property and the proposed occupancy. I agree to comply with all City of Milwaukee and State of Wisconsin codes applicable to the occupancy above. I understand that any falsification or misinformation may result in penalties prescribed in the Milwaukee Code of Ordinances.

Signature of Applicant	Date

(Office Use Only)

City owned property? ☐ Yes ☐ No	Approval Conditions
If yes, date routed:	
Aid district:	
Date routed:	
Noted Objections? ☐ Yes ☐ No	
Issue date:	
Approved by:	

Tran code 8800 DNS-802 V1 Rev. 033115

Source:

Appendix B — Prominent Urban Agriculture Organizations in Milwaukee, WI

Organization Name	Year Founded	Mission Statement
Alice's Garden	2001	"Alice's Garden provides models of regenerative farming, community cultural development, and economic agricultural enterprises for the global landscape. We recognize the cultivating, preparing, and preserving of food, and food traditions, as cultural arts to be reclaimed and celebrated fully in urban agriculture." ^
Groundwork Milwaukee	2007	"The mission of Groundwork Milwaukee (GWM) is to bring about the sustained regeneration, improvement and management of the physical environment by developing community-based partnerships that empower people, businesses and organizations to promote environmental, economic and social well-being." ▽
Home Gr/own	2014	"Transform targeted neighborhoods by concentrating City and partner resources, catalyzing new, healthy food access and greenspace developments to promote economic development in City neighborhoods and commercial corridors." "Make it easier to grow and access local food and re-purpose city-owned vacant lots. We work within City government to streamline processes, permitting, and ordinances, making it easier to grow and distribute healthy food, start new food-based businesses and improve vacant lots into parks, orchards and healthy green spaces, increasing Milwaukee quality of life." "Work within Milwaukee's community food system to link local growers to local markets, increase urban food infrastructure (water, access, compost), support new urban farms and increase the number of healthy food retailers and wholesalers." †
Sweet Water Foundation / Heart Haus	2009 / 2014	"Sweet Water Foundation practices **Regenerative Neighborhood Development**, a creative and regenerative social justice method, that creates safe and inspiring spaces and curates healthy, intergenerational communities that transform the ecology of once-blighted neighborhoods." "Sweet Water Foundation utilizes a blend of urban agriculture, art and education to transform vacant spaces and abandoned buildings into economically and ecologically productive and sustainable community assets that produce engaged youth, skilled workers, art, locally-grown food, and affordable housing." *
Victory Garden Initiative	2008	"Victory Garden Initiative builds communities that grow their own food, creating a community-based, socially just, environmentally sustainable, nutritious food system for all." °
Walnut Way, Environmental Stewardship Programs	2000	"We're transforming unused spaces into productive gardens, parks & healthy community spaces. We're addressing lead hazards in backyard gardens & working with neighbors to improve soil quality." ◊

Source:

^ https://www.alicesgardenmke.com/alice-meade-taylor/

▽ http://www.groundworkmke.org/mission/

† http://city.milwaukee.gov/homegrownmilwaukee.com#.Wxl-3lMvy34

* https://www.sweetwaterfoundation.com/our-practice/

° https://victorygardeninitiative.org/

◊ https://www.walnutway.org/

Appendix C — Interview Questions

How long have you lived in the neighborhood?

What is your opinion of the neighborhood?

What problems do you believe it faces, if any?

Do any of these problems relate to food access, or lack of green space?

How has the neighborhood changed since you've been here?

Are you involved in UA activity? If so, how? If not, why?

What do you think of the farm?

How do you make use of the local UA site, if at all?

What do you believe are the goals of UA/ the local UA organization?

Are you aware of how the local urban farm developed? If so, how?

Has UA/ the local UA organization been successful in working towards these goals? In the city? Locally?

What problems do you believe might exist with UA more broadly, or more specifically in this neighborhood?

Is access to local, healthy food important to you? Is access to green space important to you? Why, or why not?

Do you believe that UA/ the local UA organization is providing healthy food and green space? If so, are you taking advantage of these resources?

Is an urban farm the best use of that space? If not, what could be put there that would better serve the community?

Do you see the neighborhood problems you previously mentioned as issues stemming from some sort of injustice?

Does UA have the potential to address the neighborhood problems that you previously mentioned and correct this injustice?