

# **Planting Connections:**

## **How Urban Gardens Enhance Community Participation**

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December 9, 2010  
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*Abstract*

*Qualitative interviews with twelve members of Jubilee Gardens in Youngstown, Ohio assess the experiences of participants in a community garden. This study shows that gardeners will become more involved in community activities and create new networks as a result of their participation in Jubilee Gardens, supporting the community development theory. Participants were asked how their connection to others in the garden has shaped their experience and led to higher involvement in programs outside of Jubilee Gardens. This study finds that participation in community gardening leads to involvement in other community projects, programs and organizations, while also increasing community networking.*

In Youngstown, Ohio, community gardens are a common sight in many urban neighborhoods. Community gardens can vary; some consist of a few neighbors growing vegetables in an abandoned lot, while other gardens, like Jubilee Gardens, consist of a few acres of land, attracting people from all over the Youngstown area. Many people have begun to see the advantages of growing their own food, and their experience encourages others to become involved in community gardening as well. All types of people are involved in community gardening and stay involved for a variety of reasons. Their participation introduces them to others in the community that share a common interest in producing their own food. By analyzing qualitative interviews with gardeners at Jubilee Gardens, this study examines how participation in urban agriculture creates networks between participants that leads to their involvement in other community projects and programs.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

### *Popularization of Local Agriculture*

Shinew, Glover and Parry (2004) found that in recent years, there has been a sharp influx in local agriculture through the use of community gardening, especially in urban areas. Macias (2008) studied the effects of local agriculture on communities and discovered that the use of local sources of agriculture helped the planet ecologically and helped the community financially by promoting new business. Additionally, he found that local agriculture helped people personally, particularly those in low-income areas, by reducing their grocery bill. Similarly, Premat (2005) studied Cuban community agriculture and her findings showed that many low-income urban residents participated in

community agriculture because of the high prices of fresh supermarket produce.

Wakefield, Yeudall, Taron, Reynolds and Skinner (2007) found that once people began to play a role in the way their food was grown, harvested and processed, they began to make healthier food choices and developed a stronger connection to the land and growing process. They also found that in addition to personal health, community gardens promoted social health and community cohesion, which the gardeners said were beneficial to their overall attitude toward gardening. Guthman (2008) studied urban communities experimenting with local food production projects and found that local food production encouraged localism, activism and participation by people, regardless of their socioeconomic status.

#### *Creation of Community Networks*

Community gardening not only provides food for gardeners, but also provides a sense of community for everyone involved in the process. Andreatta (2008) found that local food production and distribution affect a wide-range of people and create networks among low-income families and gardeners. Armstrong (2000) performed a study in 63 upstate New York community gardens and found that in 33 percent of the gardens, additional activities stemmed from participation in the garden. Neighborhood clean-ups, tree planting days and crime watch groups all formed as a result of participation in community gardening. Hollander, Pallagst, Schwarz and Popper's (2009) study found that with urban populations declining, vacant land in inner cities is again serving a purpose by hosting community gardens. They also discovered that agricultural grassroots projects are more likely to spring up in areas with excess vacant land. The newly created

gardens serve as public spaces for children and families to congregate, meeting places for community organizing, while giving the community access to fresh agriculture.

Community gardening links people together and links individuals to other organizations in the community. Wilson (2000) found that frequent interaction between members of the same neighborhood increases social solidarity and the rate of volunteerism in other aspects of the community. Once emotional attachments between people are formed, they are more likely to stay involved in a community activity. Twiss, Dickinson, Duma, Kleinman, Paulsen and Rilveria (2003) discovered that urban gardens build neighborhood community and restore ecology to urban centers. His study found that gardening is not only about bringing food to those who may not have access to it, but it is also about creating community and promoting interconnectedness between people and neighborhoods.

#### *Impact of Community Gardens on Neighborhood*

All community gardens have some impact on the community around them. Alkon and Norgaard (2009) examined people's overall access to fresh produce and found that many people located in the inner city had significantly less access to fresh food than those located in suburban and even rural areas. They found that community gardens and other sources of local agriculture helped provide fresh food to those that did not have access to grocery stores or supermarkets. Along with greater access to fresh foods for individuals in urban neighborhoods, there are also impacts on the community that promote community growth and development. In her study, Armstrong (2000) found that 51 percent of the gardeners she interviewed had a more positive attitude about the garden

and its surrounding community after a month of participation in the garden. The attitude was revealed in the way the gardeners began to take care of the rest of the neighborhood, by reducing litter and taking better care of the property throughout the neighborhood. Armstrong (2000) also found that community gardens in low-income neighborhoods, like Jubilee Gardens, were four times as likely to lead to involvement in other community projects than gardens in higher-income neighborhoods.

Similarly, Blair, Giesecke and Sherman (1991) studied a community gardening project in Philadelphia and found that the community surrounding the garden experienced a positive impact as a result of community members becoming involved in more community projects after being involved with the garden. The members were more likely to participate in food allocation programs, community social events and beautification projects as a result of the garden. Voicu and Been (2006) studied whether community gardens had a positive effect on property value and found that it did. When a community garden is present, property value increases slightly, which benefits those that live in the neighborhood. They found that the higher the quality of the garden, the more the property value increases.

This study uses the popularization of local agriculture to analyze the creation of networks within a garden community setting. The literature has provided a background for how local agriculture has risen and the effect it has had on the community. It also provides analysis of participation in activities that have created links between people and lead to their participation in other community programs.

## THEORY

Community development theory is based on groups of people, or systems. According to Tamas (2000), a system is “a set of elements standing in interaction” (pg. 1). Without groups of people interacting, there can be no community. Systems can have varying structures and the relationships between the structures can be diverse. The only qualification needed for a system to be present is the occurrence of the parts coming together to form a group. A system is comprised of smaller sub-systems that function together to create the whole system. Sub-systems can exist anywhere, from the macro level to the micro level. For example, a sub-system can be one household, an entire city, or a nation. It only has to be part of a larger system for it to be considered a sub-system.

Another aspect of community development theory is boundaries. Boundaries are in place to divide systems, determining what is inside and outside of a system. Boundaries can be placed around something as small as one household, or they can surround an entire community. Boundaries exist to separate the internal components of a system from external entities in the environment. They are flexible; thus a researcher can define, expand, or restrict boundaries depending upon the focus (Tamas 2000). In theory, boundaries may be invisible and permeable, but in reality, boundaries can be visible and tangible, including landmarks, rivers, city limits and other physical features. Boundaries determine what comprises a community and what is outside of a community. A potential disadvantage to a boundary is the exclusivity it may create. Communities may create boundaries to keep some out while letting others in (Smith 2002). For example, the garden where research was conducted has a fence around its exterior. Although it is a

community garden, only those that garden there have a key to the fence. This boundary is mainly to keep out people that do not have a plot of land at Jubilee Gardens.

Boundaries operate in communities to signify if a community is “open” or “closed.” An “open” system is a system that “has a boundary which is open to some extent and which makes it possible for energy or influence (in various forms, such as information or goods) to pass into and out of its system” (Tamas 2000:3). When a community has an “open” system, it means that that community has a free exchange of goods, services, information and speech. The more connected a community is, the more open their system. An example of a closed system would be a candle in an airtight jar. The flame will exhaust all of the resources available in the jar, then it will go out.

Open systems foster a greater sense of community and reciprocity than closed systems. On the other hand, a “closed” system is a system that is entirely closed off from the rest of its environment by a boundary. This boundary prevents the system from interacting freely with other systems, and limits its activity. Tamas (2000) states, “the activity within such a closed system will continue until all the needed elements are consumed, at which point the activity will cease” (pg. 3). Communities have “closed” systems when the communication or transfer of materials, information, or speech is limited or cut-off completely. Communities may close because of a lack of trust or goals between members of that community and outsiders. Tamas (2000) claims these communities are highly isolated and experience higher levels of tension than open systems.

Communities serve as networks for the people who reside within them.



Sometimes these networks are used extensively to create and maintain relationships. At other times, people can live in the same community and have no relationship at all. Putman (2000) states, “For most of us, our deepest sense of belonging is to our most intimate social networks, especially family and friends. Beyond that perimeter lie work, church, neighborhood, civil life and the assortment of other ‘weak ties’” (pg. 274). There are many types of support networks within a community. These networks vary according to familial relations, friendships and interactions with other members of the community, and level of involvement in community activities and volunteer service. The more network connections a person has and the more activities they participate in, the stronger their sense of community and the more likely they are to have a large network within the social system. Smith (2000) says, “The nature of the networks within [a] particular place or grouping, thus, of fundamental importance when making judgments about ‘communities’ – and the extent to which people can flourish within them” (pg. 6). This natural need for connection and interaction gives humans their individual character and increases human achievement. Over time, the gardeners at Jubilee Gardens create networks and form bonds with each other that strengthen the community both inside and outside the garden.

Smith (2002) argues that social capital is the connection within and between social networks. Social capital gives value to social networks and this value shapes child development, public spaces, economic prosperity and the health of those in the community. The more tolerance, reciprocity and trust a community has, the richer it is in social capital. Putnam (2000) states that social capital can consist of formal or informal

networks. An example of a formal network might be a meeting at the garden every Monday night, while an informal network might be a card game thrown together at the garden on a Saturday afternoon. Private social networks do not build social capital as much as public social networks, but they are mostly in place to serve a specific purpose. Social capital provides communities with networks, which increases the productivity of all members of the community.

Community development theory is applicable today in the study of communities all over the world. A community's main goal is to work to sustain itself under all circumstances and provide its members with a social arena. When people participate in their community, it gives them a feeling of inclusiveness and initiates hope that when working with others, nothing is unattainable. This theory can be applied to local community groups to understand how an "open" community group, such as a community garden, operates.

People get involved in community gardens to produce their own food, but the action also impacts their community ties and involvement in the larger community. Community gardens operate as an open space for gathering, working and promoting solidarity. They create personal connections among participants, which leads to an increase their social capital. Community Development Theory provides the theoretical framework to examine a Jubilee Gardens in Youngstown, Ohio.

## METHODOLOGY

### *Procedure*

This research was conducted during the months of June, July, and August 2010

using face-to-face interviews at Jubilee Gardens in Youngstown, Ohio. Face-to-face interviews were chosen as they provide an in-depth, personal look at the participants being studied and allow for a descriptive study within a natural setting (Neuman 2007). Jubilee Gardens is a community garden in Youngstown, Ohio that provides space to people to grow their own plants. The garden is large enough for 32 people to have a plot of land for their growing needs. The interviews at Jubilee Gardens lasted between 30 minutes and one hour and asked the participants questions about how community gardening has affected their relationships within the community and how it has affected their participation in other community projects and programs. A list of all of the gardeners at Jubilee Gardens was acquired and each gardener was contacted to ask if they would participate in the study. Those that agreed to participate set up a meeting time and place for the interview. The study asked 15 open-ended questions [see Appendix] about the participant's personal background, how they became involved in local agriculture, and memories of their earliest experience growing their own food. The questions also addressed their sense of community pride, both before they began gardening and their current feelings as gardeners in the community. Lastly, the interview asks participants how their community ties have changed since being involved in local food production and where they see community and local gardening going in the future. The interviews were tape recorded and later transcribed for accuracy.

### *Youngstown Community*

Youngstown is a city located in northeastern Ohio. Since the 1970s, Youngstown's population has drastically fallen due to a sharp decline in the

manufacturing sector, which was once one of the strongest in the nation (Blue 1995). The racial makeup of Youngstown is quite diverse. According to the 2000 Census Bureau data, Youngstown is 50.9 percent white, 43.8 percent black and 5.2 percent Hispanic. As of 1999, the median household income was \$24,201 and the poverty level was 24.8 percent. Jubilee Gardens is situated in the Briar Hill region of Youngstown. Briar Hill is an area on the north side of the city and was the first Italian settlement in Youngstown. Once a working class neighborhood, Briar Hill's population dropped significantly with the overall decline of the steel industry in Youngstown. Today the Briar Hill region is filled with abandoned houses and the steel mills that once defined the area no longer serve their function (Trolio 2001).

Jubilee Gardens is one of the only organizations in Briar Hill that still operates and is active in the community. The garden promotes the greening of Youngstown by providing resources to improve the quality of life in the community. Jubilee Gardens is the only "community gardening" organization in the City of Youngstown that owns its own property and has significant gardening and farming implements. For over 20 years, the garden has provided space to residents of the Mahoning Valley for their gardening needs. In support of the gardener, Jubilee Gardens provides gardening space, plowing, water, plants, and seeds.

### *Participants*

The sample consisted of 12 gardeners who currently have garden plots at Jubilee Community Garden. Participant's ages ranged from 46 to 66, with the average age being 54. Six (50 percent) of the participants were male and six (50 percent) were female.

Approximately seven (58 percent) of the gardeners come from the urban core of Youngstown and the other five (42 percent) of the gardeners are from the suburbs surrounding the city. The average number of year's gardeners have lived in the Youngstown community ranges from 4 to 59, with 40 being the average. Of the participants, 10 (83 percent) were white and 2 (17 percent) were black.

### *Strengths and Weaknesses of Face-to-Face Interviewing*

The main disadvantage of this research project is the short time period in which to gather data. Extensive, in-depth qualitative interviews of every gardener at Jubilee Gardens would yield better research results and give a more accurate portrayal of community involvement within this environment, but, because of time constraints, it is not possible to interview every gardener for an extensive period of time. With face-to-face interviews there is also a level of interviewer bias and researcher presence may affect participant's answers in some way. In addition, some gardeners chose not to participate in the study.

Although there are disadvantages to this method, there are many advantages as well. One of the biggest advantages of qualitative interviewing is the presence of the researcher while gathering data. Because of this, both verbal and nonverbal cues can be observed and used to further express the views and feelings of the participant. In addition, with qualitative interviewing, the researcher is present to clarify any discrepancies in the questioning and can ask the participant to further elaborate on any topic. The researcher can tweak the questionnaire to suit the participant and avoid questions that may have already been answered in previous discussion (Neuman 2007).

## FINDINGS

Participants were asked questions that were categorized into four general themes. The first theme asked questions related to participants' background in community gardening and in the Youngstown community. The second theme focused on the benefits of gardening in a community atmosphere as opposed to gardening at home. The development of community ties and networks was the third theme, which included questions about whether participants felt their involvement in Jubilee Gardens strengthened their relationships with others in the gardening community. The final theme asked participants whether they believed community gardening was positive or negative for the community and addressed the potential future of community gardening in Youngstown, Ohio.

### *Participant Experience in Jubilee Gardens*

It is evident from Table 1 that participants were much more likely to become initially involved in Jubilee Gardens because of an invitation by a friend or acquaintance than any other way.

Invited by Friend	6 (50%)
Community Advertisement	3 (25%)
Invited by Family	1 (8.3%)
Attended Event at Garden	1 (8.3%)
Other	1 (8.3%)
Total (N=12)	12 (100%)

Those who lived in the Youngstown community all their life were more likely to have heard about Jubilee Gardens through a friend or family member, while those that were

newer to the community found out about the garden through community advertising. This finding provides support for the theory that networking is extremely important for involvement in community projects, especially in reaching out to those that are new to the community and have not yet established a sustained network.

Of the 12 participants, 10 claimed that their earliest memories of local food production occurred prior to their involvement in Jubilee Gardens, in home or family gardens. Only two (17 percent) participants recalled their earliest memory taking place in a community garden or with someone other than a family member. Although one of the participants said she had a garden in her yard as a child, she chose to give a memory that was related to Jubilee Gardens for the interview.

It has just been the last couple years. Maybe two, three years ago we met. Well we have known Pat Lowry for some time and we knew that Jubilee Gardens existed and we shared a plot with him. I guess prior to that the Ulster Project (I feel like I'm on a radio interview. I guess I don't have to talk so formally do I?) Well you know the Ulster Project we took the kids there and we have been in that for 10 years so that was my first experience with Jubilee Gardens was with the Ulster Project and the one day volunteer thing. And I can't really think of anything before that.

#### *Participant Benefits of Gardening in Community Atmosphere*

Although Jubilee Gardens is in a neighborhood that is low-income and dilapidated, only two of the participants self-identified that they were low-income individuals and their main reason for participation in the garden was to save money on food throughout the year. Other participants said they noticed the financial savings associated with producing their own food, but said that was not the reason they participated in community gardening.

I mean, it's the joy in that more so than what monetary savings you may make. A lot of gardeners, of course, you get a savings when you grow your own food cause that's less you have to buy, and then there is the love of gardening where you grow just because. There is no way I could eat all this that I grow here, but it is the sharing part too. I give it to family members, friends and other gardeners pilfer a little bit. It is just the fun of gardening.

Another gardener stated, "It is not just the financial rewards—it is healthy to have local foods available that were grown organically."

As Table 2 shows, when participants were asked what the most important aspect of producing their own food was, five (41.7 percent) stated that it was the fact that they knew where their food was coming from and the environment in which it was grown. Four (33.3 percent) stated that it was working with people of different races, classes and genders that kept them gardening in a community atmosphere. Three (25 percent) stated that they felt rewarded when they could produce food for their family and exchange ideas with other members of the garden.

Knowledge of Origin of Food	5 (41.7%)
Working with Diverse Others	4 (33.3%)
Learning New Skills and Ideas	3 (25%)
Total	12 (100%)

One gardener said that a few times during the season she would give produce to people who stopped to look at Jubilee Gardens. The gardener recalls,



When someone comes by looking for a few tomatoes or something I am glad to give them and help people out that way. So that is what the biggest thing here is, giving to other people.

The gardeners had multiple reasons for participating in the community garden rather than gardening at home. One of the major reasons for participating in Jubilee Gardens was a lack of adequate space at home in which to grow the food they wanted. Others stated that they still garden at home, but find it rewarding to also participate in gardening at a community level.

Well, I still garden at my home but I like the idea of helping people who don't have their own gardens and don't have much knowledge about it and as a gardener you always have extra food and excess food so I like being able to give it away and give it to people. So.. and to promote green space. I like that idea. You know so the land has some use and also to help, especially younger generations just to get an idea about what gardening is.

#### *Development of Community Networks and Ties*

Participants were asked if they felt more pride in the community now than before they began gardening at Jubilee Gardens. Eight (67 percent) participants said they do feel more pride now than they did before they began gardening, three (25 percent) participants said they do not feel more pride now, and one participant (8 percent) said she were not sure whether she felt more pride or not. One gardener who did feel more pride in the neighborhood stated,

Yes. As mentioned, I think community gardens are important to Youngstown. What I have seen over the past few years at Jubilee is nothing short of amazing. First of all, when the garden was on the verge of closing, a number of people stepped up to help keep the doors open this year. We have had community clean-ups, cooperation from other community gardens, and we have also been able to help other gardens out. So it has been a great experience and I like to see it in the context of the rise of community gardens across the country.

Gardeners were also asked whether participation in community gardening at Jubilee Gardens has strengthened their ties to other members of the community. All participants concluded that it had in some way. Some stated that they came into contact with people they would never have come into contact with had it not been for their involvement in community gardening, and others said they feel more comfortable talking to or participating in activities with gardeners outside of the garden. One gardener stated that gardening created a low-cost alternative to socializing and meeting people that he would not normally have met due to his financial restrictions.

Through Jubilee Gardens I got involved with the Men's Garden Club and through the Men's Garden Club I have met a number of people as well. We are going to an event they are having tomorrow at Mill Creek Park. I am getting to meet more people. We don't have a big social circle, just with work and not having money to go out and socialize very much, so this gives us a good socialization that we hadn't had for a while because of our financial situation. So I have enjoyed it because I have gotten to meet a lot of people that I may not have met otherwise.

A major focus of this project was to identify whether participation in the Jubilee Gardens increased community networking and led to involvement in any other programs or projects in the community. Participants were also asked if involvement in community gardening at Jubilee Gardens has led to their participation in other community projects, programs or organizations. The response was mixed; half of the participants stated that their involvement in Jubilee Gardens has led to other organizations, including volunteering a few times a year and playing an active role in other community projects. One participant has used Jubilee Gardens as a first step in community involvement and has become aware of a multitude of projects at the community and national levels.

My work in community gardening at Jubilee has led to participation with other organizations such as Lien Forward, which does land reclamation; GTECH, a similar organization in the Pittsburg area, NEOFoodWeb.org, which is an organization working on many different food issues in northeastern Ohio. I have also become aware of a number of organizations that are leading the way, the best example being GrowingPower.org, Will Allen's organization in Milwaukee, WI, which I was able to visit in October, 2009.

Four (33 percent) of the participants said that they have not become involved in any other projects, programs or organizations as a result of being involved in Jubilee Gardens, and two (17 percent) said that although it has not led directly to being involved, they have talked to people at other organizations about being involved at some level in the future.

#### *The Future of Community Gardening*

A final area of inquiry was whether the gardener believed the future of community gardening looked positive or negative and whether participation in community gardening had an overall positive or negative effect on the gardener. All of the gardeners said they believed community gardening is going in a positive direction and will continue to expand and develop as time goes on, both in Youngstown and on a national level.

I think it looks very positive, especially as our country looks to alternative energy uses and as people get interested in green technologies. In this time of food recalls, salmonella, e-coli and other problems, knowing where your food comes from and how it is produced gives you a sense of confidence that it won't make you sick and will make you eat healthy. The fact that so many community gardens are springing up around town shows that people are interested in producing their own food.

Similarly, all participants said their experience with Jubilee Gardens has been positive, with 10 (83.3 percent) not having a single complaint. Two (17.7 percent) of the participants said that their overall experience was positive, but did list some negatives

about being community gardeners. One of these two gardeners said she thought the time commitment was a negative factor, and the other felt that the garden was not doing enough activities as a community and suggested options for ways to build better participation within Jubilee Gardens.

## DISCUSSION

Previous research has shown that frequent interaction between people creates networks and relationships, which facilitate growth in the larger community (Wilson 2000). Community development theory states that networks arise from interactions between people in open systems. This study shows how interactions between people in one community activity, community gardening, leads to participation in other activities through networking. Jubilee Gardens is an open network that promotes the transfer of information and goods from one person to another. For the gardeners, the transfer of information was in the form of sharing gardening tips, recipes, and building relationships with one another.

This study found that seven of the participants were invited to participate in Jubilee Gardens by a friend or family member. This indicates that personal relationships have a strong influence over the activities in which people belong, thus building social capital. It may be that as community connectedness increases, levels of involvement in community activities increase also. Previous literature has shown that emotional connections and frequent interaction between people leads to higher rates of involvement, both of which can be seen from this study.

The type of people that were involved in Jubilee Gardens had a significant effect on the success of the project. Three-fourths of those involved stated that their parents had a garden while they were growing up, thus they learned from a young age the value of working with others to produce their own food. Although no participants stated that their parents were involved in community gardening, their own involvement may play a role in determining whether their children become involved in community gardening later in life. This would increase both the levels of connectedness between people and levels of community participation in the future.

The findings also showed that while only half of the participants became involved in outside activities, the participants who engaged in other community activities were the ones who had been involved in Jubilee Gardens for the longest period of time. Similarly, participants that have lived in the Youngstown community for the longest period of time have a larger social network than those newer to the area, which community development theory suggests is a main reason they are involved in more community activities. If this study encompassed a longitudinal analysis, the findings may predict that newer gardeners will eventually become more involved in outside activities as they spend a greater amount of time involved in Jubilee Gardens and living in the Youngstown community.

Although four of the twelve participants still garden at their own home, all four also chose to have a plot at Jubilee Gardens. Most participants gave multiple reasons for why they chose to participate in home gardening as well as community gardening. They stated that the revitalization and greening of the inner city of Youngstown is important to them and they felt the need to play a bigger role in a community project. This attitude

may indicate that a majority of gardeners at Jubilee Gardens have a strong sense of commitment to the community and wanted to build their social capital, which may explain their initial involvement in community gardening.

Many participants stated that they come from highly segregated areas of Youngstown and that working in a neighborhood like Briar Hill was their first opportunity to spend a significant amount of time in such a racially diverse neighborhood. One participant was particularly conscious of the diversity around her and believed it was important for her daughter to be around people of other races and classes as a way to learn about the world. Other participants stated that the guidance and advice they receive from other members of the garden increased their knowledge of gardening, which they can pass down to future generations of gardeners. The participants overall answers indicated that they remained involved in community gardening not only for their own benefit, but also because they believed participation in community activities would create connectedness and improve the community around them.

Jubilee Gardens provides a symbolic focus for some of the gardeners, which contributes to community pride and more devoted upkeep of the entire neighborhood. The garden also provides a physical location where gardeners can gather, socialize, and learn from each other, which creates networks between gardeners and leads them to feel more pride and connectedness within the garden community.

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## Appendix. Community Garden Interview Questions

1. Please give a brief description of yourself.
2. How long have you lived in this community?
3. Give your earliest memory of participating in local food production.
4. Were your parents gardeners or was anyone close to you interested in agriculture growing up?
5. How did you get involved in community gardening with Jubilee Gardens?
6. What makes you more inclined to participate in community gardening rather than growing food at your own house?
7. Do you think that community gardening has given you a greater sense of community pride?
8. How has community gardening affected you financially?
9. Before you began gardening at Jubilee did you feel less pride in the surrounding neighborhood community than you do now?
10. How has community gardening strengthened your ties to other members of the community?
11. What is the most important thing you have learned from your experience as a community gardener?
12. How has your connection to the land changed since you began gardening at Jubilee Gardens?
13. What do you think the future of community gardening and local food production looks like?

14. Has being involved in Jubilee Gardens led you to participation in any other community projects, programs or organizations?
15. Give any more information you wish to add about how participating in local food production has affected you either positively or negatively.