Walden Dissertations and Doctoral Studies

2016

Local Governmental Development of Alternative Food Systems in Distressed Urban Areas

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Walden University
2016

Abstract

Local Governmental Development of Alternative Food Systems

in Distressed Urban Areas

by

Jeremy Blake Earle

MSc, University of Florida, 2008

BLA, University of Florida, 2000

Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Public Policy and Administration

Walden University

November 2016

Abstract

Alternative food systems (AFS) projects are designed to address issues of environmental justice, food security and insecurity, community health disparities between the affluent and the poor, and access to healthful foods in distressed urban areas. Past research has questioned the efficacy and long-term viability of such interventions, particularly in distressed primarily Black urban areas. The purpose of this intrinsic case study (ICS) was to understand the ways in which local governmental entities collaborated with each other and with nongovernmental partners to help develop an AFS in South Florida through the creation of a market garden called the PATCH. Critical race theory was the framework for addressing the challenges associated with community health, empowerment, and socioeconomic issues pertaining to AFS. A critical case sampling strategy was employed in order to study the selected site. Transcribed data from interviews with 6 key informants, observational notes, and publicly available document searches were coded using a thematic posteriori strategy and analyzed diagrammatically. Results revealed 4 primary drivers for the effective creation of AFS including collaboration and partnerships, community empowerment, community involvement, and the leadership role of government. The concept of transcommunality played an integral role in how these primary drivers could be applied between local governmental and nongovernmental partners. Knowledge gleaned from these results can inform the development of effective community and culturally specific AFS that can help address the disparities that race and socioeconomic status play in providing access to healthful foods in South Florida, thereby creating the basis for positive social change in distressed urban areas.

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Dedication

This study is dedicated to the countless public officials who persevere through extraordinary circumstances in order to selflessly serve their communities. It is also dedicated to my parents Dr. Jonathan and Yvonne Earle, who set a strong example for what it takes to serve others, and to my siblings Kevin Earle and Dr. Celia Earle, who have provided tremendous love and supported me over the years. Finally, I extend a special dedication to my beautiful wife and best friend Nattaliah Earle who has supported me in every way, and without whom I would not have been able to make it this far.

Acknowledgments

I would like to acknowledge the tremendous support that was provided by my dissertation committee comprised of my chair, Dr. Christopher Jones, and committee member, Dr. Bethe Hagens. Their genuine excitement and interest in the dissertation topic provided incredible encouragement to me throughout the entire process. In addition, their friendship, wisdom, support, and comments pushed me to make this dissertation even better. I would also like to thank Dr. Steven Matarelli, who provided important feedback during various stages of this process and strengthened the document. Thanks as well to my editor, Jeff Zuckerman, whose tremendous editing skills helped me convey the information contained in this dissertation more effectively.

I would also like to acknowledge the City of Dania Beach, the Dania Beach Community Redevelopment Agency, and the Broward Regional Health Planning Council, whose dedication to providing access to healthful foods and improving the lives of a distressed community made this dissertation possible.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, I would like to acknowledge everyone who traveled on this 5-year journey with me and helped to make this dissertation possible.

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Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study

Background

Among the greatest challenges facing the United States are food security and community health. According to the most recent figures from the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA; 2015), 14% of American households, or approximately 48 million individuals, are considered food insecure—that is, they are challenged at some point during the year to acquire enough food for all family members because they lack funds or other resources for food (Freedman & Bell, 2009; Hilmers, Hilmers, & Dave, 2012; Schneider, Rodgers, & Cheang, 2008; USDA, 2015). About 8.4% of U.S. households suffer from low food security and 5.6% from very low food security; that is, they were either able to find ways to mitigate their diets through reduced food intake, governmental assistance programs, and food banks, or they went hungry because they had insufficient money or other resources in order to acquire food (USDA, 2015).

Food insecurity rates are higher than the national average for households with incomes below the federal poverty line (39.5% were food insecure in 2012), households with children headed by a female with no spouse (35.3%), and Black (26.1%), and Hispanic (22.4%) populations (USDA, 2015). Hunger, when measured from the perspective of both adults and children, is associated with health-related issues including obesity, which may have implications for other health outcomes such as type 2 diabetes, hypertension, stroke, and coronary heart disease (Freedman & Bell, 2009; Macias, 2008; Zick, Smith, Kowaleski-Jones, Uno, & Merrill, 2013).

Information provided by the USDA (2015) showed that within metropolitan areas and their respective principal cities, food insecurity rates are higher (15.7%) than in the suburbs and other metropolitan areas outside principal cities (11.8%). These statistics are in line with the growing body of research showing that issues of food insecurity, including hunger, a lack of access to healthful foods, and poor nutrition, are not only persistent problems in the United States—especially within metropolitan areas—but that their local food environments differ significantly based on such indicators as race and the socioeconomic structure of a given community (Freedman & Bell, 2009; Schneider et al., 2008). A large percentage of those households within distressed urban areas fall below the poverty line. Such households are disproportionately comprised of minority populations, especially Blacks and Hispanics. Not only do socioeconomic concerns and immobility "work against households in this segment of the population, but there is also a noticeable spatial mismatch between market supply and demand for nutritious food in lower-income communities" (Schneider et al., 2008, p. 47).

The lack of access to healthful foods for those in distressed urban areas has been a growing concern both locally and nationally. The literature has shown a direct correlation between a lack of access to healthful foods in areas that are commonly and in certain cases controversially known as "food deserts," with no ready access to fresh, healthful, and affordable food, and the overall health of the community (Guthman, 2008; Lucan, Barg, & Long, 2010; Marcia, 2008). Chronic diseases are directly related to diet and disproportionately affect Blacks, especially those of lower income who struggle with food insecurity because they tend to eat foods that are cheaper and highly processed

rather than fruits and vegetables (Freeman, 2015; Lucan et al., 2010; Schneider et al., 2008). This struggle to eat well is exacerbated in food deserts, where, absent of large supermarkets and grocery stores that sell fruits and vegetables, a preponderance of smaller convenience stores and fast food restaurants primarily sell highly processed foods (Freeman, 2015; Freedman & Bell, 2009; Guthman, 2014; Hilmers et al., 2012). This problem contrasts the general ease in which grocery stores and supermarkets can be found in more affluent and, more often than not, predominately White areas of a community (Hilmers et al., 2012). Thus, socioeconomic status and race play a significant role in the type of disparity, which can be found in consumers' access to healthful foods. One of the challenges for local government is to find solutions that address some of these disparities, including such tools as the creation of alternative food systems (AFS), such as community or market gardens that can be located in distressed urban areas. Under the auspices of such terms as environmental justice, social equity, social justice, and food justice, various governmental, private, and nonprofit groups have tried to address food security and food insecurity issues in minority communities. Dania Beach, FL, for example, has been at the forefront of numerous local, state, national, and international community food-based and grassroots movements (Guthman, 2008, 2014; Hu et al., 2013; Turner, Henryks, & Pearson, 2011). Leaders of many of these attempts believe that empowering local communities to address their food and health problems, in addition to increasing scope and reach of locally produced agriculture, will solve social issues and produce environmental benefits (Macias, 2008). Macias (2008) asserted that, without strong interventions that promote knowledge of and access to locally grown healthful

foods, the gap will continue to increase between the affluent having the best access to healthful foods and those who are not well off. The alternative foods movements, of which AFS are a part, are a means to develop institutions that could provide locally sustainably grown healthful food at reasonable prices and in areas where consumers can to access it (Guthman, 2014).

Interventions that have addressed the challenges faced by food insecure households have included existing federal programs such as the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) and the Special Supplementary Nutrition Program for Women, Infants, and Children (WIC) as a foundation. Additional programs include such as farm-to-school, farm-to-table, farm-to-market, organic farming, local food pantries, faith-based food initiatives, and community gardening programs. Many of these programs and organizations represent both public and private efforts to create community food systems (Schneider et al., 2008). These types of community systems are important because they represent attempts to address the reality that the United States has no fair and equitable distribution of resources. Those who live in distressed urban areas have suffered the greatest systematic discrimination related to access to healthful food and resource allocation, and therefore suffer some of the greatest effects including those relating to health (Agyeman, Bullard, & Evans, 2002; Bullard, 2007; DeLessio-Parson, 2012; Guthman, 2014; Hilmers et al., 2012; Hu et al., 2013; Irazábal & Punja, 2009; Schweitzer & Zhou, 2010; Winson, 2010). Hilmers et al. (2012) indicated that there is a causal relationship between the lack of access to healthful foods in distressed urban areas and higher rates of obesity in low income and minority populations. Finding ways to

address these types of concerns are the reasons AFS, including community gardens and farmers' markets, have not only grown in popularity as a part of the food justice movement, but they have also become important tools relating to healthful food access and health (Freedman & Bell, 2009; Hilmers et al., 2012).

Problem Statement

Under the overarching themes of environmental justice, lack of equitable access to resources, and health, such groups as allied health professionals, community advocates, food security advocates, sustainable urban farmers, and other interested organizations have developed countless urban food security projects in urban distressed U.S. communities, especially those with large Black populations (Guthman, 2008; Hu, Acosta, McDaniel, & Gittelsohn, 2013; Turner, Henryks, & Pearson, 2011). While prevalent in many communities, these projects face many challenges. Numerous researchers have examined whether alternative food projects such as community gardens and farmers' markets that are located in distressed, predominantly minority populated urban areas are effective at addressing food security and sufficiency issues (DeLessio-Parson, 2012; Freedman & Bell, 2009; Macias, 2008; Webber & Dollahite, 2008).

The contextual factors that relate to the success or failure of alternative food projects in distressed urban areas are not fully understood, especially those that relate to the role that local governmental agencies can play. One of the primary challenges that can be found with local governmental involvement in helping to create and implement an AFS is one of experience or the lack thereof. In most governmental jurisdictions, local governments, which historically not been charged with a role in organizing community

assets in order to address issues of food insecurity, are little involved or supportive of these types of AFS (Schneider et al., 2008). Additionally, there has been a lack of political or economic capital to help local governmental bodies or agencies provide for these types of social systems, due to the fact that there is still disagreement in the AFS arena regarding the manner in which all of the disparate components of an AFS should be brought together as a whole or administered (Eizenberg, 2012; Guthman, 2008a; Schneider et al., 2008).

In many distressed, largely Black urban areas, residents have largely refused to participate in many of the forms of AFS such as farmers' markets and community gardens (Slocum, 2007, 2011). Within their communities, some Blacks perceive healthier food preparation as not reflecting Black food choices or culture but "Whiteness" and are thus resisted (Guthman, 2008; Lucan et al., 2010; Slocum, 2007, 2011). Many in the community believe these types of AFS reflect primarily White desires and missionary practices, which are therefore met with suspicion based on previous historical experiences. Other researchers have found Blacks reject AFS for cultural associations; for example, community gardens may evoke images of slavery, sharecropping, or White land ownership (Hu et al., 2011). Thus, the long-term challenges associated with healthful food consumption in Black communities suggest it is insufficient to merely create a healthful and sustainable food system; the local consumers in these neighborhoods must also want to actually consume what is produced (Guthman, 2014; James & Friel, 2014).

To address the numerous problems and challenges associated with creating of long-term AFS projects in distressed urban Black communities, local governmental

bodies, including municipalities and community redevelopment agencies (CRA), may be obliged to play a much larger role in creating AFS. The agencies have the resources necessary to understand the local community assets including vacant lands and park space, oversee community redevelopment and development, and have access to additional resources such as funding and the ability to pass new ordinances that individual organizations do not. Through their varied role in the community including governance, local governmental bodies may therefore be able to facilitate a process of partnership building and transcommunality (Childs, 2003; Guthman, 2008).

The process of transcommunality involves shared interaction between community participants and the myriad diverse players such as those found in the alternative food movement arena, through a process of collective practical action, which results in better communication between all participants, as well as mutual respect and understanding. A key role that the notion of transcommunality plays for all potential participants is in recognizing that each participant, group, or organization does not have to give up their individual identities, mission, or values; instead, they should embrace their differences as an important part of the success of an AFS project. The challenge is that few scholars have critically reviewed the potential types of partnerships that are available to create and support these types of AFS projects, especially as they pertain to local government. The city of Dania Beach, FL, therefore, provided me with an opportunity to conduct critical scholarly research to provide input into the ways in which local governmental entities can work with local community leaders and other stakeholders by creating partnerships in order to enhance the efficacy of a newly created AFS.

Community redevelopment agencies are governmental agencies specifically tasked by state law with overseeing all redevelopment activities within what have been determined by an exhaustive study to be distressed (primarily urban) areas comprised of slums and blight. I evaluated the effectiveness of the ongoing planning processes that are being developed by the Dania Beach Community Redevelopment Agency (DBCRA) in order to improve both the short-term and long-term viability of AFS, such as community gardens and farmers' markets that address issues of food insecurity, health, and community empowerment in distressed urban areas.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this qualitative study was to explore and understand the ways in which local governmental entities could address issues relating to food insecurity and local access to healthful foods in a distressed, primarily Black urban community. I reviewed several types of partnerships between the governmental entity itself, community stakeholders, and other organizations, both nonprofit and for-profit. The goal of the study was to better understand the types of social/cultural interactions between the diverse players involved in creating and implementing an AFS foster better communication, mutual respect, and understanding, which can lead to the long-term sustainability of such projects. As discussed previously, an understanding by local governmental officials of transcommunality and how to facilitate the creation of positive community partnerships, can potentially affect the long-term sustainability of AFS projects and therefore community empowerment and health. Despite a significant amount of research documenting the effects of race on health, access to food, and food insecurity, little

research existed that effectively addresses local government's role in the creation or facilitation of alternative food systems. Transcommunality as a framework for understanding the challenges and potential solutions to food justice projects provides an opportunity to enhance the efficacy of AFS, especially those that are located in Black communities.

Research Question

To understand and analyze the efficacy of partnership building and the ongoing planning process, one research question was addressed: In what ways could local governmental bodies facilitate a collaborative process with other governmental bodies and various organizational and community stakeholders in order to create a market garden as a component of an AFS, while engaging and empowering local community stakeholders to participate and take a leadership role?

Theoretical Framework

Critical race theory (CRT), which is "concerned with empowering human beings to transcend the constraints placed on them by race, class and gender" (Creswell, 2009, p. 62), served as the framework. The study focused on a distressed South Florida urban community comprised primarily of Blacks (The term *Black* includes South Florida residents of African descent who may identify themselves as African-American, Afro-Caribbean, Afro-Hispanic, or Afro-Latino origin.) Because these distressed urban areas are disproportionately segregated from the region as a whole by race, class structure, and socioeconomic factors, CRT served to address the issues related to social equity and race,

which are tied intrinsically to the challenges associated with food security and food insecurity.

Slocum (2011) reported ample research associating issues of race with the production, distribution and the ultimate consumption of food. The challenges with many of these types of studies, Slocum argued, is that many scholars are implicit in terms of their dealing with race and are not explicit in terms of the theoretical framework for their arguments, preferring instead to deal with the object of race instead of the subjects of race themselves (Guthman, 2008; Slocum, 2011). Using CRT as the foundation of this study helped explain how the differences between various peoples and groups, thoughts, motives, and ideas can represent the foundation upon which local governments can create partnerships between the various disparate groups involved in AFS.

The challenge was to not try to remove race as an important factor in the creation of an AFS but to understand that food, as a basic element of that system, is a type of glue that helps create, drive, and maintain social identity due to the cultural habits associated with it. Food, in other words, is cultural, and in many cases racial identity is driven by food habits and tastes derived from that racial and cultural framework (Guthman, 2008, 2014; Hu et al., 2011; Slocum, 2011). Race and culture were seen as integral to the formation of AFS, as were the issues of access to healthful foods, health and wellness, and community empowerment. Of the materiality of the substance of food itself, Slocum (2011) stated that "food serves both to solidify group membership and to set groups apart" (p. 305). Access to local healthful foods can be understood depending on the cultural lens of different groups.

In addition, food being an important part of race and cultural identity, race plays a role in the ways that different groups, especially Blacks, view the act of growing food. From slavery to the broken promises of the days after the Civil War during Reconstruction, which brought about sharecropping and tenant farming, Blacks have been disenfranchised at every level of the agricultural industry (Harris, 2015). With the strictly legal structure of slavery no longer in existence after the war, the disparity between White farmers and the Blacks grew even deeper. Of the deepening racialization of farming, Harris (2015) wrote, "White planters desired cheap and docile labor while black farmworkers wanted financial and physical independence" (p. 187). Yet the tenancy system that developed during this time ensured the exploitation of Black farmworkers while maintaining the economic supremacy of Whites (Harris, 2015). When exploring the roles of various players in the creation of an AFS in distressed predominantly Black urban areas, all groups must understand the underlying cultural and social contexts upon which urban farming in these communities' rests.

The research and application of CRT in conjunction with the concept of transcommunality, or how groups can work together toward a common goal, provided valuable insights into the possible ways in which local governmental bodies can address the racial and cultural contexts that hamper the successful implementation of AFS in distressed Black communities. Critical race theory and food systems will be further discussed in Chapter 2.

Nature of the Study

This intrinsic case study (ICS) focused on Dania Beach, a distressed, predominantly Black urban neighborhood in a Southeast Florida. Participant action research (PAR) was used on an as-needed basis to augment the investigation. The use of an ICS approach was important in order to seek to understand and evaluate the effectiveness of the market garden program because the case was an unusual and unique way for a local government to address community empowerment and food security issues (Creswell, 2013). The use of some aspects of PAR as a supplemental methodology was an important component of the study because the views and theories of the participants are often a neglected source of theory (Maxwell, 2013).

The market garden project, which was first implemented in September 2012, represented a collaboration between the DBCRA, and a partner organization called the Broward Regional Health Planning Council (BRHPC). The unique effort allowed me to understand how a Black community could work with local governmental agencies and other partners to make AFS efforts such as market gardens more sustainable. Through an ICS and some aspects of PAR, I explored how local governmental entities could begin addressing issues of access to healthful foods and food security by providing the necessary information to counter the notions of "community conversion" as perceived by the Black community. Many well-intentioned groups from outside of the Black community have good intentions in trying to convince Black communities to adopt a healthier diet. Such efforts actually can create barriers to adopting such diets because of Blacks collective racial experiences (Guthman, 2008; Hu et al., 2011; Slocum, 2011).

Data were obtained through observation, interviews with stakeholders, and documents, and by a collaborative process between the participants and me. As the former executive director (ED) of the DBCRA, I was directly involved in creating the market garden. Thus, my continued collaboration with the other agencies and key players on the project was important. Although I was the leader in putting the project together, these players had important insights into various aspects of the project that could have been missed (Maxwell, 2013). My dual role as researcher and the former ED of the DBCRA is expanded upon in Chapter 3.

Definition of Terms

Alternative food systems: Local food networks and distribution systems that are comprised of such things as community gardens, market gardens, and farmers' markets, which allow direct geographic and economic access to locally-grown healthful foods that are cultivated without the extensive use of chemicals and can be described as sustainably grown and environmentally friendly (Naylor, 2012).

Community garden: Collaborative projects on shared open spaces on which a collective group of people share maintenance responsibilities and grow fruits and vegetables for their individual or collective consumption (CDC, 2011).

Community redevelopment agency: A local governmental public agency created pursuant to Florida Statutes (F.S.) 163.356 (CRA, 2012).

Community resiliency: The ability of human communities to withstand and recover from stresses, such as environmental change or social, economic or political upheaval (Kulig, Edge, Townshend, Lightfoot, & Reimer, 2013, p. 759).

Blighted/distressed area: The State of Florida (2012) defines a blighted area as an area having physical or economic conditions conducive to disease, infant mortality, juvenile delinquency, poverty, or crime because there is a predominance of buildings or improvements, whether residential or nonresidential, which are impaired by reason of dilapidation, deterioration, age, or obsolescence (CRA, 2012)

Food desert: Food deserts as both urban neighborhoods and rural towns that don't have ready access to healthful and affordable food such as fresh fruits and vegetables. Characteristics of these types of communities may also include a prevalence of fast food restaurants and convenience stores or bodegas that offer few healthful, affordable food options (USDA, 2013b). In addition, food deserts tend to be comprised of predominantly lower-income neighborhoods (USDA, 2013b).

Food insecurity: A measure of deprivation which refers to household-level economic and social condition of limited or uncertain access to adequate food of which hunger may be a consequence at certain times for some members of the household (USDA, 2013a).

Food security: Refers directly to "access by all people at all times to enough food for an active, healthful life" (USDA, 2013a, p. 2). Households are generally considered to be food secure when they have ready access to food and the occupants are in no danger of hunger or starvation (USDA, 2013a).

Healthful foods: Are nonprocessed primarily whole foods such as fruits, vegetables, whole grains, dairy, fresh eggs, "and lean meats that are perishable (fresh,

refrigerated, or frozen) or canned as well as nutrient-dense foods and beverages" (USDA, 2013b, para. 9).

Intrinsic case study: Refers to the study of a case such as a program, person, specific group in which the case itself is the primary interest in the exploration because it is unique or unusual (Creswell, 2013).

Local government: County, municipality or special district such as a Community Redevelopment Area (CPA, 2012).

Market garden: A form of urban agriculture in which there is an intensive production of high value produce such as fruits and vegetables on a small piece of land, which can be sold either directly to local consumers or to other businesses such as restaurants and grocery stores (BRHPC, 2013).

Participatory action research: A form of research inquiry that is intertwined with politics as well as a political agenda, and which through direct collaboration and partnership with participants seeks to create an action agenda that will not only change the lives of the participants individually but in society as a whole with respect to social issues, including empowerment, inequality, and justice (Creswell, 2009).

Transcommunality: Refers to constructive and developmental interaction between "distinct autonomy oriented" communities, organizations and groups, leading to inclusive cooperation between these diverse groups, when working together towards a "shared practical action that leads to increased communication, mutual respect and understanding" (Childs, 2003, p. 11). A key focus of transcommunality is the realization

that differences between groups are to be celebrated as the base from which true understanding and shared practical action grows (Childs, 2003).

Assumptions, Scope, Delimitations, and Limitations to the Study

A major assumption of the study was that Dania Beach has a unique enough model for the creation of a market garden in a distressed neighborhood. Another assumption was that that the DBCRA would potentially become knowledgeable enough to develop strategies leading to further bolster the concept of transcommunality and knowledge of how these types of interventions could work in minority communities. This assumption was based on a cursory review of the unique situation that the DBCRA as a local governmental entity had created by the development of its market garden.

A second assumption pertained to the willingness of the local community stakeholders to become engaged long term in creating the AFS because it might provide economic empowerment within the community. This study was based on the assumption that as the community worked to solve local problems pertaining to socioeconomic issues, food insecurity, and access to healthful foods, strategies and best practices could be identified that might help other local governments address similar issues in similar communities.

As stated earlier, challenges pertaining to food security and food insecurity disproportionately affect minority and in particular Black populations in distressed urban areas. The scope of this project therefore pertained to one predominantly lower income Black community in a blighted/distressed urban area as defined by Florida statutes (CRA, 2012). Using CRT as a framework to address the issues of empowerment, education,

access to healthful foods, and community health was conducive to the type of PAR study that sought to include those thoughts and the viewpoints of the local stakeholders as the foundation component for community change.

The scope of the study was delimited to a review and evaluation of the Dania Beach People's Access to Community Horticulture, or PATCH market garden. The PATCH market garden is based on a model developed by the DBCRA in 2012 (see Dania Beach CRA PATCH Model, Appendix A). Participants included members of the community or other individuals who were volunteering or working with the DBCRA on the market garden. Using tools from PAR, such as participant observation, strengthened the study. I took detailed notes on the various activities and behaviors of the group that I was researching (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 2008). Still, participant observation had significant weaknesses. My conclusions relied almost completely on my role as the research instrument/observer, which led to questions regarding the credibility, reliability, and validity of the study itself. These questions were mitigated by the action research nature of the study, in which I engaged with a cooperative community. The action research aspect of the study strengthened the study because the data were derived from other key players in the project.

Validity and reliability in the research study were potential limitations. I became so deeply entrenched in participant observation that risk of bias might have developed. Issues of bias, for example, were important to understand and mitigate because the project fell completely under my jurisdiction as a former governmental official at the time in charge of the program. Therefore, my role as participant-observer needed to be

greatly managed in order to reduce issues relating to validity and reliability. I also endeavored to increase the reliability and validity of the study by using triangulation, which entails the use of further theories, methods of inquiry and varying sources, in order to provide for additional corroboration of the evidence presented (Creswell, 2013). Further information regarding my role as the researcher is explained in Chapter 3 of this proposal.

Significance of the Study

Understanding the role of local governments in creating AFS from a perspective of transcommunality and shared practical action can transform communities not only nationally but globally, thereby affecting millions of people. This research project was unique because it addressed a significant gap and under-researched area in the literature pertaining to race and the potential role that local government can play in creating and implementing AFS through diverse partnerships and collaborations.

Furthermore, by collaborating with community stakeholders by using elements of PAR methodology, I was able to investigate ways in which AFS, such as market gardens, can be rendered more effective in Black neighborhoods. The results provide needed insight into the ways in which local governments, in conjunction with other strategic organizational partners, and the Black community in distressed urban neighborhoods, can work together transcommunally to address food insecurity issues. These issues are endemic to the populations that reside in these neighborhoods, and understanding them from the perspective of the residents of these communities is important to designing interventions that resonate with the local communities and provide a positive effect on

local economies. Local elected officials and staff can use the results to develop effective strategies and best practices for sustainable environmental, social, and economic change.

Summary

Researchers have correlated poor access to healthful foods such as fruits and vegetables and chronic health issues such as obesity, heart disease, and diabetes. Food insecurity rates are not only higher for those who live below the poverty line; food insecurity also disproportionately affects minority populations, especially Blacks who live in distressed urban areas. Across the United States, different groups have experimented with different types of AFS, such as community gardens, food banks, market gardens, and other distribution systems as a way to address these problems. Numerous complications affect the efficacy of these types of interventions, however, and researchers have primarily examined the barriers to success, including race, discrimination, socioeconomic status, and cultural barriers.

Policy makers, especially those in local governments, need ways to address these issues for the long term. The goal of this study was to understand how a particular market garden was developed within a distressed urban neighborhood in a Southeast Florida coastal city. The study was designed to explore how local governments in general can play a more proactive role in addressing the challenges of finding access to healthful foods, food insecurity, and economic development, all of which are important to overall community empowerment. An ICS augmented by PAR added the body of public policy literature and can lead to positive change by elucidating the role that public-private partnerships play in creating an AFS.

The literature review in Chapter 2 was drawn from peer-reviewed and scholarly journals as well as governmental and nongovernmental sources regarding food security/security, access to healthful foods, race, barriers to health, and AFS.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

The overarching purpose of the literature review was to explore and understand the ways in which local governmental entities such as municipalities and CRAs can address prevalent issues relating to food insecurity and community empowerment in distressed urban areas. These issues play a significant role in the overall quality of life in distressed urban areas because they deal primarily with community health, economic empowerment and education.

The goal of this literature review was to create the framework for the subsequent study of the role that local governments can play in implementing AFS through collaborative partnerships with nongovernmental agencies and the private sector. The review covers the major themes, research, challenges, and issues associated with AFS particularly in distressed urban areas populated primarily by minority populations, especially Blacks (Buchan, Cloutier, Friedman, & Ostry, 2015; DeLessio-Parson, 2012; Freedman & Bell, 2009; Macias, 2008; Webber & Dollahite, 2008). Understanding the underlying challenges that food insecurity, access to healthful food, culture, race, and health disparities play in the success or failure of such AFS interventions can help local government and partnerships foster a sustainable AFS.

This literature review is organized into sections that focus on four main areas. I first discuss the challenges related to access to healthful food for those residents who live in inner city, central city, or distressed urban areas. Next, I delve into the issue of race and culture and their current place in creating, developing, and implementing AFS in

primarily Black inner city or distressed urban areas. The third area examines the role that local governments such as municipalities, other governmental agencies such as health. Last, I investigate the conceptual theoretical framework, CRT, and its application to AFS.

To complete the literature review, I searched relevant peer-reviewed articles and journals, dissertations, scholarly books, and governmental reports published between 2008 and 2014. Databases included Political Science Complete, Political Science Complete: A Sage Full-Text Collection, Academic Search Complete, ProQuest Central, Sage Premier, Science Direct, SocINDEX, PubMed, and Google Scholar and Google Books. Keywords included *community food systems, alternative food systems, local government, community food system partnerships, race, farmers' markets, distressed urban areas, food deserts, community empowerment, public private partnerships, culture, health, access to healthful food*, and *locally grown food*.

Food Insecurity and Access to Healthful Food by Distressed Populations

A growing body of research in regard to access to healthful food and health disparities has shown a direct correlation between poverty, food insecurity, and health (Freeman, 2015; Freedman & Bell, 2009; Guthman, 2014; Hilmers et al., 2012; Macias, 2008; Schneider et al., 2008; USDA, 2015). The researchers found a disparity between those deemed food insecure and who were able to mitigate some of their dietary requirements through the use of public assistance programs such as SNAP (formerly called "food stamps") and food banks, and those who found it more difficult to access enough food and therefore either reduced their caloric intake or went hungry altogether. The ability to access food, much less healthful foods such as fruits and vegetables, is

greatly determined by socioeconomic status: Those who are poor are less likely to be able to afford to buy healthful food (Freeman, 2015: Freedman & Bell, 2009; Hilmers et al., 2012; Macias, 2008; Schneider et al., 2008; USDA, 2015).

In addition to disparities in financial resources, research has revealed that affluent areas are more likely to have large supermarkets and grocery stores with more expensive foods with a shorter shelf life, such as fruits and vegetables and foods (Freeman, 2015; Freedman & Bell, 2009; Hilmers et al., 2012; Macias, 2008; Schneider et al., 2008). The ability of those in more affluent areas to access healthful foods contrasts with lower income areas or distressed urban areas that are more likely to have access to smaller convenience stores that sell primarily shorter shelf life, highly processed foods, especially in those areas that are considered to be food deserts (Freedman & Bell, 2009; Hilmers et al, 2012; USDA, 2013).

The lack of access, an indicator of food insecurity, is the result of market failure (Freeman, 2015; Guthman, 2008a; Schneider et al., 2008). From a neoliberal perspective, it is not in the financial interest of large supermarkets and grocery stores to locate their businesses in distressed communities because their higher-risk investment in shorter shelf life products such as fruits and vegetables are less likely to result in profit. Yet the belief that opening grocery stores or supermarkets in distressed urban areas is a poor investment certainly has its flaws. This belief pertains to systematic structural inequalities and suggests our current food distributions systems will continue to be inaccessible and expensive for those who need them the most (Heynen, Kurtz, & Trauger, 2012). Indeed, the poor, as well as those who live in distressed urban areas must rely on convenience

stores and corner markets for food. As a result, they pay higher premiums in both the short and long term for highly processed food items and higher transportation costs to travel outside their neighborhoods to go to traditional supermarkets (Heynen et al., 2012). This premium does not yet take into account the higher costs associated with purchasing higher quality food such as fruits and vegetables or the extra time it takes to prepare them (Macias, 2008).

Many in the growing food equity movement focus only on the issues of food itself without acknowledging "the stark conditions of racial, gendered and class-urban inequality [that] produce significant barriers to accessing affordable and healthful food for many inner city residents" (Heynen et al., 2012, p. 305). The current system of structural inequality perpetuates the tremendous disparities between those who are affluent and those who are less affluent when it comes to access to healthful foods (Guthman, 2008a). Local governmental authorities are therefore in a unique position to become major players in the AFS movement because of the myriad changes needed to address some of these issues.

Lucan et al. (2010) found that a diet that is high in calories and low in nutritional value is a leading cause of diet-related chronic diseases, obesity, morbidity, and premature mortality that disproportionately affect lower income Blacks in the United States. A wide range of stakeholders, from public health professionals to community organizers and those involved in the public and private sectors in the environmental justice, social equity, social justice, and food justice movements have been galvanized to try to address the issues of community food security and access (Guthman, 2008a). These

stakeholders who have tried to mitigate these disparities within their own traditional spheres of influence have now become the primary players in creating various AFS throughout the country. The types and approaches of food systems should not be minimized, as numerous studies have shown the relationship between access to food and chronic health issues (Agyeman et al., 2002; Bullard, 2007; DeLessio-Parson, 2012; Hilmers et al., 2012; Hu et al., 2013; Irazábal, & Punja, 2009; Schweitzer, & Zhou, 2010; Winson, 2010). Those in largely minority distressed urban areas are more prone to wrestle with health issues such as higher rates of obesity than those in more affluent neighborhoods (Hilmers et al., 2012).

Numerous well-intentioned programs across the country designed to address access to healthful food have been created by food and social justice advocates, sustainable farming and agricultural practitioners, health care professionals, and other community and organizational interest groups. Their effectiveness, however, in addressing food access in distress communities has been questioned despite good intentions (DeLessio-Parson, 2012; Freedman & Bell, 2009; Macias, 2008; Webber & Dollahite, 2008). Therefore, if such interventions are to be effective and sustainable in the long term, programs must be designed to address the structural inequalities of the food access ecosystem.

Race and Cultural Considerations Pertaining to AFS

After an exhaustive search of the literature, I found no studies addressed the role that local governments play in mitigating the structural inequalities pertaining to race and access to healthful foods through AFS. Scholars have studied the role that race plays in

AFS across the country. These studies lay the foundation for understanding the potential role that race and culture play in AFS, and provide guidance for how local government might approach the issue. For the most part the role of government is to address structural inequalities via urban planning, land use, and zoning—in other words, the use of their police power to effect change (Heynen et al., 2012).

Aside from the challenges related strictly to the issue of food as a necessity, urban communities are often left behind in access to healthful foods because AFS components such as farmers' markets, community gardens, and community-supported agriculture (CSA) tend to be located in more affluent communities (Guthman, 2008a). Those involved in the various aspects of the alternative food movement within the US tend to be White, wealthier, economically advantaged and socially middle to upper class (Guthman, 2008a; Slocum, 2008).

Interventions such as farmers' markets and CSAs in Black communities tend to be places that are coded toward White dispositions and privilege as opposed to the cultural leanings or experiences of those in the distressed communities in which Blacks reside (Slocum, 2011). Blacks are relegated to being the objects of efforts to evangelize them to a healthier way of eating that demonizes their current diets and does not take into account the cultural foundations upon which they stand (Slocum, 2011). This messianic approach to creating AFS in distressed communities of color may be amongst the greatest barriers to the success and long-term efficacy of such programs, given that eating and cooking are inherently important to both racial identity and politics (Guthman, 2008a, 2008b; Slocum, 2011).

Although well-meaning in their efforts to promote healthful eating and access to healthful foods, researchers who have focused on dietary patterns among urban low income Black populations comes largely from an outsider (etic) perspective that tends to ignore cultural nuances, community insights, or the perceived effects of racial issues on food, access and dietary health (Lucan et al., 2010). This etic perspective more often than not comes from a position of White privilege that in many ways demonizes traditional Black soul food as unhealthful and ignores the many ways in which Black food histories have been marginalized and appropriated (Slocum, 2011). In their place, White cultural histories and missionary practices about acceptable food are promoted. Such disconnect between the object (low-income urban Black community) and the subject (those who would create or impose a particular system) regarding the role of food, access, and definitions of health are manifested as a lack of interest or resonance on the part of the Black community. In many cases for example, there is an outright reluctance on the part of the Black community to adopt what they perceive as White foods or food preparation methods as a means of passive resistance to continued cultural assimilation (Guthman, 2008a; Lucan et al., 2010; Slocum, 2011). Guthman (2008a) explained that certain messages in the AFS arena that appear to be innocuous such as urban farming, or "getting your hands dirty" evoke images of sharecropping, slavery, and White land ownership.

By having an understanding of the role that racial identity and politics plays in an AFS, local governments and other agencies may be able to help create sustainable collaborative AFS partnerships in distressed urban areas. Researchers have written about the lack of involvement or participation by Blacks in farmers' markets and community

gardens even if price or accessibility is no longer a barrier (Guthman, 2008a; Macias, 2008). These projects tend to struggle because of the implicit belief in a major mantra of the alternative food movement: If easy access to healthful food is provided, and the price is low enough, the community *should* become more involved and support the project and thereby facilitate greater demand (Guthman, 2008a; Macias, 2008). Data from numerous studies, however, suggests there are other important considerations for the Black participation in AFS. Price sensitivity may not be the primary cause of a lack of Black participation purchasing food, food preparation methods, and health; instead, food choices and Black receptivity to making necessary changes within the realm of AFS projects are determined by (a) the types of foods that are promoted as being healthful, and (b) whether the food is a part of the cultural fabric of the community (Hu et al., 2013). If local government and their partners seek to promote the long-term sustainability of AFS, a greater understanding of these issues is needed from an emic (insider) perspective (Guthman, 2008; Hu et al., 2013; Lucan et al., 2010).

Local Governments and AFS

There appears to be limited research published on the role that local governments can play in creating and implementing AFS much less the types of partnerships which they can form. Most researchers have focused on such things as food security and insecurity, community gardening, barriers to healthful eating in urban communities, race, and various community programs such as farm to table food access issues. An exhaustive search of the literature showed few studies focused on AFS and the role of local government.

Grassroots entities, public health agencies, universities, sustainable agriculture practitioners, and community organizations form the basis for the social capital that can address the needs of distressed urban populations, as it pertains to AFS. Yet local governmental entities such as municipalities and community redevelopment agencies (CRAs) have traditionally not been the driving force to bring all of the various players together in AFS efforts (Schneider et al., 2008). The federal SNAP and WIC programs address issues relating to poverty and hunger by allowing lower income individuals and families to purchase food items. Yet many local municipalities such as those in Broward County, FL, leave the administration and implementation of such programs to either federal, state, or county governments. Local governments can act as mediating agents in creating AFS even though creating public partnerships and pulling together community resources that specifically address issues relating to food insecurity has not historically been a part of the purview of a local government's responsibility (Schneider et al., 2008).

Local governments have the responsibility of providing services that ensure the health, safety, and welfare of their citizens. In the face of knowing the political make-up and temperament of the local community assets and resources, municipalities also have constitutionally recognized police powers that enable them to pass legislation and new zoning laws (Schneider et al., 2008). The challenge is the disparities in the size, capability, political will, and financial resources of different cities. These variables make a big difference in the ability of local government to effect change. For instance, those leaders attempting to coordinate the AFS in 15 New Jersey distressed urban communities included staff from proactive planning departments desiring to expand capacity in local

food access and health issues; at the other end of spectrum, some New Jersey cities

provided no assistance in creating AFS intended to aid their distressed urban residents

(Schneider et al., 2008). Differences between one city and another ran the gamut from the

management style of city managers to the ability of local government to provide

information to their local residents about governmental assistance programs; from food

banks, to the implementation of new technologies; and to consulting with other local

public and private agencies and organizations as a way of sharing information and

resources (Schneider et al., 2008). These efforts are highly complex and require a

tremendous amount of political will to implement due to the differing missions of all of

the different players involved.

One of the major weaknesses of Schneider et al. (2008) was its focus on types of

organizations that local government could work with and not the recognition that the

local community itself is an important part of creating the AFS. As Guthman (2008a)

indicated, in many cases many residents, particularly Blacks, in distressed urban areas

resent the messianic practices that represent "White desire to enroll Black people in a

particular set of food practices" (Guthman, 2008, p. 433) rather than understand the local

community or the structural inequalities that led to their serious challenges at it relates to

health. For this reason, it is important for all of the players involved to not only

understand their own strengths and weaknesses but also to take an approach that fosters

transcommunality.

Transcommunality

The term transcommunality was created by Childs (as cited in Guthman, 2008) and refers to the "constructive and developmental interaction among diverse communities which through shared practical action flows increased communication, mutual respect, and understanding" (p. 433). Transcommunality provides for a clear distinction to be drawn between the politics or policies that various organizations use to create AFS as a means of "bringing good food to the community." The concept provides not only a counterpoint to the demonization of a particular community's food, which is a part of their culture; it also resists the notion of conversion in which one group's racialized views of food are imposed on another (Childs, 2003; Guthman, 2008a, 2008b; Hu et al., 2013; Lucan et al., 2010; Lucan, Barg, Karasz, Palmer, & Long, 2012; Slocum, 2007, 2011).

Using transcommunality as a framework for creating AFS suggests not just a focus on diversity for the sake of diversity but a focus on the diverse groups and players who can come together in a meaningful and constructive way to promote shared practical action. The focus should be on heterogeneity and the acceptance of varied cultural beliefs, philosophies, and cultural mores rather than a fragmented focus on a homogenous approach that leads to the subordination of another group's beliefs philosophies and cultural mores (Childs, 2003). Transcommunality reinforces the notion that not only are there differences between various groups; there are a multiplicity of ways in which those groups can interact.

Local governments can have a positive role in creating AFS because of their potentially stabilizing effect when it comes to governance and the implementation of new

programs, policies, and procedures (Schneider et al., 2008). These roles could take the form of a multijurisdictional approach to creating a local or regional food system that benefits distressed urban areas and food deserts throughout a region. Local government, community residents, and other local health organizations and grass roots groups can come together in mutual respect of each other's differences in a spirit of shared practical action. That shared practical action lies within the realm of politics that makes local government arguably better suited to taking a leadership role in addressing the issues of food insecurity, health, and empowerment. This is also the reason why CRT is uniquely placed as an organizing theoretical framework to better understand the phenomenon explored in this research study.

Critical Race Theory and Food Security

An exhaustive search of the published literature revealed that in many cases, research relating to community food systems, access to healthful foods, and food security, lacks a strong theoretical basis. Many researchers seemed to be more concerned with the issue of food itself and food security projects such as community gardens and farmers' markets rather than the structural inequalities such as race, gender, and class that are endemic to distressed urban areas (Guthman, 2008a, Heynen et al., 2012). The sustained efficacy of such community interventions as a means of transformative change within distressed urban communities is contingent upon the premise that AFS interventions should do more than just attempt to solve the problems associated with food insecurity. By viewing the challenges surrounding the lack of long-term efficacy of food security projects through a lens of CRT can lead to potential solutions (Ford &

Airhihenbuwa, 2010; Graham, Brown-Jeffy, Aronson, & Stephens, 2011). Arguably, research should address the endemic structural inequalities suggested by the disparities in access to healthful foods between those who are affluent and those who are not. Critical race theory is a framework for understanding how race and racism play such a large role in the experiences of those in distressed urban areas and how they affect not only AFS projects but the social structures, discourses and practices that play a role in long-term success or failure (Yosso, 2005).

The role of local government as a robust and complex player in the AFS realm is vital to the discussion regarding structural inequalities due to the racialized nature of modern state and government's role in "creating and policing racial categories over time" (Kurtz, 2009, p. 685). Using CRT provides a theoretical lens by which the researcher is able to try to understand and interpret not only social institutions but social action such as one may find in the AFS arena. This issue of empowerment is important as well, because it acknowledges the role that the "object" community of distressed urban areas plays in the facilitation and implementation of local food systems. In conjunction with a research method of ICS and some elements of PAR, CRT can provide the basis for developing an advocacy/ participatory worldview that focuses on the needs of urban Blacks who have been marginalized and disenfranchised through systematic and institutionalized discrimination. This disenfranchisement manifests itself by the socioeconomic barriers that have been created in which low income or minority communities face significant barriers to accessing affordable and healthful food (Heynen et al., 2012; Macias, 2008).

Although CRT had its foundation in the critical theory philosophy that came out of the Frankfurt school, other similar philosophical systems are directly related to it and have similar goals, such as feminist theories and a few forms of post-colonialism theory (Bohman, 2013). No studies have been published to date dealing directly with the use of CRT, community food systems, and local government. Slocum (2008) used corporeal feminist theory to understand the role that race is embodied through the practices that are associated with a farmers' market in Minneapolis. Corporeal feminist theory seeks to understand the role that the "raced body" plays in respect to a particular point in space and time, defined in this case as a diverse farmers' market comprised of urban and suburban vendors and customers. Race plays a role in many farmers' markets across the country. Organizers and patrons in the local food arena tend to be more educated, more affluent, and White, thereby creating what Guthman (2008) and Slocum (2007) call White food spaces. Embodied differences among racialized groups as prescribed by corporeal feminist theory emerges via various practices that each partakes of such as eating, growing, purchasing, and cooking food (Slocum, 2008). Corporeal feminist theory seeks to understand the role that the phenotypically differentiated body plays in a space such as a farmers' market in terms of where a particular racialized body goes, what is it drawn to, what does it does, and how it interacts with the environment around it (Slocum, 2008).

Although the role of government, whether federal, state or local, is to enforce the civil rights and civil liberties of those citizens within their respective jurisdictions, the literature suggests that many structural inequalities remain in terms of the abilities of

certain populations in distressed urban areas to have immediate access to such things as healthful fruits and vegetables. The current research adds to the body of health and food related literature that speaks to the inability of many AFS projects to be successful in the long term. CRT offers a large role with its focus on four of its basic features as described by Ford and Airhihenbuwa (2010a):

1. Race consciousness—a way of understanding racialized constructs and mechanisms.

2. Contemporary mechanisms—a way of understanding the subtleness and ordinariness of contemporary racism.

3. Centering in the margins—a way of shifting the discussions regarding access to healthful food and community empowerment from the perspective of the majority group to that of the minority group.

4. Praxis—a way of theory providing the impetus for a collective action and improvement within a community.

Other theories that seek to explain the role of race, place, and food include ecofeminism, which seeks to overcome all forms of oppression, especially as they related to gender, race, ableism, sexism, and classism (Mallory, 2013), as examined through an environmental and gendered lens. Another theory that looks at food and race through the lens of subsidized commodities and their effect on the socioeconomic status of minority communities is food oppression theory. Food oppression theory seeks to examine the ways in which food policies, which may on the surface appear to be neutral to all racial

groups, can, as Freeman stated, "debilitate members of marginalized and subordinated groups, creating and perpetuating racial and socioeconomic health disparities" (p. 1276).

CRT seeks more than an understanding of how these issues evolved in the past or how they can be intersectionally analyzed. Critical theorists such as those associated with the Frankfurt school desired to distinguish themselves from the role of traditional theorists in a way that produces practical results that lead to no less than human emancipation from the conditions that enslaved them in the beginning (Bohman, 2013). From the perspectives of local food systems, local government, and transcommunality, this means that a practical understanding of the structural inequalities must be evident; moreover, once that understanding has been reached, a practical solution that empowers the negatively affected population must be found. The role of CRT in this study was important because it must, as Bohman (2013) stated, "explain what is wrong with current social reality, identify the actors to change it, and provide both clear norms for criticism and achievable practical goals for social transformation" (para. 3).

Critical race theory, therefore, set the framework for the type of intervention that is needed in order to address the structural inequalities relating to food and health in primarily Black distressed urban areas. First and foremost, administrators in local governmental agencies that seek to address these issues need to endeavor to understand the issues affecting distressed urban communities beyond the goal itself of just providing healthful food at a reasonable cost or improved access—which researchers have shown improve health (Freeman, 2015; Freedman & Bell, 2009; Hilmers et al., 2012). Instead, local government, with its resources and community assets, including social capital, need

to understand the why as it relates to structural inequalities within the AFS arena. Local governmental agencies may find that local policies and laws relating to zoning and land use, for example, may have been an important factor in reduced access to healthful foods in the distressed communities within its jurisdiction. Second, once local government understands the current social realities from the perspectives of its own community members, administrators should seek to strategically bring various players to the table such as public health organizations, foundations that provide support, nonprofits, and community groups. These players might seek to address the issues affecting distressed urban areas from a variety of differing perspectives, yet they may or may not be able to work together to produce change through shared practical action and pooled resources.

Summary

Although numerous researchers have documented how race- and class-based urban inequality creates disparities in health, access to food, and food insecurity, little research has addressed local government's role as a mediator in creating partnerships that serve AFS interventions. This study, viewed through a little-used conceptual framework of CRT and transcommunality, was designed to explore how local governmental bodies can facilitate a collaborative process with other governmental bodies and various organizational and community stakeholders in order to address food insecurity concerns in distressed urban areas with large minority populations, especially Blacks.

Chapter 3 provides details of an ICS of a market garden in Dania Beach, FL. I describe the methods for limited PAR needed to fully contextualize the inquiry. The ethical framework for data collection and analytical techniques are discussed in this study

of how local governmental entities were able to facilitate creating an AFS through

collaborative public-private partnerships with local community stakeholders.

Chapter 3: Research Method

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this qualitative ICS was to explore the ways in which local governmental entities addressed issues relating to food insecurity and local access to healthful foods in a distressed, primarily Black urban community. I reviewed partnerships between the Dania Beach Community Redevelopment Agency (DBCRA), community stakeholders, and nonprofit and for-profit organizations. The goal was to better understand what social/cultural interactions between the diverse players involved in creating and implementing an AFS are necessary in order to foster better communication, mutual respect, and understanding, which can lead to the long-term sustainability of such projects.

In this chapter I explain the research design and rationale for the study, define the role of the researcher, methodology including participant selection, setting, and the procedures for data collection and analysis, and issues of trustworthiness and ethics.

Research Design, Methodology, and Rationale

My selection of a research method was driven by the framework of CRT and my desire to engage the community fully as partners in this collaborative research process. Through initial research and the literature review, I decided that a qualitative study was warranted.

The research question was as follows: In what ways could local governmental bodies facilitate a collaborative process with other governmental bodies and various organizational and community stakeholders in order to create a market garden as a

component of an AFS, while engaging and empowering local community stakeholders to participate and take a leadership role?

The research design utilized ICS and some elements of PAR. The rationale for using both of these methods of inquiry can be found in the central research question. I sought not only to answer questions regarding one particular intervention in one particular distressed community but also to engage the community residents themselves in providing guidance for addressing some of the challenges relating to community empowerment and access to healthful foods. The ICS method was an important tool because it helped me to not only evaluate the current effectiveness of the market garden program intervention; the method also enabled me to identify underlying issues and challenges. The case is an atypical and unique way in which a local government has chosen to address community empowerment and food security issues (Creswell, 2013). At the same time, using certain elements of a PAR approach was helpful because the participants in a study are often a neglected source of theoretical knowledge as viewed from their own perspective and experiences (Maxwell, 2013).

The primary reason for choosing to use ICS as a method of inquiry was to be able to evaluate the effectiveness of what has been done in the AFS intervention in one particular community in Southeast Florida. The ICS explored the past 4 years of the market garden and identified strategies that the AFS project has used to date. An insider-outsider collaboration as a strategy stems from an advocacy/participatory worldview in which the research that is conducted should be an impetus for positively affecting the lives of participants.

The worldview that encompasses an advocacy/participatory framework served an important purpose. The intervention, a market garden, occurred in a distressed, predominantly Black neighborhood that has struggled with poverty and health disparities (BRHPC, 2012; Creswell, 2013; DBCRA, 2009). An action research modality such as PAR therefore embodied an approach to research themes such as empowerment and inequality, which are two of the components of CRT.

These themes are especially important because, historically, those who live in distressed urban areas have suffered from the effects of structural inequalities such as discrimination in healthful food access housing, employment, and transportation as a result of racial, social, poverty, culture, and education (Agyeman et al., 2002; DeLessio-Parson, 2012; Hilmers et al., 2012). Although many of those who live in distressed urban communities tend to be minorities, local cultural sharing groups according to ethnography could be comprised of populations that share characteristics such as race, ethnicity, or socioeconomic status.

The roots of ethnography stem from anthropology and can be considered to be a part of the research process as well as the outcome of the research itself (Creswell, 2013). As an approach to research, ethnography and ethnographers should begin with a theoretical framework. As such, I used CRT as the framework to explain how marginalized populations form relationships and a cultural basis for how they view and interact within alternative food systems (Anderson, Austin, Holloway, & Kulkarni, 2012; Creswell, 2013; Maxwell, 2013; Patton, 2002).

How these marginalized populations interact within an AFS whose basis in recent decades was popularized by non-Black groups within the United States is of great importance in determining the long-term viability of an AFS. The challenges of urban distressed, predominantly Black populations working within an urban food ecosystem may reflect the underlying ethnocentric tensions inherent in the promotion of more cosmopolitan ideals (Anderson et al., 2012). How such interventions are conceived and viewed by those that live outside of respective distressed urban areas is important to acknowledge because both conscious and unconscious biases that may exist and which may promote judgment of, or toward, a particular group (Noble, 2013).

The market garden project I investigated represented a collaboration between a local governmental agency and a local regional health council. It represents a unique collaboration between a specific local governmental agency that is authorized under Florida Statute 163, Part III to address blighted communities and a regional health agency that is tasked with addressing health disparities in those areas that can be designated as food deserts. The study investigated the efficacy of the collaboration on the market garden by various partners including the local governmental agency. The study of the AFS in one location was considered to be a bounded system in which detailed in-depth data collection methods were utilized, including interviews with local participants and partners, documents, and reports (Creswell, 2013; Patton, 2002). The demographics and details are addressed below and in Chapter 4.

The Role of the Researcher

In this qualitative analysis of a particular project in a specific community, I was the research instrument for data collection, interviewing, observation, analysis, and report writing (Patton, 2002). In this role as the research instrument I was considered a participant-observer because I made detailed observations of all activities and interactions and engaged in those activities with the various collaborators, including community residents, governmental officials, and other collaborators. I served as the community redevelopment agency executive director (ED) of a local governmental agency, which gave me oversight over the market garden. Before I resigned my position as ED, I was responsible for all large financial decisions on the project and reported in my capacity to the board in charge of the CRA. I approved the market garden project as a part of an AFS. The market garden project was only about four years old at the time of this study, in my capacity as the ED of the local agency, and I knew many of the neighborhood residents who were participants. However, because of my other responsibilities throughout the municipality, a program manager was hired to oversee the day-to- day operations of the market garden itself. Thus, I did not participate on a daily basis in the decision-making process for the market garden. In terms of power biases and the research, I previously instituted a system in which community residents who were working on the market garden were empowered to make decisions and provide input to the program manager, who had overall responsibility for the market garden.

The delegation of the decision-making ability to the local community members, program manager, and other organizational partners is one tangible way in which I

endeavored to reduce any power biases that may have occurred during the research phase of the project. In addition, elements of PAR helped mitigate power dynamics because participants saw themselves as partners and active members in creating the elements of the AFS.

Based on my review of studies of various food system projects, the market garden AFS that I helped to create along with the DBCRA's partners and community stakeholders is a unique model, having been spearheaded by a local governmental agency. I found no other project of its kind in southeastern Florida. Outside agencies were eager to understand how interventions such as community gardens, market gardens, and other AFS in distressed urban communities can succeed in the long term. Yet research is limited on the types of strategies that local governmental agencies such as CRAs, other partners, and community members can undertake in a spirit of shared practical action and mutual respect in order to address access to healthful foods, empowerment, and health. As a local governmental official, I understood that the need was great for local governments to undertake such endeavors in the long-term interests of their residents.

Research Method

This section identifies the sample population, including the sample recruitment procedures, instrumentation, measures, data collection procedures, and coding instrument.

Purposeful Sampling

To collect the data, I used various techniques such as, document analysis, observation, participant collaboration, and interviews. The purposeful sample provided information about the site itself and the individual participants themselves. As such I was able to determine the efficacy of the AFS itself in promoting health and empowering a lower socioeconomic group. A smaller sampling strategy allowed me to understand the particular needs and interests of the local group.

The specific sampling procedure was critical case sampling, which is used when the single-case-study in question is unusual or where the study itself can represent a test of a significant theory (Yin, 2014). The analysis provided insights that were in judging the efficacy of the intervention itself in one distressed urban area and contributed to the knowledgebase, and should also suggest actions for social change (Patton, 2002). It is important to note that using critical case sampling did not necessarily permit me to make broad generalizations to all possible cases of market gardens in distressed urban areas, it did however allow me to make logical generalizations which can be made based on the weight of evidence that would be produced by studying the single selected site (Patton, 2002).

Sample and Population

The targeted sample population included two residents of Dania Beach, FL, the program manager for the market garden AFS project, a local governmental official from Dania Beach, and two representatives from an outside quasi-governmental organization that partnered with the CRA on the implementation of the market garden. These choices

were important because the project has expanded from the original location of the market garden to another jurisdiction outside of the City of Dania Beach. The participant observations took place at specific points during the day and on weekends when the market garden farmers market was open for business. I observed the market garden operations, including planting and harvesting during the week as well as on weekends. On the weekends I primarily observed the other aspects of the operations, which included the nursery operations.

The research methods that I used in the research study involved a combination of structured and unstructured approaches that balanced the use of ICS and PAR. Utilizing a more structured approach in this study allowed for some measure of generalizability, whereas also using unstructured approaches in the study allowed for increasing internal validity and contextual understanding (Maxwell, 2013). A combination of both approaches proved useful in the single site research study.

Before beginning the interview phase of my research study, I conducted a thorough document search for all information pertaining to the market garden AFS. I found and examined master plans, best practices guides, and other publicly available documents. This information provided context for studying the site level and participant level. I recruited all of the participants by meeting with individual members of the community or the market garden project and asking their permission to be interviewed as part in the research study. I explained that their participation was voluntary and participants could end the interviews at any point. Each participant was assured that all information gathered would be held in strict confidence and that the information collected

would not be subject to Florida's so-called sunshine law even though the CRA itself is a local governmental agency. Additional assurances were provided that I was not collecting the information as a representative of any local governmental agency but as an individual researcher. After obtaining written informed consent forms from each individual, I scheduled all interviews to take place at a comfortable location of their choosing. Participants are referred to anonymously. The name of each individual was replaced by an alphanumeric code in order to ensure that each participant's identity was protected throughout the research process. I made direct appointments to interview some of the participants rather than with their personal assistants so no one else would know about an interview at their selected locations.

Before each interview, each participant was asked if they gave permission to be interviewed and taped by voice recorder. If a participant did not wish to be recorded, it would not have disqualified them from being interviewed. Each recording was transcribed and placed in a file along with my handwritten notes, which were used as a reminder of the main elements of the interview.

As a local governmental official I attempted to reduce any bias in the answers by ensuring that the participants were as comfortable as possible; to this end I was dressed as casually for some participants and in business attire for others. Doing so reduced the perception of my being in any position of authority. I scheduled the interviews so that they lasted no more than 60 minutes each.

Data Collection Instruments

Interviews were semi-structured with questions I prepared beforehand. The interview protocol consisted of the same open-ended questions for each of the community residents (see Interview Questions for Community Participants, Appendix B). I prepared a different interview protocol for those interviewees that were not members of the community but who represented other partners and collaborators (see Interview Questions for Outside Partners and Other Organizations, Appendix B). Those interview questions also consisted of open-ended questions.

In addition to the interview questions, I also observed the participants at the market garden. I used field notes to record what occurred during the site visitation. The recording device consisted of a legal pad. All of the data collected were placed into ATLAS.ti and then subsequently coded. The themes that were generated by the data collected were organized into categories for research purposes.

Limitations

In order to increase the credibility and trustworthiness, I triangulated my data sources and methods to ensure credibility. I utilized consensual validation; that is, I sought the opinions of the participants and allowed them to review their own transcribed interview answers to ensure accuracy (Creswell, 2007). I also provided the questions to each participant beforehand so that they had time to think about their responses. This helped to increase credibility by making sure that I was not seen as in any way influencing the content of the answers (Creswell, 2007).

One potential limitation was the Hawthorne effect, or the observer effect, in which the behavior or productivity of people who are observed, such as in an experiment, is said to improve because of their knowledge of being watched by those in a position of authority over them (Barnes, 2010; Chiesa & Hobbs, 2008). Barnes (2010) noted, however, that "the accuracy of the increased management attention explanation has been subsequently critiqued" (p. 358) and found to not be as prevalent as early studies indicated. Chiesa and Hobbs (2008) stated that it is difficult to use the Hawthorne effect effectively as a way of examining research finding because it has "multiple, imprecise and contradictory meanings" (p. 73), and therefore makes it difficult to pinpoint which uncontrolled for variable was the reason for a particular result.

Using elements of PAR served to greatly limit any issues arising from either the Hawthorne effect or a concern regarding socially desirable answers. The participants themselves were empowered to make decisions on their own regarding the direction of the AFS. Empowering the local community and other organizational partners throughout the research process is a vital component of CRT and forms an important basis for mitigating potential power dynamics.

Ethical Concerns

Ethical concerns should be of paramount importance to any research study. Potential ethical concerns in this research study, including the protections afforded human subjects, were addressed by the institutional review board (IRB) for Walden University (approval number 05-05-15-0223277). Because I knew all of the community residents that I planned to interview, obtaining informed consent was one of the most

important first steps that I undertook during the research process. Informed consent

helped to ensure both that the privacy of the individual participants was protected and

that they understood their rights throughout the process, thereby increasing their level of

comfort and trust. I addressed the six required steps for informed consent as outlined by

Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias (2008, p. 75):

1.   A fair explanation of the procedures to be followed and their purposes

2.   A description of the attendant discomforts and risks reasonably to be
   expected

3.   A description of the benefits reasonably to be expected

4.   A disclosure of appropriate alternative procedures that might be
   advantageous to the participant

5.   An offer to answer any inquiries concerning the procedures

6.   An instruction that the person is free to withdraw consent and to discontinue
   participation in the project at any time without prejudicing the status of the
   participant.

In addition to obtaining informed consent, I will keep paper and electronic data

locked in a fireproof metal cabinet in my home for a period of at least 5 years. No other

individual will be allowed access to cabinet. To avoid any appearance of coercion, there

was no financial remuneration for those who participated in the project. In Chapter 4 I

report the data in unbiased language and with no suppression of information.

Summary

In this chapter I presented information pertaining to the research design, rationale, method, sample, limitations, and ethical concerns. The primary research design consisted of ICS with supplementary aspects of PAR. These methods were useful in addressing CRT as a function of community empowerment and focusing on one unique case in a southeastern Florida coastal community. My own biases, as the research instrument, and ways in which I reduced bias and increased trustworthiness and credibility were presented.

In Chapter 4 I describe the data collection, results from the interviews, observations, and analyses. Chapter 4 also provides answers to the research question and data supporting each finding.

Chapter 4: Results

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to explore the ways in which a local governmental entity addressed issues relating to food insecurity and local access to healthful foods in a distressed, primarily Black urban community. The focus was partnerships between the DBCRA, community stakeholders, and nonprofit and for-profit organizations. The goal of the ICS was to better understand what social/cultural interactions between the diverse players involved in creating and implementing an AFS are necessary to foster better communication, mutual respect, and understanding. Such initiatives may lead to the long-term sustainability of such types of interventions in various communities. I used a qualitative research method consisting of interviews, participant observation, elements of action research, and archival documents.

I designed the study to answer one research question: In what ways could local governmental bodies facilitate a collaborative process with other governmental bodies and various organizational and community stakeholders in order to create a market garden as a component of an AFS, while engaging and empowering local community stakeholders to participate and take a leadership role? The scope was delimited to a review and evaluation of the DB PATCH.

In this chapter I present how the data were gathered and analyzed. The data included published and unpublished documents from the DBCRA and the Broward Regional Health Planning Council (BRHPC), and interviews with six stakeholders. The participants included two members of the community, a local governmental official who

works for the DBCRA and oversees the market garden program, a program manager for the community garden, and two employees of the BRHPC, which partners with the DBCRA on the PATCH market garden. The remaining sections of this chapter focus on the findings and analysis organized in answer to the research question, along with emerging themes.

Context

I determined that an ICS would be the most suitable methodology because of the need for an in-depth study of one case of a market garden intervention in a distressed, predominantly Black neighborhood in South Florida. I used an ICS to evaluate an unusual case in which a local government spearheaded the effort to create a market garden program as an unusual and unique way for it to address issues relating to not only community empowerment but also food security issues.

The community in which the market garden is called a community redevelopment area, defined under Florida statutes as areas in which there are slum or blighted conditions or a general prevalence of distressed circumstances pertaining to various socioeconomic conditions including income, housing, and health (CRA, 2012). Per Florida statutes, the community redevelopment area is considered a dependent special district, which is a form of government governed by a community redevelopment agency (CRA, 2012). The DBCRA is the governmental entity that oversaw the creation of the market garden called the Dania Beach PATCH.

The DBCRA comprised several neighborhoods. The CRA was 52.5% Black, 41.0% White, and 14.6% Hispanic (CRA, 2015). The particular area of the DBCRA, Sun

Garden Isles, in which the market garden was located was predominantly covered by Broward County Census Tract 805. More than 80% of the population was Black (U.S Census Bureau, 2015). In addition, within the DBCRA overall, 26% of households earned below $15,000 and approximately 44% of the population earned less than $25,000. According to 2015 federal poverty guidelines (U.S. DHHS, 2015), a family of four earning $24,250 or less would meet the poverty threshold. The median household income for the Sun Garden Isles neighborhood was $19,989 (DBCRA, 2015).

The Researcher's Interest

I have always had a strong interest in the relationship between socioeconomic factors and race in creating blighted or distressed predominantly Black urban communities, and how those factors impact the overall quality of life in the community, including the ability to access healthful foods. As the literature review confirmed, these types of communities have usually suffered higher rates of chronic health issues, as well as higher rates of unemployment, crime, educational deficiencies, and profound poverty (Agyeman et al., 2002; Bullard, 2007; DeLessio-Parson, 2012; Freeman, 2015; Hilmers et al., 2012; Hu et al., 2013; Irazábal & Punja, 2009; Schweitzer & Zhou, 2010; Winson, 2010). I began working with all of the volunteers in a research capacity only after I had resigned from my role as the executive director of the DBCRA.

Research Participants

The six research participants were selected because of their close involvement with the PATCH, either through volunteering, program management, or organizational partnerships with the DBCRA. The two community volunteers whom I selected as

participants had worked with the PATCH for approximately three years and had been paid a weekly stipend by the program manager of the PATCH, who was hired by the DBCRA to oversee all operations for the garden. I contacted all of these individuals by phone after I received IRB approval to begin collecting research data. All participants were asked if they would like to participate in a research study regarding the PATCH. Both of the community participants consented to participate in the study.

A member of the program management team for the market garden who was hired by the local government for the project, a member of the local government, and two members from the outside organization were asked if they would like to participate in the study. The organizational members had both worked on issues of community health for many years and reviewed and signed the consent documents. Both community participants chose to be interviewed at the market garden, two in their own offices, and the final two at my place of employment.

Demographics

Three of the participants were White and three were Black. Two of the White participants were female. All three of the Black participants were male. To protect the identities of the participants, a series of codes were developed that were only tied to race and gender, as indicated in Table 1.

Table 1

Race and Gender of Interviewees

Interviewees	Code	Race	Gender
Community Worker	CW1	Black	Male
Community Worker	CW2	Black	Male
Governmental Worker	GW1	Black	Male
Governmental Worker	GW2	White	Female
Organizational Worker	OW1	White	Female
Organizational Worker	OW2	White	Male

To ensure that the confidentiality and privacy of the participants were maintained, I did not list the ages of the participants lest someone discover their identities; moreover, I considered the program management team, which was hired by the local government, a representative of the local government, and therefore I coded their identities in a similar way to the other governmental worker.

Interview Process

To create a comfortable relaxed atmosphere, I began each taped interview by speaking with the participants about their families and personal interests. We spoke about their interests, passions, and families. I then moved the conversation along by discussing the informed consent form and the procedures associated with it, reminding them of their confidentiality, privacy, and their freedom to end the interview at any point. The interview protocol was designed to maintain a flow of thought and responses from one

question to another. My interview strategy revolved around semi-structured questions designed to focus on the research objectives and provide a consistent guide amongst all interviewees.

The first two interviews were conducted at the market garden called the PATCH. It was a sunny day, and the two primary volunteers from the community, CW1 and CW2, spoke with me under the PATCH pavilion. They had known each other for years and had a strong level of mutual trust and respect. Although they wished to be interviewed together, I persuaded them to take part in individual interviews. We sat together at a shaded picnic table typically used by visitors to the garden on the weekends during the farmers'' market or various events. Although I would interview them individually I sat directly across from the both of them at the table in order to ensure that they were comfortable and we could make eye contact with each other. This form of interview style in which two individuals are interviewed together is called paired depth interviewing or joint interviewing, and is defined as "one researcher interviewing two people together for the purposes of collecting information about how the pair perceives the same event or phenomenon" (Wilson, Onwuegbuzie, & Manning, 2016, p. 1551). It is important to note that paired depth interviewing allows for interviews to be conducted with each participant separately in the same time and place, while at the same time allowing for the participants to interact with each other (Wilson et al., 2016).

The pavilion under which the first two interviews were conducted was an open-sided building and covered by a large metal roof. The structure is used to host events at the market garden and shelter vendors from the hot and humid South Florida climate. At

the beginning of the interview both men agreed to not interfere while the other was being interviewed. They kept their word and provided no significant input when the questions were being asked.

The interview with OW1 was conducted in his office. Although he could have elected to have remained behind his desk during the interview, OW1 instead chose to bring his chair around the desk so that we could sit directly across from each other. This arrangement minimized any potential power dynamic, and I was able to interview the participant in a relaxed manner.

I interviewed OW2 in a small meeting room adjacent to my office building, which had comfortable chairs and no desk to separate me from the participant. GW1 and I sat across from each other at a small round conference table in my office. Before the official interview began, we bantered back and forth about family to encourage an open and comfortable interview. At her request, I interviewed GW2 in her office. She sat behind her desk and I sat in a chair directly across from her. Before the interview began, we spoke about the DBCRA in general, as well as other concerns related to challenges associated with other projects. We also spoke in general terms about the DB PATCH and some of the new programs she was working on.

All participant interview data were recorded electronically and transcribed by a professional transcriber. Each participant received a copy of the transcription to verify the accuracy of the recording and serve as a form of data triangulation. Two of the participants did not want to review their transcripts. The participants who reviewed their transcripts verified that they had no changes. Audio files were then imported into Atlas.ti.

The interviews were transcribed into Microsoft Word and imported into Atlas.ti for analysis and coding.

Document Searches

In addition to interviews, data were collected through document searches. Information directly pertaining to the market garden was obtained from the City of Dania Beach, the DBCRA, the BRHPC, and the Health Foundation of South Florida. The documents that I reviewed from the DBCRA included the DBCRA Redevelopment Plan, the PATCH Collaborative Urban Farm Network Strategic Business Plan, and meeting minutes and supporting documents such as financial reports from DBCRA Board meetings. All of those documents are in the public domain and are nonproprietary. The documents that I reviewed from the BRHPC included Transforming Communities Through Market Gardens; A Planning and Resource Guide for Local Government and Community Partners; and one extensive grant application document, the Community and Economic Development Healthful Food Financing Initiative. All documents collected from the DBCRA as well as organizational partners such as BRHPC were in an electronic format and were imported into the analysis software Atlas.ti. To find the documents from the DBCRA and BRHPC, I conducted an online search for documents that were publicly available on websites from the city and the DBCRA. I conducted a search for CRA redevelopment plan, as well as for documents relating to the PATCH. I did a similar search on the BRHPC website and was able to find publicly available documents. All such document were in a PDF format, which I imported into the Atlas.ti software analysis

program. I then went through each document page by page and coded pertinent sentences and paragraphs into categories and themes.

Participant Observation

I conducted participant observations of CW1 and CW2 at the PATCH market garden on three occasions. Two of the three observations took place during the weekends when the garden was filled with visitors, volunteers, and customers. On a weekday the market garden was much quieter, and I had the opportunity to see CW2 and CW1 work without being distracted by a large number of visitors or volunteers. On the two weekend days, I started observations early in the morning before any of the visitors, volunteers, or customers to the garden arrived. I wanted to observe CW1 and CW2 set up the garden and witness their main duties. On the two weekend days, CW1 was the primary volunteer; CW2 worked primarily at the market garden during the week. CW2 and CW1 would work throughout the week ordering supplies and harvesting vegetables on Fridays, which would be sold at the Saturday and Sunday farmers' market. I used a yellow legal pad to record my observations according to the protocol included as Appendix X. Because my research method involved elements of PAR, at times I worked hand-in-hand with the community leaders to harvest vegetables, weed the beds, and provide any other types of assistance they needed. Being able to work with the community leaders in this way served to build continued rapport, and I was able to learn and record additional information through this process that I was unable to get during the interviews.

Data Analysis

Observations

During the observational stage of the project, the community leaders stated their goal was to see the garden succeed. They were concerned about the lack of overall volunteering from the community at large. The efforts to reduce pricing on the produce for users of federal government food programs was a big step in the right direction. Sales to local users of such programs had increased significantly since the opening of the market garden in 2012 (DBCRA, 2016). The community leaders also suggested interventions such as market gardens needed to have community input or else they would not work. They mentioned that they saw the PATCH as a viable model for not only providing greater local access to healthful foods in the community and for its potential to become an economic generator within the community.

Research Question and Interview Responses

The central research question was: In what ways could local governmental bodies facilitate a collaborative process with other governmental bodies and various organizational and community stakeholders in order to create a market garden as a component of an AFS, while engaging and empowering local community stakeholders to participate and take a leadership role? To answer the question and identify the core themes, I asked the participants 10 interview questions (see Appendix B). Thirty overarching themes were identified, which were then narrowed down to 10 primary themes.

I asked CW1, CW2, and GW2 the first set of 10 interview questions.

Interview Question 1. In your opinion, what is the benefit of having a market garden in your neighborhood?

Respondents CW1 and CW2 indicated that a priority of the program was educating the community about the source of its food. CW2 said, "You get a chance to help and see where your food is coming from, how it is growing, and it's not just processed food; it's good healthful food." CW2 identified a few additional benefits of a market garden including creating opportunities to educate children, remove blighted conditions within the community, and create jobs. "If the community [were] to get involved with it, it would give jobs, part-time jobs for community people that want to get involved." Thus, economic development was an important part of community involvement and a community benefit.

GW2 responded somewhat differently by first discussing access to healthful foods within the community had increased in general with the addition of governmental programs such as the Supplementary Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) and Electronic Benefits Transfer (EBT). In regard to access, GW2 stated that a major benefit was "access to fresh produce particularly, since we have that option of accepting the E.B.T in the SNAP," which she said provided a 50% discount to the residents of the community who received those benefits. Similar to CW1 and CW2, GW2 stated, "It's almost like a paradigm shift to really understand how to use the fresh produce in a healthful way," suggesting that education would play a greater role in the future of these types of market garden initiatives. In her discussions of the paradigm shift that is needed when implementing these types of market garden initiatives in distressed urban areas,

GW2 addressed getting greater involvement in the garden from the community members. She indicated that there may be a cultural struggle of some type within that community that pertains to race and how those in the community view the garden. GW2 stated, "When [the community] looks over [at the market garden] and they see the White people from [other cities], or whatever, the kids love it." The parents, she said, have the problem with it. In her view, many in the community do not feel as if the garden is "for them."

Interview Question 2. Why did you participate in the market garden effort? How important were your previous relationships with other volunteers in terms of encouraging you to participate in the market garden?

Both CW1 and CW2 suggested they became involved with market garden by being introduced to it through family or friends. That community involvement is generated by existing neighborhood connections. CW1 said he "got involved because my daughter was involved first, and I came over one day just to see what was going on and been here ever since," and from CW2 when he stated that seeing the other volunteers "was an inspiration."

GW2's involvement in the market garden project was a way for her to be able to provide access to healthful foods to the community "and being able to make those things available at lower prices, more affordable, teaching people how to eat right."

Interview Question 3. What can be done to get more of the community involved in addressing the needs of the community as they relate to healthful food and access to healthful foods?

CW1, CW2, and GW2 offered two general responses: (1) the need to find different ways to get the word out about the garden, (2) the fact that pricing of the produce grown at the garden plays a major role in determining the level of community involvement. CW1 had asked specific community residents about their lack of involvement at the garden. Residents said there were too few products the community wanted to buy. (For the past 3 years the market garden has attempted to grow the types of foods that the community has requested, including collard greens and okra, to name a few.) Still, the community expects to find prices that are far cheaper than what they may find in the store. CW1 said one grocery store had "some scroungy-looking okra that's $2.99/lb. We're selling our okra at $1.50/lb. That should pull them in." Even with lower prices, however, there is still a challenge of getting more community support or involvement. One of CW2's solutions was to find a way to "get the word out to the churches," because community residents are more inclined to listen to their religious leaders such as pastors. CW1 and CW2 indicated such proposals could solve the perceived problem of lack of community involvement.

GW2 also said that pricing is important to encouraging people to become more active in the garden. Although she has used different techniques to get the community residents to come to the garden, one of her solutions was to conduct "a free food giveaway, and then . . . a barbecue." She indicated that she had the "largest crowds [she had ever seen] at those two events."

Interview Question 4. What role, if any, do you believe that race or ethnicity play in these types of initiatives?

All three community respondents answered this question somewhat differently. CW1 strongly stated that "race has a lot to do with it." CW2 said that if race had something to do with it, then "the White folks we have here will get beat up and cussed out constantly every day. That's not happening." GW2 also strongly stated that race played a significant role: "I think the kids are growing up to be a little more color blind, the younger kids, but the adults aren't. They didn't grow up that way, and I think that's a big barrier." For CW1, race was tied directly to how Blacks related to food. The eating habits of Blacks in general, he said, relate more to food that they are accustomed to eating such as "collard greens and turnips and different produce like that. . .. We go to a restaurant. Instead of getting baked chicken, what are we going to order? Fried chicken, because we never had baked chicken, so we're not going to try it." For CW1, race as it relates to food was a major factor in the community's acceptance of the market garden. CW2, however, tried to provide solutions to the lack of more community involvement by recommending new types of programs to encourage participation. In the end, CW2 stated that while he does not think that race plays a role, he "could be wrong." GW2 said that the community's view of Whites coming into the community is negative and perhaps has a bearing on how much they participate in the garden project.

Interview Question 5. What role, if any, should the community have in the creation and governance of these types of community gardens and food systems?

Both CW1 and CW2 agreed that the community should have a say in the creation of any such type of AFS, such as a market garden within the community. Both respondents seemed to lean toward a more graduated type of role for community

participants, going from providing input to providing advisory services. CW1 stated that an advisory role is the better option than full community control because "there's not enough interest." To this point CW1 said his number one priority was to "see that the garden did not fail." All three respondents suggested the community should always play a major role in the creation of a market garden such as the PATCH. GW2 was emphatic throughout the interview that the community must play a significant role: The "garden is of the community, for the community. I think first and foremost; it needs to be community based."

Interview Question 6. Is there a need for outside organizations to provide assistance in these efforts? If yes, what kinds of assistance?

GW2, CW1, and CW2 identified the importance of outside involvement in these types of efforts from a managerial and educational perspective. For CW2, education in did not pertain to the local community member's alone but to the education of outsiders as well in the workings of the community. "[We should] bring them in and school them in what is going here and get some to help, participate in what's going on here." Thus, an important component to the success of the market garden was not just in bringing in outsiders but in educating those outsiders on the various aspects of the community and forming a true and equitable partnership. CW1 stated, "If you have people in the community that know farming, let them make recommendations as to what and when to plant." Thus, while there was a need to bring in assistance from the outside, CW1 suggested the indigenous wisdom of those within the community who understood farming should also be respected and acknowledged as well.

In term of the managerial aspects of the garden, CW1 stated, "Assistance was needed" from a planting perspective. GW2 emphasized that government is "not in the business of agriculture," and further stated that government "needs guidance in terms of being able to create the garden, and run day-to-day operations."

Interview Question 7. What should be the role of local municipal government in setting up these types of efforts?

Both community workers suggested that local government should have input into the process and creation of market gardens within the community, and that they should also provide physical resources such as land (as is the case with the PATCH) and financial resources. CW1 stated that the city "should help get the funds that's needed to get these things started," while CW2 stated that "city would [should find] vacant lots so we can work with it." As a local governmental official herself, GW2 stated that government had a responsibility to facilitate the process of setting up the garden. This facilitation could include "assisting in the capital expenditures, to build it out, to identify operations, standard procedures, things of that nature." GW also stated that local government could not only play a significant role as the "fiscal agent for the garden" but also provide "ongoing oversight of the community collaboration efforts."

Interview Question 8. What type of resources and training would be beneficial to the creation of these types of community initiatives as they relate to the community?

CW1 and CW2 thought more training should be provided to community residents regarding the various aspects of urban farming. Throughout the interviews, both CW1 and CW2 mentioned on numerous occasions that indigenous farming knowledge of those

who grew up in the community needed to be acknowledged and used. Many of the elderly in the community had grown up farming and therefore had something to contribute. Yet both volunteers also acknowledged that the more traditional ways of farming and harvesting did not necessarily apply to urban farming as it currently works at the PATCH. CW1 said, "If there are other community farms that are doing this type of what we're doing, and we know that they are practicing the way we want to practice," the efforts should be made to allow the different communities to learn from each other.

GW2 approached education and training of the local community from a different perspective. She recommended training the community with outside resources such as local extension programs, colleges, and universities to create a "homegrown training system with the support of the education partners that are out there." According to GW2, this homegrown training would be inclusive of those from the neighborhood and would include "sending them to the appropriate training. That would be outside . . . and then providing them with the hands-on experience."

Interview Question 9. How can the community be educated about the benefits of having a community garden in their neighborhood?

CW1 and CW2 suggested the community members should be solicited for their involvement and educated to address the health benefits of the garden. CW2 stated, "All we can do is just tell them [about healthful food]. We can't make them do it; you just tell them." CW2 stated that "if we start trying to make people do it, they get frustrated." This is in fact the type of negative community feedback regarding these types of interventions that other researchers have also found (Childs, 2003; Guthman, 2008a; Guthman; 2008b;

Hu et al., 2013; Lucan et al., 2010; Lucan, Barg, Karasz, Palmer, & Long, 2012; Slocum, 2007; Slocum, 2011). CW1 and GW2 stated that direct outreach to the community is an integral part of any garden program. GW2 stated, "You need a door-to-door [effort]." CW1 suggested that perhaps free baskets of food could be given to certain community members as a part of the direct outreach efforts. He suggested that they pick "five households, and take a basket of produce to these households, and say that this is from the community patch." Both CW1 and GW2 stated that direct face-to-face contact with the predominantly Black community is the best way to reach out to them and encourage them to become more involved in the garden as well as eat healthier foods.

Interview Question 10. Anything else that you want to share?

Two issues arose: how to get more volunteers, and local governmental involvement. CW1 once again addressed ways in which the community could be motivated to become more involved in the garden, while cautioning that "our race of people don't like to volunteer for anything." CW2 acknowledged that progress was being made and that the "city has been a big help." GW2 said the garden "needed to be more in the hands of the community" as a way to encourage more participation. "Let them have a little bit ownership in it. I think that's going to go a long way." GW2 thought it would go a long way in building community trust in the garden and mitigate "some bad blood between some of the folks that started it in the beginning"—a reference to a White individual who came into the community and tried to tell the group how to create the garden rather than work with them as partners.

Summary of Interview Questions for Community Participants

Compared to the openness of CW1, CW2 appeared to be extremely measured in his responses during the formal interview compared to when we were both working in the field. All participants stated that while there was a need for the local government to be involved in development of the market garden intervention, the local community still needed to play a major role. All participants indicated that the education of the community in all facets of the market garden effort was extremely important. At the same time, CW1 preferred that the community work with the program manager for the garden instead of the community managing the AFS creation themselves. GW2, however, said that the garden should be turned over to the community as soon as it was feasible.

Race was an important issue for CW1 and GW2, although CW2 made an effort to be as conciliatory as possible in his statements regarding race. Throughout the interview all participants tried to voice solutions to the challenges associated with getting more community residents involved in the project. The participants continued to support the continued use of partnerships from both local government and outside communities as a way to provide the resources and training necessary to address community health and community education challenges. The participants asserted that the local community cannot be forced to change their ways immediately, and that addressing long-term socioeconomic, health, and educational needs would happen as the community took more ownership of these issues with the resources, and training that was being supplied.

Interview Questions for Non-Community Participants

The second set of interview questions was intended for the non-community

participants GW1, OW1, and OW2.

Interview Question 1. In your opinion, what is the benefit of having a market

garden in this neighborhood?

Three general responses were elicited: elimination of slum and blighted

conditions, governmental leadership as a factor in achieving success, and the overall total

community benefit, including education, economic development, and access to healthful

foods. The role that local governments can play in creating market gardens by eliminating

slum and blighted conditions was an important point made by both GW1 and OW2. GW1

called the PATCH a "repurposing of a blighted and slum piece of land," and OW2 stated

that CRAs as a part of local government are able to take a leadership role in the creation

of market gardens in distressed urban areas because "they do have property in these areas

that are blighted." GW1 and GW2 mentioned this role of government in a position of

leadership with its physical and financial resources. In support of that statement GW1

described a scenario in which the PATCH through partnerships with another outside

agency was able to provide "those who are EBT and SNAP recipients, a 50% discount."

Additionally, the PATCH was identified as a major destination for educating the

community regarding health and eating healthful. GW1 stated that the PATCH "provides

an area or a place where the community can come for educational services about urban

agriculture," while OW2 voiced praise for the fact that the PATCH and the DBCRA have

become the vehicle by "which we are enabling children at a younger age to learn about

these fruits and vegetables." In contrast, OW1 focused primarily on the overall benefit

and potential impact that the PATCH has on the community in general. OW1 stated that

"our market garden allows us to have that economic development but also improves

access to healthful foods." She followed that statement by mentioning that one of the

major benefits of the garden that has the potential to contribute to long-term resiliency is

its education component "which then can be translated into people actually eating,

consuming healthier foods." According to the participants, all of these components

together represented the core benefits and functions of the garden project in terms of its

potential efficacy.

Interview Question 2. Why did you and your organization participate in the

market garden effort? How important were your previous efforts to promote community

healthful and access to healthful foods in terms encouraging you to participate in the

market garden?

Four general responses were identified: leadership of government in creating and

helping to sustain AFS, partnerships between government and other organizations, a

desire to promote community health, and the socioeconomic and racial impacts of a

regular community garden. The leadership role and the resources that government is able

to provide was the impetus for the involvement by both outside organizations. GW1

stated the vision by local government for developing a sustainable market garden strategy

that became the underlying reason for his involvement. "I was sold. I wanted to be a part

of it. It was just exactly what I needed." In a similar vein, OW2 stated his organization

used "federal grants that [they] applied for" in addition to partnerships with other local

nongovernmental organizations as way of promoting community health initiatives. The potential for strong partnerships between local government and outside organizations provided a strong impetus for collaboration between the public and private sectors. In conversations with various members of the community, they perceived government was a stabilizing factor in such partnerships. OW2 said the strength of these types of public private partnerships lay in the ability to share financial resources. When his organization "didn't have money to do things," other partner organizations were "always willing to fund it. It was a partnership."

One of the common elements that helped to provide a common mission for the involvement was the focus on community health. Most of the federal grants that supported AFS were based on community health needs. OW2 stated he had "been chasing obesity for 25, 26 years. I really think that gardens play an active role in that. People eating healthful and things like that."

Access to healthful food was one of the primary reasons that made OW1 interested in working on the market garden project. As a means of providing access to healthful foods, OW1 had done significant research on the community garden models, which "were looked at by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention through the community transformation grants." What she discovered in her "tours of community gardens throughout South Florida [was that] community gardens didn't work." According to OW1, the gardens failed in distressed urban minority communities, areas in which there were lower incomes:

We already had people working at least one job, many times two jobs. To think about having people there have a community garden model where they would be having to grow their own food after working all day or working all night—it seemed wrong.

Many urban poor worked multiple jobs and did not have the time to come home in the evening and then tend to a garden. Moreover, OW1 stressed that there was a cultural and racial aspect that needed to be addressed as well:

It is demeaning to think that because somebody has a lower income and they live in a food desert, they're a more than 20-minute walk to the grocery store with healthier foods. That they would somehow be required to grow their own food . . . almost like a tenant farmer or slave.

Interview Question 3. What can be done to get more of the community involved in addressing the needs of the community as they relate to healthful food and access to healthful foods?

Participants offered two main responses: the strong need for empowerment through community education efforts, and the lack of community involvement. One of the challenges that seem to interfere with community or market garden interventions appeared to be the issue of how to get more community involvement in distressed areas. As GW1 stated, this issue "has been a learning curve for me, because I think the general conventional thinking is, build it and they will come." In other words, the general thought is that if these gardens are created, then the populace should immediately become involved because it is for their own good. What appears to be missing, according to

OW1, is a realization of what it actually takes for a lower income individual or family to

actually acquire healthful food:

> I think that it goes back to that notion of work. It is real work. It is hard work. To
>
> think that you have any kind of leisure time and that you're going to be spending
>
> it working, to me, is one of the pieces that makes it so difficult.

> That is, one of the reasons for a lack of comprehensive community involvement,

according to OW1, in distressed urban areas is that those who are affluent are not

expected to work for healthful foods—yet those who are of a lower socioeconomic status

and a minority must work for their healthful foods. OW2 saw the problem differently and

suggested a solution to this problem. One of the key components to getting more

involvement from the community was "actually getting the people who live in those

areas, getting them their plots and getting them to develop and getting them to share those

with each other." These types of efforts are bolstered by community education efforts,

which seek to empower the local community to take charge of their own community

health needs. GW1 stated "there seems to be a disconnect between . . . the psyche of folks

in low income communities and nutrition. . . . It's a low income mentality. It is a food

literacy issue, not an economic issue, totally." GW1 argued that more time and resources

need to be spent "educating people and helping them reconnect to the importance of

nutrient dense foods on their human condition." Education therefore becomes a tool of

community empowerment.

       Interview Question 4. What role, if any, do you believe that race or ethnicity

play in these types of initiatives?

Two answers were elicited: Race appears to play a significant role in community health and economic development initiations, and race does not play a significant factor. Responses from GW1, who is a Black male, and OW1, who is a White female, differed greatly from those of OW2, who is a White male. GW1 stated emphatically that race played a significant factor in the Black community because food equates to love. "If we take the [Black] community . . . myself being [Black], the definition of food, food for us growing up, is largely how we show love for one another." OW2, however, stated just as emphatically that when it comes to role that race and ethnicity play in these types of initiatives it is "tough because I don't look it like that way. I look at people as people. . . . I don't look at people's skin; I don't look at their color. I don't care if their male or female or transgender. I don't get into that." GW1, on the other hand, stated, "For us (Blacks), it's a cultural thing. It is deep-rooted in our existence. I think in the [Black] community, food is deeper than just utilitarian." Although he admitted that he chooses not to view these issues in terms of race, OW1 admitted that "[Blacks} have higher cardiovascular and they have higher diabetes and those kind of things. There are issues that go along. . . But I don't know. I don't look it like that way." OW1 agreed with GW1 in terms of race playing a major role in these types of initiatives. In distressed urban areas, race plays "a big role."

Not only is there is the issue of race in terms of Black versus White issues but issues of race and culture pertaining to Blacks in general in South Florida. As OW1 stated, "We've got African-American, Caribbean, and we have Haitian, all three of whom are black. Just by looking at any of them, you wouldn't be able to tell one from the other."

Yet even amongst these groups, according to OW1, "There is distrust among one to the other to the other."

Interview Question 5. What role, if any, should outside organizations have in the creation and governance of these types of community gardens and food systems?

Interviewees mentioned outside organizations should be there to support the community and these types of community improvement initiatives. Yet they should not take the direct lead but instead work closely with the community. OW2 said the role of outside organizations "should be secondary. I think the people have to come first. I'm a firm believer and I think the CRA did a great job at getting them in and getting them involved. It should be secondary. It shouldn't be primary." OW1 stated, "I feel like organizations like BRHPC or cities have to be involved [in order] to make a difference." And GW1 stated, "I believe anybody who lives in the community, has a responsibility for the health and wellness of that community, whether you are a public servant or a private sector organization."

Interview Question 6. Is there a need for outside organizations to provide assistance in these efforts? If yes, what kinds of assistance?

Partnerships were seen as important for providing resources, including financing and training opportunities. Participant GW1 said:

I believe that is our [outside organization's] purpose here, is to reconnect this community, to the prosperities of the broader community, of the county, of the state. They shouldn't be forgotten or left behind, especially when it comes to something as basic as nutrition.

OW2 mentioned a combination of organizational and grassroots efforts. Participants OW2 and GW1 spoke about the general need for outside financial resources such as grants and private funding, which could not be easily accessed by just the community itself. OW2 stated, "There's opportunities for grants. I think there's private money that can go in there. I think that when you do these initiatives you never shrink it down to be single sources." In addition to the direct financial resources that outside organizations can provide, GW1 also stated that while those types of resources were "extremely helpful and needed . . . holding educational events, putting on blood drives, working with [outside health providers] to do health screenings; all of those things, in some way, I think show people you care."

OW1 said training was the key to helping the community. "I think it goes back to training, aggregation, distribution, being able to develop and then operationalize those agricultural networks." The assistance that has been recommended by all participants represented the types of connection, access to resources and training that the community would not be able to aggregate alone without much difficulty.

Interview Question 7. What should be the role of local municipal government in setting up these types of efforts?

Government, according to the trio, has the physical, financial, and policy power. GW1 said:

Local government can move mountains if it really is focused. It has resources that no one else had. Take the PATCH, for instance. It sits on 1.6 acres of public land. The fact that we're going to be able to grow 8,000 pounds of food, and not have to

be burned with a mortgage payment, insurance, all the things that a private

property owner would have to burden the cost of, plus the cost of operating and

growing that food, it's cost prohibitive. The government has the resources to

offset what would otherwise be a financial burden for someone who wanted to do

the right thing. That's huge.

OW1 stated, "There are lots of opportunities for municipal governments,

especially in terms of removing slum and blight." OW2 echoed that sentiment:

The CRAs have the property. I see them as picking the ones that would be the

most viable. I think that's the key to all of this. Through them it's tied to

government. It's an offshoot series or an offshoot so there's a reporting mechanism

where the government gets involved. They get the approvals and those kind of

things. It also gives the government a step back.

Thus, the ability of government to marshal the resources necessary to create and possibly

sustain an AFS appeared to be of great importance to the participants.

Interview Question 8. What type of resources and training would be beneficial to

the creation of these types of community initiatives as it relates to outside organizations?

Churches played an important role in AFS development, as did partnerships with

health care providers. GW1 stated he would

like to see more involvement from the churches and the places of worship. I'd like

to see more involvement from health care providers because Black people listen

to their doctors, in a way that they don't listen to anybody else. They listen to their

doctors. I would really like to see doctors prescribe nutrition plans, in addition to

prescribing blood pressure medication.

OW2 stated:

You have hospitals [that] can do all kinds of things. Everything from CPR to

wellness checkups and things like that. I think those kinds of trainings and then

we also have the universities who can teach us a lot about the gardening and that

kind of stuff. We also have Workforce One that can eventually get in and pay for

some of these lots. I think there's a whole menu of how everybody can be

involved into something like this. It's a win-win for everybody.

OW1 also supported the notion of partnerships and collaboration:

Just really bringing partners together to the table, in a sense, to help collaborate

and use everyone's strength to do this, like the community health workers . . .

and other organizations . . . they're already here. That's one of the things that

we're finding with the healthful communities [that] these organizations are

already here.

Interview Question 9. How can other organizations be encouraged to work with

distressed communities in order to create these types of initiatives?

Two general responses were offered: understanding the needs of partner

organizations and leveraging their resources, and documenting the model for the PATCH.

For example, GW1 stated that one has to have

understanding [about] what makes them tick, okay? Everybody has their own

mission. If you are a public sector company and you have a mission statement and

you are after grant dollars, and your grant dollars are about delivering on that

mission thing . . . I think the government should be in the business of creating

partnerships, strategic partnerships, and alliances.

GW1 indicated he saw that as the organizational strength of the public sector. Every

organization is different, and for good partnerships to form between the public sector,

private sector, and the community, one has to understand what the organizational needs

are of each one. OW1 stated:

What we have found with the healthful community zone, which builds in part

around those things is showing how it's a benefit to work with this larger group

because then we can leverage the funding that they have. We can also leverage

the programs they have. They can leverage it from others. As an example, the

YMCA is very much interested in what are called HEPA standards, healthful

eating, physical activity. They have to show nationally, that they're working in

these areas. If we provide them with someplace like [municipal parks] where they

can actually do some of the programming there, then it helps [the parks] and it

helps them. Then if we add the other pieces, that American Lung Association, and

American Heart Association are required to work towards signage in parks. Then

we can show how all of these are coming together. Urban League has a grant for

walking groups. Now, we've got a group of people who are coming together that

we can do walking, physical activity. It's meeting all of their needs.

OW2 saw a need for there to be materials published that documented the efficacy of the

PATCH program, stating, "I think once we publish all of this, [it's] going to be the key to

everything."

Interview Question 10. Anything else that you want to share?

Two responses were common: fear of the local government pulling out of the

program, and the need to continue making overall progress on various aspects of the

programming, including training. GW1 stated:

I hope that the government does not give up on this thing. I know that there is

banter and discussions about the efficacy of community gardens and all that. I

would say this, the basic fundamental right of any human condition, is nutrition.

For local governments to abandon market gardens, urban farms, and even

community gardens, I think that's where this thing get stuck in the mud. . . . But if

they really want to change the trajectory of the health condition of these low

income communities in their jurisdiction, access to healthful foods, access to

information, food literacy, is [key]. I don't know how you can say you can solve

the problem if you don't provide that. I don't know what the solution is other than,

yes this is necessary.

OW2 thought the government and outside organizations should continue their

efforts:

I think that [we] have something special here. We are both very busy but we need

to keep this on the radar. It might not make a lot of money. I think it can break

even and I think that the benefit that it offers is more than the money at the end of the day. It was never about money in the beginning with me.

Finally, OW1 stressed the value of training:

I think one of the biggest things is that whole notion of how do we do training so that we build capacity for the next group so that the people who are going through an apprenticeship here can then become managers someplace else. As they then train the next group of apprentices, who can then be managers either there or in another community.

Summary of Interview Questions for Non-Community Participants

Two primary themes came from the interviews with the community participants:

1. Without a strong partnership between a local governmental entity such as a CRA, other outside partners, and the community, these types of AFS interventions would not work. Local government was seen as the major actor in creating an AFS intervention such as a market garden. According to the interviewees, local government has the resources such as government-owned land, financial resources, and regulatory authority, all of which are necessary to make an AFS work effectively.

2. Local government was also seen as a stable partner in terms of being a bridge between the local community and outside organizations that sought to work on AFS interventions such as community or market gardens. The types of partnerships that were developed in order to work on the PATCH were seen as being nontraditional. Traditionally, CRA such as the DBCRA

did not operate in the sphere of community health issues. Race was acknowledged to be a negative issue, especially when working in distressed urban communities. One interviewee preferred not to view these types of interventions in terms of race. The interviewees thought the local community had to be an integral part in the planning and implementation of an AFS such as a market garden. All interviewees, however, expressed concern regarding the challenges in generating more community involvement in these types of efforts. Some of these challenges stemmed from race, culture, and socioeconomic issues. Community involvement was one of the top themes that arose during the document analysis and interviews.

Themes

The interviews, participant observations, and publications were assessed for any indication of themes. I first entered all of the documents into the software analysis program Atlas.ti. I reviewed all of the material in detail, and as themes emerged, I used the software program to mark each theme with a specific code. Initially, I identified 36 themes through the coding and analyses of the interview transcriptions and other documents. From those 36 themes, four themes emerged as the primary themes across all interviews and document reviews: (a) partnerships and collaboration, (b) community empowerment, (c) community involvement, and (d) leadership of government. These primary themes were the top themes derived from an analysis based on how many times

they occurred in the document reviews or interviews themselves. The frequency with which these themes emerged is represented in Table 2.

Table 2

Primary Themes

Theme	Frequency
Partnerships and collaboration	50
Community empowerment	45
Community involvement	41
Leadership of government	38

Four secondary themes also emerged: (a) race and gardens, (b) community education, (c) community health, and (d) the role of outside organizations. These themes occurred with a relatively high level of frequency in the document reviews and the interview responses, but they also represented themes under which other similar themes could be grouped based on their relationships to each other. Therefore, during the initial coding and categorization, certain themes such as the one for solutions emerged, after which community education and community involvement themes surfaced. All of the other themes that emerged initially can therefore be considered a subset of one of these eight primary and secondary themes. The frequency with which these secondary themes emerged is represented in Table 3.

Table 3

Secondary Themes

Theme	Frequency
Race and gardens	33
Community education	33
Role of outside organizations	30
Community health	30

Figure 1 provides an overall view of the 37 themes that were generated through analysis of documents and the transcribed interviews. The word cloud tool identified the most prevalent themes and guided my reduction of themes. Excerpts from the interviews and document reviews illustrate the identified themes.

Access to healthy food {19-1}   Benefits of gardens {11-1}   Churches as a solution to lack of participation {6-1}

Community Education {33-3}

Community empowerment {45-8}

Community health {30-4}   Community involvement {41-9}

connection between food and health {15-1}   Economic Development {13-2}

Elimination of slum and blighted conditions {7-0} Entrepreneurship {7-1} Family involvement {3-1} Gardens as social outlets {6-1}

Government and Health {19-1}   Lack of community involvement {14-1}

Leadership of Government {38-5}   Local Policies Planning and Regulations {10-1}

Market Garden History {2-0}   Market Garden Programming {4-1}

Partnerships and Collaboration {50-5}   Personal history {6-1}

Price as a factor {5-1}   Race and Gardens {33-3}   Resources and Training {29-2}

Role of community {16-1}   Role of outside organizations {30-1}

Sense of ownership {10-1} Social Capital {4-1} Socioeconomic factors {5-1}   Solutions {23-1}

Figure 1. Word cloud graphic presentation of coded themes.

Figures 2 and 3 illustrate an analysis of the relationships between each of the overall primary and secondary themes. The analysis of the themes in this way revealed relationships and connections that may not have otherwise been noted.

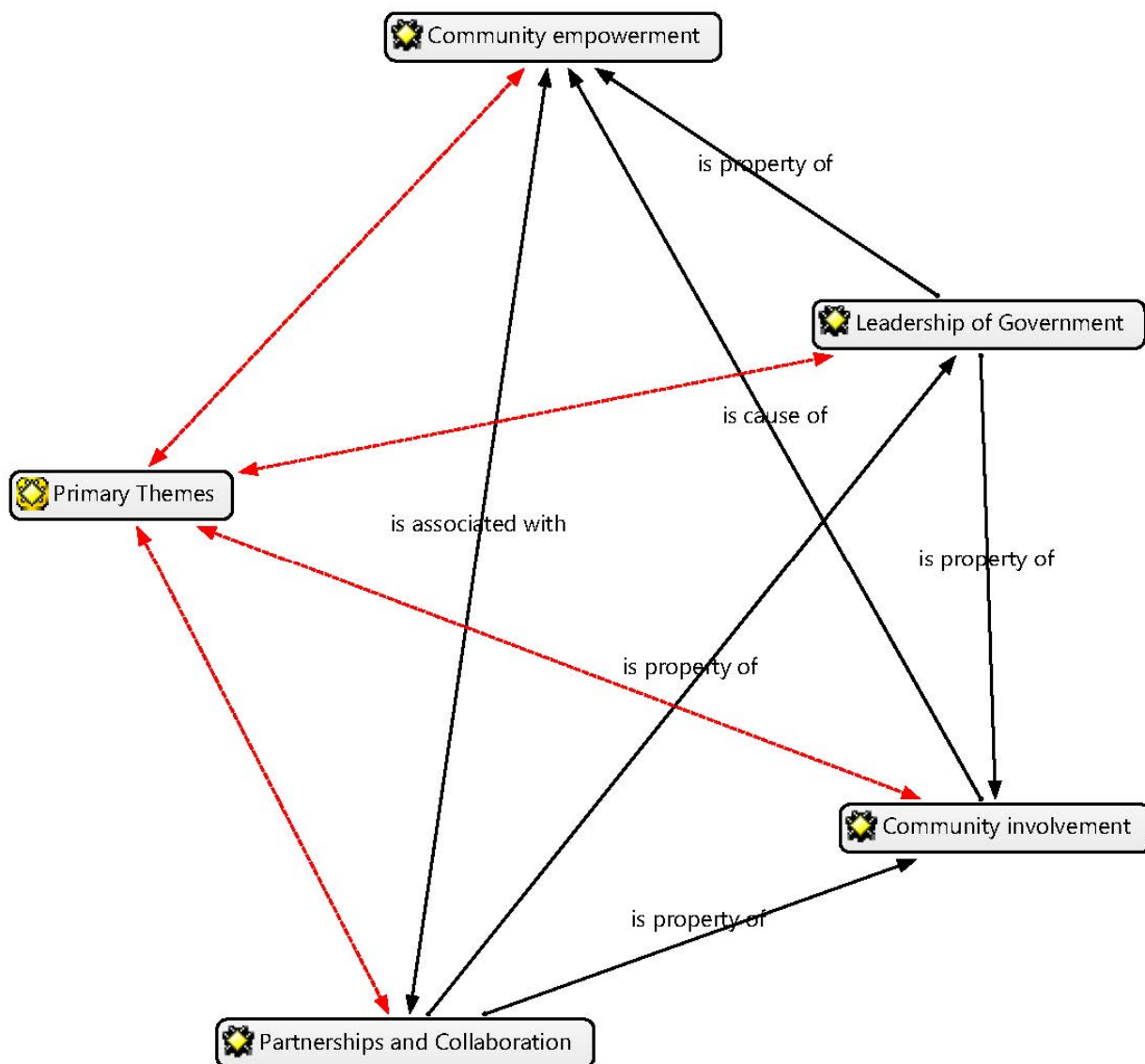*Figure 2.* Analysis of primary theme relationships. The primary themes within the grey boxes do not stand on their own merit, but are connected by a series of relationships which are represented by the black arrows which flow in the direction of the relationship. All relationships between the primary themes are analyzed by either their association, causality, or property of another primary theme.

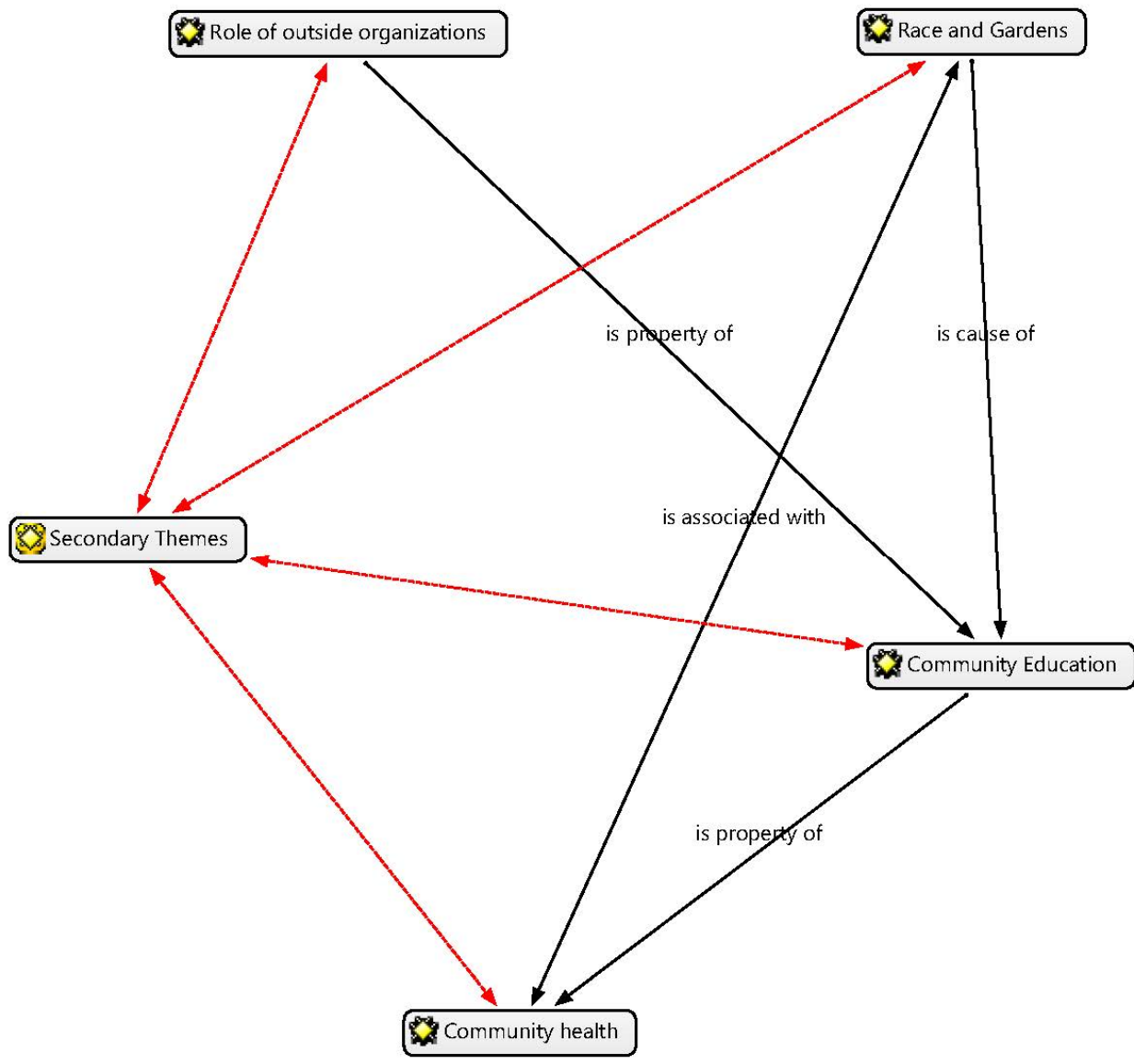*Figure 3.* Analysis of secondary theme relationships. The secondary themes within the grey boxes do not stand on their own merit, but are connected by a series of relationships which are represented by the black arrows which flow in the direction of the relationship. All relationships between the secondary themes are analyzed by either their association, causality, or property of another secondary theme.

Primary Themes

  Partnerships and collaboration. Partnerships and collaboration was a theme that was consistently identified in the document reviews and interview responses. It was the most frequently used theme. For the sake of the analysis and the remainder of the document, I will refer to the theme only as partnerships. Partnerships, and the role they played in the long-term success of the market garden effort, were viewed as being key the success of community garden or market garden projects in distressed urban communities. According to the Broward Regional Health Planning Council (2013), the long-term success of the market garden requires partnerships between the DBCRA and other health organizations. These types of partnerships are important because each player was able to provide \specific skills and resources that local government by itself would not have been able to do on its own.

  Furthermore, OW2 mentioned the CRA and city's co-involvement. "That made it easier for us to transition into the areas because they knew that we weren't looking to take ownership of this [project]." Examples of different types of partnerships and the values of those partnership were provided by GW1, who stated that a unique partnership with statewide organization allowed the PATCH to offset certain cost associated with locally grown produce. Thus, the PATCH could "provide those who are EBT and SNAP recipients, a 50% discount. When you put all these things together, you really have, or I think we are establishing a place of pride for that distressed community." According to the BRPHC (2013), "Market gardens come to life through partnerships between local governments, community based organizations, local businesses and residents. This

collaboration allows for the sharing of resources and leads to community transformation"
(p. 6). The DBCRA (2016) also affirmed that encouraging strategic partnerships as
related to the PATCH are one of its primary goals.

Partnerships aided community building, education, and empowerment. The
PATCH partnered with local experts and organizations to provide training on urban
farming, community health, and how to sell home-made products at the farmers'' market
associated with the PATCH, thus encouraging the growth of the local cottage industry
within the community (BRHPC, 2013).

Community empowerment. A second theme consistently identified from the
document reviews and interview responses. Community empowerment formed the basis
for the self-determination that was inherently set up within PATCH market garden
program, thereby allowing the community to play an active role in developing the
PATCH market garden. Community empowerment as a theme was largely viewed from
the perspective of the types of resources and training that could be provided to
community members, social capital, and economic development in the form of new jobs,
and entrepreneurial ability (BRHPC, 2013). Additionally, this theme comprised the
notions of self-determination and self-reliance as they pertained to the community
making its own choices about the types of healthful foods and taking charge of their own
health through educational efforts. As OW1 stated, "The last piece of [the PATCH
market garden model] is building that resiliency hopefully of the people who come either
to work there or to volunteer there." This resiliency has to do with the long-term ability
of the community to overcome social, economic, and community health issues. OW2

stated, "I think from what I'm learning in doing this, is that we have to really spend more time and more resources, educating people and helping them reconnect to the importance of nutrient dense foods on their human condition." The local governmental creators of the PATCH market garden understood early on that community empowerment was key to long-term sustainability of the project. According to OW2, when he was talking about the PATCH,

> I'm really convinced by this model here, utilizing these areas to set up these gardens will actually change [the community]. I think, another key component is actually getting the people who live in those areas, getting them their plots and getting them to develop and getting them to share those with each other.

The belief in community empowerment as it pertains to the PATCH model can be summed up by GW1:

> I believe that is our purpose here, is to reconnect this community, to the prosperities of the broader community, of the county, of the state. They shouldn't be forgotten or left behind, especially when it comes to something as basic as nutrition.

Community involvement. The third most frequently referenced item addressed the need for the community to play an active role in the creation of a component of an AFS such as market gardens. According to participant CW1, "If the community would get involved, it would give them a place or some pride within the community that they're getting fresh produce." More specifically, CW1 said,

If the community was to get involved with it, it would give jobs, part-time jobs

for community people that want to get involved. It'll teach the kids. How many

kinds in this neighborhood have actually seen an orange tree? All they're used to

seeing around here are mango trees. If we had different types of fruit trees, that

would be an educational benefit for people.

Participant CW2, who is an active in the daily operations of the garden, stated that seeing

other volunteers "was an inspiration" to him personally.

Community food projects like market gardens were seen by local community

leaders as an instrumental way in which to reach out to the community. BRHPC (2013)

stated that "practically no other area of public planning engages such a large cross section

of the population like community food projects" (p. 15). According to all of those

interviewed, however, the most serious challenge to the long-term viability of such

projects from a community involvement perspective was the challenge of getting more of

the community members involved in projects like the PATCH, particularly from the

churches. GW1 stated,

I think outside organizations, and let me focus on the ones that I think have a real

responsibility that I would really love to see at the table. That is the churches and

places of worship, because as you know, the black community is inextricably

connected to its faith.

CW2 further supported this view by recommending "getting out to the churches,

getting a letter to the churches, I think that would help. If the pastor tells them they might

do it."

The participants stated that the churches and places of worship were an integral part of the solution itself and that local government should make every effort to partner with them and educate them about the possibility of transforming the health and economic viability of the community. In addition to the churches being involved OW2 stated, "I think elected officials play a significant role. I think that religious organizations play a significant role. I see schools playing a significant role. I just see community working together with the people who want to make a better Broward County." In other words, even the act of getting community involvement required a collaborative effort by multiple stakeholders.

The challenges associated with getting community support and involvement for these types of initiatives has been well documented (Lucan et al., 2010). Community involvement as a theme also takes into account the reality that just having a community or market garden in a distressed urban area is not enough to attract the residents to utilize it. GW1 came to that conclusion, noting that the issue of community involvement

> has been a learning curve for me, because I think the general conventional
> thinking is, build it and they will come. The truth of the matter is that, there seems
> to be a disconnect between some low income, from the psyche of folks in low
> income communities and nutrition.

That psyche, or worldview—that something may be missing as it pertains to getting more community involvement—is something that CW1 also takes into account. "To me, to get community members, I believe, here, this is my personal feeling, is you've got to have something that the community wants." GW2 also affirmed that sentiment by

suggesting that race or culture may affect the issue as well. When the Black community sees a lot of Whites buying fruits and vegetables, GW2 said, they may "feel like it's not for them."

The role of leadership in local government. Leadership of government and the role that government can play were viewed as important to the success of AFS market garden projects in distressed urban communities. GW1 stated:

Local government can move mountains if it really is focused. It has resources

that no one else had. Take the Patch, for instance. It sits on 1.6 acres of public

land. The fact that we're going to be able to grow 8,000 pounds of food, and not

have to be burned with a mortgage payment, insurance, all the things that a

private property owner would have to burden the cost of, plus the cost of

operating and growing that food, it's cost prohibitive. The government has the

resources to offset what would otherwise be a financial burden for someone who

wanted to do the right thing. That's huge.

While acknowledging the importance of the local government's role in providing leadership, GW1 also acknowledged some fears:

I hope that the government does not give up on this thing. I know that there is

banter and discussions about the efficacy of community gardens and all that. I

would say this, the basic fundamental right of any human condition, is nutrition.

For local governments to abandon market gardens, urban farms, and even

community gardens, and community gardens, I think where this thing get stuck in

the mud ... But if they really want to change the trajectory of the health condition

of these low income communities in their jurisdiction, access to healthful foods,

access to information, food literacy is [key].

The literature for the PATCH as well as the interview responses indicated the importance

of local governments' providing publicly owned land for market garden interventions in

distressed communities. OW2 stated:

> The CRAs have the property. I see them as picking the ones that would be the
>
> most viable. I think that's the key to all of this. Through them it's tied to
>
> government. It's an offshoot series or an offshoot so there's a reporting mechanism
>
> where the government gets involved. They get the approvals and those kind of
>
> things. It also gives the government a step back. You know what I mean? That it's
>
> not the government coming in to do this for you. It's the CRA. I think that's the
>
> important role. They're the ones who know where all the land is.

CW2 agreed with the strength of local government's unique ability to provide resources.

"I think the city would do good in finding vacant lots so we can work with it. So we can

continue to garden, have a bigger garden, whatever, and put it up

the city should provide financial resources."

> In addition to land and financial resources, government has the unique ability to

put forward new public policy and enact new regulations. BRHPC (2013) stated:

> Because local government planners, CRAs and decision makers have a significant
>
> influence over the policies and plans that shape the built environment, they are
>
> in a unique position to promote access to healthful food, and relieve barriers to
>
> healthful eating and active lifestyles. (p. 16)

Furthermore, the policies and regulation upon which the PATCH market garden is built is also attracting the attention of other governmental entities. DBCRA (2016) stated that "based upon the success in Dania Beach, municipal authorities, and CRA representatives from other cities have discussed increasing the acreage dedicated to urban farms in Broward County." The challenge then appears to be how to continue refining the market garden model and continuing to build trust amongst the residents and other stakeholders.

Government's strength was seen as being a stabilizing force that helps to build trust within the community. OW2 stated:

> With the CRA and the city being involved that made it easier for us to transition into the areas because they knew that we weren't looking to take ownership of this. We want the community to take ownership of this. We want a healthier community.

This issue of gaining the public's trust was further reiterated by the BRHPC (2013).

> It is important to demonstrate how a market garden can be identified as serving the public interest. This is why it is important that community members and decision makers understand a market gardens ability to improve employment opportunities, community entrepreneurship and health. (p. 19)

Training, employment, and economic development were seen as keys to building trust and stabilizing the community. OW1 noted,

> I think that there are lots of opportunities for municipal governments, especially in terms of removing slum and blight, thinking about neighborhood resiliency,

thinking about neighborhood stabilization for these kinds of projects, especially if

they're done so that there is that apprenticeship program so that people can

actually learn multiple skills. When I say, "Multiple skills," I don't mean just

farming. I mean the marketing behind it. How do you do flyers? How do you sell?

How do you make your product be the one that people want?

In other words, it was important for OW1 to indicate that leadership of local government

necessitated a broad and more innovate way of thinking which included focusing on

building community skillsets in the short term, in order to stabilize the community in the

long term.

Secondary Themes

The role of race and gardens. The importance of the role that race plays in an

intervention such as the PATCH market garden could be viewed in social, cultural, and

economic ways, as many of these types of interventions in distressed urban communities

are in predominantly Black areas. The BRHPC (2013) noted that "Broward County,

Florida for example, provided strong evidence that many of the determinants of health

associated with high diabetes are found in [predominantly Black] community

redevelopment areas" (p. 18). Furthermore, the rate of death for Blacks in distressed

urban areas within Broward County from a chronic disease such as diabetes is 27%

higher than the county average, which coincides with a poverty rate for Blacks, which is

also 27% higher than the county average (BRHPC, 2013). In speaking about race and

health, OW1 stated

In Broward County, race is highly correlated with disease, especially diabetes. In everything that we've done, it's a significant factor, just race, [even] if we take poverty out. . . . I think the other thing is there is so much stress related to being low income to begin with. Then when you put race on top of it, it just makes it even more difficult. In terms of just the stresses of trying to access healthful food . . . if you're so stressed to think about just making it from day to day and knowing that you're not going to have enough food, you're not going to have enough money at the end of the week. Who cares about month? End of the week to actually, be able to pay for food and pay for something your kids want and pay for gas, get a tire fixed on your bike. I mean, one of the last things on that whole list is, do I spend two and a half dollars for something that's healthful at Winn-Dixie or do I spend two and half dollars at Church's and be able to do feed all four of us?

OW2 agreed that disproportionately higher rates of chronic diseases exist in these predominantly Black urban areas:

I just think that we're very fortunate in this community because we all know each other. This isn't about me, this like how do you change things that help people live a better and longer life because we both know that right now that type 2 diabetes is the highest it's ever been. Children are not going to outlive their parents. That's the first time ever.

GW1 stated that "statistically we know that [Blacks] have higher cardiovascular and they have higher diabetes and those kind of things."

The respondents who discussed the correlations of race and health disparities and chronic disease were primarily those who came from outside of the community (GW1, OW1 and OW2). GW2 did not directly address the correlations in her interview. CW1, CW2, and OW2 chose to address the issue of race and interventions such as community gardens from the perspective of cultural issues. According to CW1 and CW2, a cultural aspect to race, community health, and gardens manifested in the types of food choices. CW1 said that people eat "what they're used to." GW1, however, added:

> Culturally for us, making food taste better, making food more interesting, and carrying forward culinary legacies, that our parents our grandparents, and our great-grand parents passed down. [People wonder,] "Can I make macaroni and cheese better than Grandma make macaroni and cheese?"

A common sentiment was that the community could not be forced to make healthful food choices because race and culture should be respected. OW2 stated, "I think by being inclusive with everybody, that's the key to all of this. When people have hard feelings or bad feelings or they're not included" challenges arise that can be more difficult to deal with down the road. The concern, however, is that if the community is allowed to take the time that it needs in order to make the necessary changes, further damage to health and families might occur. To this point GW1 warned that one cannot approach the community as a parent, but that the community needs to voluntarily make the necessary changes to their lifestyle as it relates to food.

CW1 also acknowledged the role that race plays in the overall intervention. "I have found within our race that we don't like to try new things. We're afraid to try

something new." These comments would suggest that race and culture do play a significant role in not only how the local community views these types of interventions, but how local government and outside organizations can design better market garden programs that empower the community and enable lasting positive social change.

Community education was a recurring theme across interviews and documents. According to GW1, the PATCH "provides an area or a place where the community can come for educational services about urban agriculture." Educating the community is tied directly to "food literacy" because "we've lost the importance and understanding of the importance, of nutrient dense foods on the biology of the human condition." Having a component of an AFS such a market gardens in his neighborhood was an important benefit to CW2 because "you get a chance to help and see where your food is coming from, how it is growing and it's not processed food, it's good healthful food." The general belief among all participants was that by educating the community about the value of eating healthier fruits and vegetables rather than heavily processed foods, a long term and positive community transformation would occur. As CW1 said,

> How many kids in this neighborhood have actually seen an orange tree? All they're used to seeing around here are mango trees. If we had different types of fruit trees, that would be an educational benefit for people. Like here at this PATCH, we have a pineapple plant growing, we have a banana tree growing. Those type of things.

It was especially important to CW1 and CW2 that a major part component of the PATCH market garden was an educational aspect, especially in terms of how that food relates to overall individual health. CW2 stated the community

> can be educated about the benefits of having a community garden as, sometimes if they can eat from the garden they stop going to the doctor. The doctor is too much. Spending all the money at the doctors instead of holding on to it. All we can do is just tell them [about healthful food]. We can't make them do it, you just tell them. Because if we start trying to make people do it they get frustrated.

CW2 argued that any type of educational programming must take the community and their worldview into account. According to CW2, forcing any type of change, even if one believes that change is for the best, will only lead to frustration.

GW1 echoes this sentiment:

> For me, it's how do you reconnect people to that, where you're not being a parent saying, "Eat your vegetables" that people voluntarily choose the right foods. I think from what I'm learning in doing this, is that we have to really spend more time and more resources, educating people and helping them reconnect to the importance of nutrient dense foods on their human condition.

Community education has always been a primary goal of the PATCH,

> which has partnered with several groups to conduct garden tours, school field trips, "Lady bug releases," Master Gardener workshops, and volunteer days at the garden. The purpose of these activities are to teach residents of all ages, children through retirees, about growing and eating locally grown fruits and vegetable and

natural pest control techniques, that do not involve manufactured chemicals.

(BRHPC, 2013, p. 14)

Furthermore, BRHPC (2013) noted that, although local government can provide many resources, the "community partners are often more effective with developing market garden programs" (p. 16) for educational purposes; this is significant because it buoys the notion that a collaborative effort is more effective at community education than local government trying to do it on their own. Efforts were focused on the areas of community education, nutritional education, horticultural education and entrepreneurial education (DBCRA, 2016). In order to implement a comprehensive educational programming, the DBCRA therefore partners with

> local experts and organizations to provide trainings on growing at the market garden, and at home, and selling at the farmers'' market, creating cottage industry products for sale, developing healthful cooking demonstrations, offering health screenings and providing nutrition education.

Given the challenges involved in getting more community involvement with the PATCH, it is understood by the participants that making positive social change within the community will not occur overnight, but it will occur over the long term as these types of AFS and market garden efforts are encouraged and supported.

The role of outside organizations. The importance of the role that outside organizations play in the success and efficacy of community or market gardens was undisputed in both the literature and interviews. GW1 emphasized that he "could not see [success] happening without partnerships with outside organizations." Public private

partnerships have long been an important tool in the transformation of distressed communities. The DBCRA and its primary health provider market garden partner BRHPC each have "mutually beneficial networks of partners that help advance the vision, mission and sustainability of PATCH" (BRHPC, 2013, p. 14). OW2 agreed that outside organizational involvement was important from a resource perspective, but emphasized that it's "a combination (organizations and grassroots efforts) that will always lead to long-term success." CW2 acknowledged "sometimes the outside people can do what we can't do." The role of outside organizations was extremely important to the long-term success of the PATCH market garden initiative. Without partnerships with organization that provide volunteers who have provided thousands of hours of free labor, the current positive outcome of the market garden might be in question (DBCRA, 2016). According to BRHPC (2013), outside organizations

> helps bring volunteer workers to the site. Community members donate their time to help with new plantings and daily maintenance that is needed in the garden. Partnerships like these are useful to expose the project to even more people in the area and to help manage the work load. (p. 14)

The role of outside organizations, therefore, is to work in concert with the local community in order to jointly oversee the long-term efficacy of the market garden program. OW1 affirmed this notion of the role of outside organizations by stating,

> I think it goes back to training, aggregation, distribution, being able to develop and then operationalize those agricultural networks. Basically, things that the

local community really could not do just by themselves [is] what these outside organizations are able to do.

The issue of the use of outside organizations as an integral part of an AFS intervention such as a market garden, is a tacit acknowledgment that local government does not have all of the skills necessary to have an effect on long term by itself. Organizations outside the community and in many cases outside of the municipality itself play a vital role in the development and long-term success of a market garden project.

Community health. The issue of addressing community health could be considered to be the "glue" that not only addresses significant community health issues but the impetus for much of the funding available from outside organizations to create market gardens. Participant OW2 stated, "Adding health into the plan for the [DBCRA] was a huge accomplishment—not only for the city but also for the people who live in those areas." OW2 acknowledged the primary mission of CRAs is focused on issues relating to redevelopment and revitalization rather than on community health issues. By partnering with a health agency, both the DBCRA and the health agency were able to accomplish their respective missions in much broader and comprehensive way. GW1 stated, "I believe anybody who lives in the community, has a responsibility for the health and wellness of that community, whether you are a public servant or a private sector organization." Participant CW2 indicated that he understood that there was a direct correlation between the market garden and community health when he discussed the correlation between eating healthful and trips to the doctors. If the community had resources like the community garden at their disposal, they would be in a better position

to take control of their own health. As the BRHPC stated, "Fresh fruits and vegetables are important to maintaining a healthful weight, and contain essential nutrients for good health" (BRHPC, 2013, p. 4).

This issue of access to healthful foods becomes one of the key issues at it pertains to community overall community health "cut off from their agricultural roots, urban dwellers face a host of barriers and costs to access healthful foods (BRHPC, 2013, p. 4). All participants and document searches suggested the overall health of the community was the primary driver for a market garden project such as the PATCH.

Evidence of Trustworthiness

All of the data were collected, managed, and analyzed in a manner consistent with the study protocol discussed in Chapter 3. Each of the interviews was recorded and transcribed in the same way at a location of the participants choosing and not of mine. The data files were stored in a manner that allowed for them to be retrieved. In order to establish the trustworthiness, I triangulated my data by asking the participants to review the transcribed interviews. To increase the credibility of the research study I used consensual validation in which not only did I seek the opinion of the other participants but I also allowed the participants to review their own transcribed interview questions in order to ensure accuracy. I also made sure that my interview questions were provided to each participant beforehand so that they can have time to think about their responses. As another way to ensure credibility, additional steps were taken in order to ensure that those who were interviewed were direct partners and stakeholders in the project, and could therefore truly speak from their own experiences and not from the experiences of another.

As such, I had a smaller interview sample size that originally anticipated. Documents directly pertaining to the PATCH were all in the public domain, and the available URLs appear in the reference list.

Summary

The purpose of this study was to identify, explore, and understand the ways in which local governmental entities and their partners could address issues relating to food security and food insecurity, community empowerment, access to healthful foods, by an understanding of such AFS and market garden interventions such as the PATCH, which is located in a distressed urban community. In this chapter I analyzed the data that were collected through an ICS of the Dania Beach PATCH. Four primary themes and four secondary themes emerged, providing valuable insight into the ways in which local government can take a leadership role in creating specific market garden components of an AFS. Partnerships were one of the most important ways to create a PATCH market garden. Neither outside organizations nor local government should undertake these types of efforts without first understanding the types of resources, experience, and training that strong partnerships can support. Strong partnerships, therefore, formed the basis for the long-term success of community health and empowerment programs, and were the most important benefit of local government involvement in these systems.

Chapter 5 begins with an explanation of why this type of ICS is important to current and future scholarship. I explore the implications for social change by providing recommendation for how these types of AFS and market gardens may achieve longer-term sustainability and effectiveness.

Chapter 5: Interpretations and Conclusions

Introduction

The purpose of this ICS was to explore the ways in which a local government entity addressed issues relating to food insecurity and local access to healthful foods in a distressed, primarily Black urban community. Partnerships between the DBCRA, community stakeholders, and other nonprofit and for-profit organizations were analyzed. The focus was on the social/cultural interactions between the diverse players involved in creating and implementing elements of an AFS, such as market gardens. The goal was to foster better communication, mutual respect, and understanding that can potentially lead to the long-term sustainability of such types of programs in various communities.

The increasing challenges associated with food security and food insecurity in the United States, access to healthful food, and the related socioeconomic issues and structural inequalities within distressed communities have been well documented (Agyeman et al., 2002; Bullard, 2007; DeLessio-Parson, 2012; Guthman, 2014; Hilmers et al., 2012; Hu et al., 2013; Irazábal, & Punja, 2009; Schweitzer, & Zhou, 2010; Winson, 2010). Key findings suggested that the long-term efficacy and sustainability of AFS such as market garden interventions are directly related to the quality of the relationships and partnerships that are forged between local government, the community stakeholders, and nongovernmental or quasi-governmental organizational partners. Based on the analysis of documents, observations, and interviews, these types of partnerships should be conducted by using a process known as transcommunality. That is, the shared interactions between

community participants and the myriad diverse players found in the alternative food movement arena should be viewed through the lens of collective practical action. The result is better communication between all participants, as well as mutual respect and understanding (Guthman, 2008a).

This chapter provides an interpretation of the findings, a discussion of the limitations of the study, the implications for social change, and some recommendations for future action.

Interpretation of the Findings

This ICS focused on the role that a local government played in the creation a component of the elements of an AFS, specifically, a market garden in a distressed urban area in South Florida. This study addressed the following research question: In what ways could local governmental bodies facilitate a collaborative process with other governmental bodies and various organizational and community stakeholders in order to create a market garden as a component of an AFS, while engaging and empowering local community stakeholders to participate and take a leadership role?

The method included document reviews, participant observations, and interviews with community volunteers, a representative from the program management company hired by the DBCRA to work with the community and organizational stakeholders, a representative from the local governmental agency, and two representatives from an outside organizational stakeholder.

The study was delimited to a review and evaluation of the DB PATCH. Participants included volunteers and those working with the DBCRA on the market

garden from the local government itself, an outside program management company that managed the market garden for the City of Dania Beach, and an outside health-related organization that partnered with the DBCRA in the form of funding and other resources for the market garden intervention. Prior to undertaking this research, I resigned from my job as executive director of the DBCRA. I had been responsible for creating the PATCH market garden and made all large financial decisions about the project. I had reported in my particular capacity as the director to the community redevelopment agency board in charge of the DBCRA, and I approved the market garden project as an element of an AFS. To address any lingering concerns of reliability or validity in the study, after resigning I limited my role as much as possible in the operations and planning of the PATCH as well as the AFS.

The document reviews and interviews suggested the long-term effectiveness of the market garden programs was related to the quality of the partnerships created. All interviewees agreed that the local government played a central role in bringing partners together. The interviews also revealed that local government was viewed as the major player in creating a local market garden because of its resources and ability to drive local policy through new regulations.

The evidence suggested that in addressing this challenge, the community within the DBCRA must provide educational resources and cooking demonstrations reflecting Black cultural and food histories. The literature suggested that outside partners of an intervention such as a market garden in a distressed community need to be cognizant of the relationship between race and culture and how the local community views its

relationship with food (Slocum, 2011). Well-meaning, often White outsiders who hope to address issues of community health should not come from a position of White privilege, which can demonize the food or food preparation methods of those within the community itself (Slocum, 2011).

Eight themes were identified. The four primary themes were partnerships and collaboration, community empowerment, community involvement, and leadership of government. Four secondary themes were race and gardens, community education, community health, and the role of outside organizations. These eight themes could form the basis for additional research in how to create a long-term sustainable AFS, as well as being foundational to the idea of how different stakeholders with different interests and resources at their disposal can join together in a spirit of shared practical action or transcommunality.

Based on the detail analysis that was conducted on documents, interviews, and policy documents, local governments should embrace the concept of transcommunality as a driver for how components of an AFS such a market garden are set up. The strength of the PATCH model (see Dania Beach CRA PATCH™ Model, Appendix A) was that a diverse group of stakeholders came together to create something significant in the community. All of these different stakeholders, from the DBCRA, to BRHPC, to the community members and other partners, had their own organizational missions, goals, and objectives. The DBCRA's mission, for example, is to remove slum and blighted conditions from distressed neighborhoods. The BRHPC's mission was to promote community health and deal with issues of access to food. Each of their missions did not

change at any time during the PATCH market garden program. As Childs (2003) stated,

"Transcommunal cooperation emphasizes coordinated heterogeneity across 'identity

lines' – not only of 'ethnicity,' 'race,' 'class,' and 'gender,' but also of organizationally,

philosophically, and cosmologically diverse settings" (p. 21). At no point in time were

the organizations that partnered and collaborated on the DBCRA PATCH market or the

community asked to give up their own mission goals or identity. Indeed, the strength of

the PATCH model (see Dania Beach CRA PATCH™ Model, Appendix A) was in the

diversity of each group or organization.

The community residents stated that their culture, needs, and experiences needed

to be acknowledged as a part of the collaborative effort. The strength and long-term

efficacy of the PATCH program lies in the heterogeneity of the participants and not the

homogenization of the partnerships. This celebration of heterogeneity leads not only to

the shared understanding amongst all participants; it reinforces systems of collaboration

that centers around diversity (Childs, 2003). Although the DBCRA had funds to construct

a community garden, it had none of the other resources such as programs, training, and

other grant funding that the BRHPC did. Those organizations, in turn, did not have the

resources and programming that some of the other partners had, such as the YMCA or a

volunteer organization known as HandsOn Broward. Each organization and the

community was able to "work together without losing the unique essence of their being,

that is crucial to their strength, which itself is necessary in order for them to be effective

as bridges to one another" (Childs, 2003, p. 23).

During the analysis of these data, I determined that each of the eight themes was in some way shaped by the underlying concept of transcommunality and therefore form the basis from which recommendations and implication for social change. Partnerships and collaboration, the strongest theme in terms of frequency, is the central theme by which all of the other primary and secondary themes were connected. Effective partnerships and collaboration were seen by respondents and the document reviews as the vehicle by which local government could leverage additional resources such as grants or other sources of funding. These resources have the potential to empower the local community by addressing socioeconomic and community health issues and through various training programs. Local government was seen as a stabilizing force, and in the case of the PATCH market garden, the community respondents were loath to not have the local government involved. According to the so-called politics of conversion, many Blacks in distressed urban communities compared to Whites have a greater distrust of outside organizations. With the local government being an equal partner in the initiative, many of those fears were allayed. The community knew where to find the local governmental representatives, and many of their friends and families may in fact work for the local governmental entity in some way.

Community empowerment as a theme seemed to be related to themes such as community education. The participants viewed educational resources and training to be an important component of the AFS. The resulting interviews suggested the deep-seated desire for the community members to take an active role in determining their own destiny and that of the AFS and market garden efforts through self-determination. Through

community empowerment, the local community was seen as being an equal partner in the AFS, and their actual needs and not just want others thought they needed became an integral part of the overall dialogue.

Past research has shown the correlation between race and the health of a community. Therefore, this desire to create an environment in which the community is empowered socially, economically, and from a community health perspective is a major component of CRT as it pertains to AFS. By being concerned with empowering those in distressed urban communities to transcend the constraints placed on them by race, culture, class and gender, CRT can be utilized to address the issues related to structural inequalities, social inequalities, and race, which are tied directly to the challenges associated with food security and food insecurity. Community empowerment, therefore, in distressed predominantly Black urban neighborhoods, seeks to recognize and cultivate the culture and traditions of the community into a long-term plan for sustainable health, social, and economic growth.

Community involvement and the lack thereof were themes throughout the interview process. The findings reflect past research (Guthman, 2008a; Macias, 2008) on the apparent dearth of more community participation in elements of AFS such as the PATCH market garden intervention, especially in Black communities—even when the barrier of price and accessibility was no longer an issue. Armed with such data early in the process in the creation of the PATCH, the DBCRA and its primary partners decided to shift from a primarily community-based approach to a community-, resource-, and education-based approach. The goal was to create long-term sustainability by seeking to

affect social change within the community in the long term instead of having quick, unsustainable wins in the short-term.

The local government, the community participants, and outside organizational partners expected more community involvement. The community participants I interviewed who were empowered from the start as active members continued to provide new solutions throughout the growth and operations of the PATCH. The empowerment of local community members was a core aspect in the development of the PATCH garden. The local government and its partners wanted the community to be an integral part of the PATCH, and they knew that by empowering the local community, there would be more buy-in for the entire program. The community, therefore, provided recommendations on pricing, planting vegetables, and forging new partnerships within the existing power structure of the community by working with the pastors of churches in order to reach out to the community as a whole.

The theme of leadership in government centered around not only how the local government was viewed by all participants but also by the resources that it was able to marshal by its ability to control land, provide funding, and direct policy. To the participants, government was seen to be a stabilizing force, and one that all parties wanted involved as the primary facilitator in the creation of the AFS. This notion of continued local governmental involvement stems from the fact that local government was seen as local in terms of it being already a part of the overall consciousness of the community. Local government—especially CRAs, which operated primarily in distressed urban areas with high incidents of food security and insecurity, health, and

socioeconomic factors—were seen as the bridge between the spheres of government, community empowerment and revitalization, and outside health-focused organizations. Already tasked with removing slum and blighted conditions by state statute, CRAs were natural partners with community-based and outside organizations that focused primarily on health issues. Community participants in the interviews were careful to state that the local community needed to work hand-in-hand with the local governmental on decisions making pertaining to the creation of the AFS in general, and the PATCH market garden, specifically.

Contrary to the literature, community workers chose to view the issues of race not from the perspective of systematic racism, which caused the socioeconomic and chronic health related conditions in the community in the first place. Instead, they recognized the importance of culture in terms of food preparation and education and the types of food that Blacks eat. This way of thinking complements the theme in the interviews that community education is also an important facet of the long-term sustainability of AFS. During the interviews of the community participants, however, I sensed the workers' reluctance to discuss race as it pertains to a system of structural inequalities that are directly related to not only community health but access to healthful foods as well.

Other participants, whether they be from the local government, the program management company, or organizational partners of the PATCH market garden, saw a direct correlation between race and lack of access to healthful foods such as fruits and vegetables. The theme among those participants was that this racial disparity must be

recognized and addressed through initiatives such as market gardens and other components of an AFS.

The community education and community health themes focused on the notion that education is an important resource for all partners involved in the PATCH collaborative effort. Education and training were seen as important resources for the community for the partner organizations as well. Reflecting the theme of transcommunality, the participants thought it was important that everyone understood the desires, culture, and mission of the members of the partnership in order to avoid confusion or resentment. Food education, from the perspective of community health, was viewed as a tool that could integrate existing Black food practices into the overall community health paradigm wherein Blacks were encouraged to eat healthier foods. Food demonstrations were conducted at the PATCH garden on the weekends and featured foods that were cultural important and familiar to the predominantly Black population in the community and were prepared with less fat, salt, or oil. Over time, the possibility of the impact of incremental changes such as these on community health in predominantly distress urban populations will need to be studied further in order to see if there were any measurable long-term positive impacts to community health.

Through a focus on community education, the community was also empowered to take control of their own health needs. The participants all spoke of the importance for the community to integrate more fruits and vegetables into their eating lifestyles. They saw the goal as combating chronic diseases such as diabetes, which had a higher rate of death in distressed urban communities such as the one where the PATCH was located

than communities that were not distressed and had access to healthful fruits and

vegetables (BRHPC, 2013).

The role of outside organizations was seen as instrumental in the success of

projects such as the PATCH market garden. Outside organizations were identified as

being able to provide resources, grant funding, and numerous types of training programs

that currently form the core of the current PATCH program. Local government was never

seen as being able to create and manage an inclusive program such as the PATCH market

garden on its own. Even in the literature, local government leaders did not have the skill

sets or core programming to be able to initiative and maintain such an endeavor on its

own. Outside organizations, however, were seen as bringing specific and valuable skills

and resources to the project, which helped ensure the long-term sustainability of the

market garden.

Implications for Social Change

Without the support and resources of local government and their partners, the

long-term efficacy and sustainability of AFS and components of AFS such as market

gardens are unlikely to succeed. Conversely, strong strategic partnerships combine the

desire of local community for access to more healthful foods and the strengths of local

government and outside partners, contributing to potential chances of an AFS to succeed.

The results of this study suggest that local governments have more than an important role

to play in the creation of an AFS. They are also possibly seen as a stabilizing force and

bridge between the local community it serves and outside quasi-governmental or non-

organizations that want to also serve the community in different ways, including in the area of community health.

The insights gained from this study provide a means by which local governments can begin to address socioeconomic and community health issues through the creation of AFS. Such efforts incorporate the skills and resources that the local government already possesses, such as land, funding, and the power to create and regulate policy. In addition, this analysis of the specific case of the PATCH provides other quasi-governmental or nongovernmental organizations with a framework for executing their own missions successfully while leveraging previously unavailable resources.

The findings suggest that a coalition among community groups, local government, and outside organizations contributes to the greater whole and can contribute to a sustainable market garden project. The core value of such partnerships, however, should be based on transcommunality. By working together in ways that respect the diversity of all players in terms of their missions and values, transcommunality should become the driving element and core value of local governments approach to the creation of an AFS. These types of collaborations can positively mitigate issues relating to community health, access to healthful foods, and community empowerment through economic development.

Social change can occur as more municipalities adopt the PATCH model (see Dania Beach CRA PATCH™ Model, Appendix A). At least four other municipalities, as well as certain counties, are considering adopting the PATCH market garden model. The market garden model as developed for the PATCH has the potential to transform hundreds of communities across the United States. Until now, local governments in

general have been reluctant to participate in community garden efforts because they were seen as lacking necessary skills and resources. With an emphasis on transcommunality and a focus on forging partnerships and collaboration between the local community, local government, and outside organizations, the PATCH market garden model can mitigate the social and structural inequalities resulting from a divisive view of race. Moreover, the model can address community health issues, provide access to healthful fruits and vegetables, empower the local community through resources and training opportunities, promote economic development within the community, and provide educational opportunities. In the longer term, having a sustainable, market-based model for an AFS in distressed urban communities puts the power back in the hands of local communities.

Recommendations for Action

The recommendations in this section are based on the analysis of the data and the themes, which were based solely on the PATCH. Although the DBCRA has outside partners for the market garden since 2012, the data suggest new partnerships should be developed as a primary function of the local government. New partners have the ability to bring political power, funding, access to grants, and more avenues for education and training for all parties involved, especially the community. The local government should continue to focus resources into empowering and training the local community members from the perspective of having even greater decision-making power on what occurs with the PATCH market garden. The community should be empowered economically as well as culturally to forge long-term partnerships with not only local government but with outside partners. Long-term relationships, however, will not be sustainable if all partners

do not have a common shared mission and mutual respect for each other. Therefore, all actions should be measured and viewed through the lens of transcommunality in order to ensure that all partners are represented equally in the AFS and the market garden. Each party should understand that without the other partners the AFS itself will not succeed.

All partners need to remember that food insecurity, food security, access to healthful foods, and community empowerment formed the founding framework for the creation of the PATCH. All actions for the partnership needs to be viewed with this focus in mind. Any new partnership that is formed as a part of the PATCH must therefore fit into the founding framework.

Instead of focusing on the lack of community involvement, the AFS and the PATCH must take a long-term view of community transformation. All partners must acknowledge that systematic and cultural change in the local community may take years to come to fruition. Most importantly, the local community must be a major driver of any change that occurs. The research on the PATCH showed that community change must come from incremental changes made at the community level. Community culture and values related to food, and the desire of the local community's history, should be acknowledged as a part of any community's health or the access to healthful food initiatives.

Finally, local religious organizations should be acknowledged as an important part of any AFS or market garden effort such as the PATCH. All participants in the study believed that the churches had the potential to play a key role in addressing access to healthful foods, community health issues, and economic development issues. Religious

organizations such as churches, which tend to form the spiritual and social basis for distressed Black communities such as the one in Dania Beach, should therefore be encouraged to be active players in the PATCH market garden system.

<div align="center">**Recommendations for Further Research**</div>

This research had a number of limitations. An ICS includes a relatively small sample size. Future researchers should consider gathering information from a larger number of members of the community, local government, and nongovernment agencies. Moreover, no elected officials participated; they ultimately approve these types of interventions. Thus, future researchers should determine if their responses and attitudes differ from other non-elected respondents.

Another avenue for future exploration is a closer look at the underlying role that race plays in creating an AFS and interventions such as the PATCH. Future researchers should consider providing more detailed analyses of the types of resources, costs, and benefits of implementing an intervention such as the PATCH market garden. The detailed analysis should be able to capture types of costs associated with setting up a market garden based on the PATCH model (see Dania Beach CRA PATCH™ Model, Appendix A) including a differentiation of the types of hard costs such as land or soft costs such as training. The results of this study could be used as a base upon which future expansion of the PATCH model (see Dania Beach CRA PATCH™ Model, Appendix A) on a regional or national scale could be implemented.

Conclusion

This ICS focused on the specific role that local government can play in creating a market garden. Past research in the area of community gardens and AFS primarily addressed the issue of race as it pertains to the structural inequalities inherent in distressed urban communities of color. These types of communities face numerous challenges, such as food security, economic disempowerment, and chronic health issues that can be tied directly to a lack of access to healthful foods.

This study demonstrated that local government can play an important role in organizing partnerships between various entities, including the local community. Local government, with its land, funding, and regulatory authority, can be a stabilizing force in the community. Through their varied roles in the community, including governance, local governmental bodies are able to facilitate a process of partnership building through a process of transcommunality. In the case of the DBCRA, in the result was inclusive cooperation between diverse groups, including the community and outside organizations, which worked together to facilitate shared practical action that has led to increased communication, mutual respect, and understanding amongst the partners.

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Appendix A: Dania Beach CRA PATCH Model

The Dania Beach CRA PATCH Model (DBPM) was first created in 2013 when I

was the Executive Director of the DBCRA. The primary impetus for the DBPM hinged

on the idea that community redevelopment agencies (CRAs) which are a form of

government designated as Special Districts within the State of Florida have resources

such as certain regulatory/policing powers, land, and in many cases the financial

resources that could all be utilized in the creation of market gardens. As a form of

government, CRAs have resources that can be leveraged by forming partnerships with

other nongovernmental or quasi-governmental agencies such as the Broward Regional

Health Planning Council, local community stakeholders, nonprofits, private companies,

and other types of governmental entities whether they be state, county or local

government.

Although cities or counties could also play a leadership role in some type of

collaborative public private partnership (PPP) in order to create a food system that would

include market gardens such as the PATCH, CRAs are uniquely qualified to lead this

effort due to their specific mission under state statute which includes the redevelopment

of communities by the elimination of slum and blighted conditions. In the case of the

DBCRA, I envisioned a DBPM in which the PATCH market garden would be only one

of a network of market gardens throughout South Florida that are created through PPP

between local government and other organizations. The key to the creation of this type of

AFS would lay in the creation of an umbrella organization called the PATCH

Collaborative (PC). This new organization, would be comprised of the local

governmental entities, local community members, nonprofit partners, and other private organizations that helped to create the market garden network. Not only does the PC provide standardized rules for the entire collaborative, it also provides a single point of contact for assistance with urban farmer training programming, farmers markets, accounting services and reporting for each market garden, marketing, and market garden operations such as processing, packaging, distribution, and sales. This is important especially from the perspective of local government because, in general, neither the local government nor many of the partners individually have the time or expertise to manage all of these various aspects of an AFS.

In order to simplify how the DBPM works I will utilize a generic example in which there are five separate CRAs that each have one market garden. Each of the CRAs are a member of the PC. Each of these five market gardens grow different types of produce for sale such as lettuce and tomatoes. The market gardens or farmers' markets are operated on a daily basis by residents from the local community who have been trained by the PC. The food that is grown at the market gardens is collected and brought to a centralized food hub location for processing and distribution to end users such as grocery stores, farmers' markets, and restaurants. The key with the DBPM is that none of the individual members of the PC has to be concerned with handling any of these functions by themselves. A simplified graphical representation of the DBPM is shown in Figure A1.
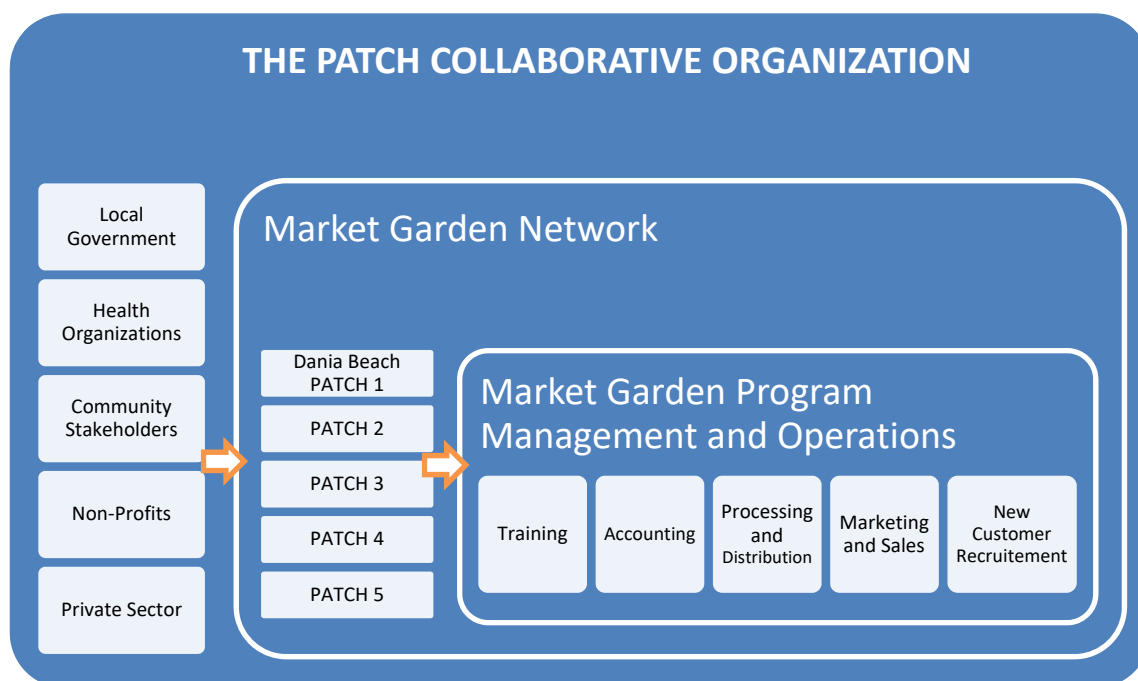
Figure A1. Simplified graphic of Dania Beach PATCH Model. The overall PATCH

Collaborative is comprised of partner organizations. Within the market garden network

there are five PATCH market gardens. The PATCH Collaborative provides strategic,

administrative, and operational management for the entire network including all of the

PATCH market gardens.

Appendix B: Interview Questions

For Community Participants

1. In your opinion what is the benefit of having a market garden in your neighborhood?

2. Why did you participate in the market garden effort? How important were your previous relationships with other volunteers in terms of encouraging you to participate in the market garden?

3. What can be done to get more of the community involved in addressing the needs of the community as they relate to healthful food and access to healthful foods?

4. What role if any do you believe that race or ethnicity in these types of initiatives?

5. What role if any should the community have in the creation and governance of these types of community gardens and food systems?

6. Is there a need for outside organizations to provide assistance in these efforts? If yes, what kinds of assistance?

7. What should be the role of local municipal government in setting up these types of efforts?

8. What type of resources and training would be beneficial to the creation of these types of community initiatives as it relates to the community?

9. How can the community be educated about the benefits of having a community garden in their neighborhood?

10. Anything else that you want to share?

Interview Questions for Outside Organizations and Other Partners

1. In your opinion what is the benefit of having a market garden in this neighborhood?

2. Why did you and your organization participate in the market garden effort? How important were your previous efforts to promote community healthful and access to healthful foods in terms encouraging you to participate in the market garden?

3. What can be done to get more of the community involved in addressing the needs of the community as they relate to healthful food and access to healthful foods?

4. What role if any do you believe that race or ethnicity in these types of initiatives?

5. What role if any should outside organizations have in the creation and governance of these types of community gardens and food systems?

6. Is there a need for outside organizations to provide assistance in these efforts? If yes, what kinds of assistance?

7. What should be the role of local municipal government in setting up these types of efforts?

8. What type of resources and training would be beneficial to the creation of these types of community initiatives as it relates to outside organizations?

9. How can other organizations be encouraged to work with distressed communities in order to create these types of initiatives?

10. Anything else that you want to share?