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White Food, Black Spaces: Food, Privilege, And Gentrification In Crown Heights, Brooklyn

Samantha C. Loewen

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WHITE FOOD, BLACK SPACES

FOOD, PRIVILEGE, AND GENTRIFICATION IN CROWN HEIGHTS, BROOKLYN

Samantha C. Loewen
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Senior Thesis

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Adviser, Professor Mary Ann Cunningham

Abstract

This project seeks to investigate the intersections of race, class, and food: examining how access and acceptance to good quality food is shaped and changed through the process of gentrification. I ask why it is predominately upper-middle class whites that are buying ‘good food’ (non-processed, organic, local, etc), how this situation came to be in the United States, and ultimately what the consequences are of injecting upscale food cultures into previously low-income, high-minority spaces. To observe this change I overview the broad inequality created by the policies of the US food system, the emergence of whiteness within alternative food movements, and the gentrification of food and space through a case study of Crown Heights, Brooklyn, New York. I draw from official data sources and academic works, as well field research and observation to support my argument. In this piece I contend that structural problems such as agricultural policy and institutionalized racism contribute to the lack of access and acceptance of good food among low-income minorities. These inequalities are then magnified and accelerated in gentrifying neighborhoods, as they clash with the traditionally upscale food tastes of new residents. I ultimately find that there is fairly good access to food within my sample area, but that spaces of consumption are stratified and segregated, implying a more complex and dynamic situation than is explained by typical narratives of gentrification.

“We are indeed much more than what we eat, but what we eat can nevertheless help us to be much more than what we are.”

- Adelle Davis

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INTRODUCTION

From Ethnic to Organic

The small grocery store, located on the corner of Franklin Avenue and Lincoln Place, has been a mainstay in Crown Heights, Brooklyn for the past three decades (Figures 1 and 2). Named after its owners Bob and Betty Fisher, the store opened its doors in the 1970s as “Fisher’s Supermarket”. At this time, Crown Heights was a stable working class neighborhood, home to a diverse Caribbean, African, African American, and Latino community. Dedicated to serving their neighborhood, Fisher’s stocked the ‘ethnic’ products that would best accommodate the community’s ever-evolving demographics. Fisher’s remained intact throughout the 1980s, even as the neighborhood began to deteriorate due to increased crime and illegal drug use, which caused other businesses to close down.

Fisher’s Supermarket remains a microcosm of the neighborhood today. After a brief closure, the market reopened in April 2011 under the management of Tony Fisher as “Bob and Betty’s,” in honor of his parents’ original business. However, patrons today are more likely to find organic milk and local produce than traditional Caribbean or Latin fare. The revamped store has a vastly expanded organic section and only supplies produce from farms located less than 50 miles away to fulfill Fisher’s mission of being “primarily green” and “environmentally conscious” (Nostrand Park 2012).

Despite the remodel and new attention to sustainability, Fisher asserts that prices will still be fair and affordable so as to fill the needs of the entire community (Nostrand Park 2012). But even so, Bob and Betty’s is not providing for the neighborhood’s ethnic

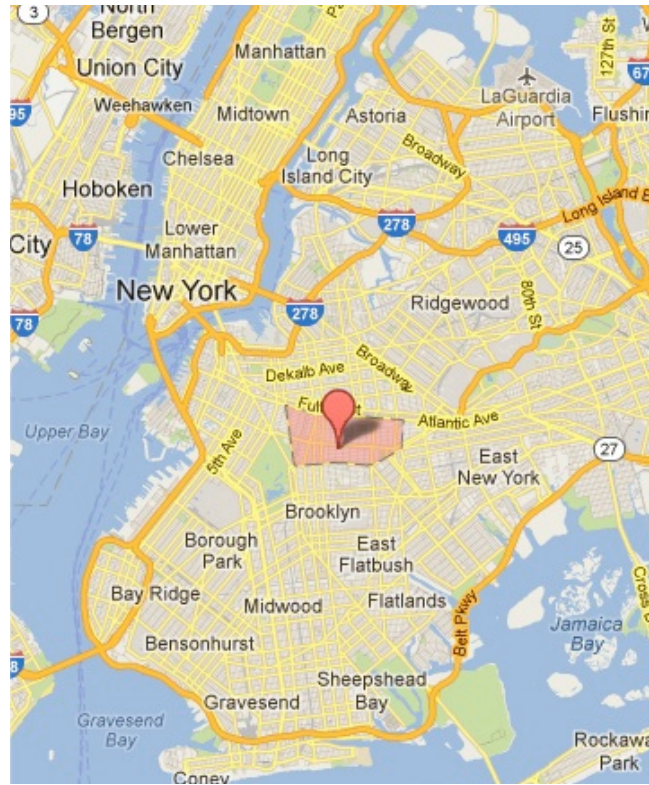


Figure 1: Crown Heights in relation to Brooklyn and Manhattan (Google Maps)

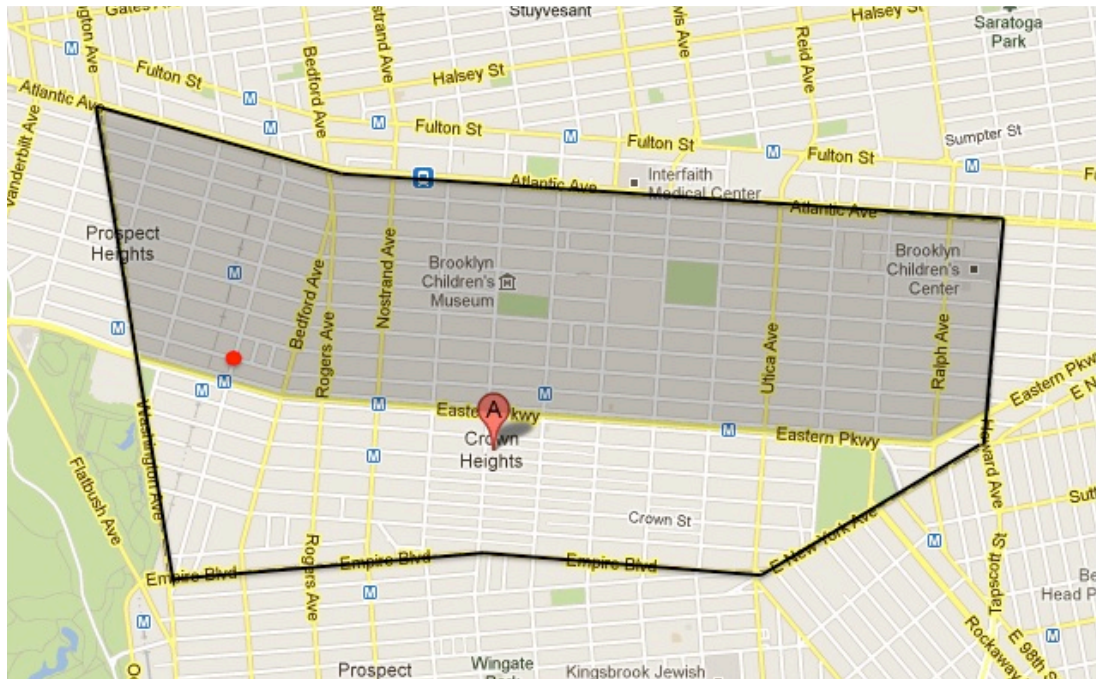


Figure 2: Crown Heights boundaries, shaded portion denotes Crown Heights North, red dot denotes Bob & Betty's (Google Maps)

population anymore. There is a plethora of all-natural potato chips, micro-brewed beer, and Hudson Valley sourced cheese, but very few products that seem to be stocked for Caribbean, Latino, or African clientele. The market's new attention to local, organic, and sustainable foods still follows in the tradition of catering to the community's latest members, but this time the newcomers are young, white, college graduates and professionals.

As Bob and Betty's recent makeover may suggest, the demographics in Crown Heights are rapidly changing. As of 1994, 90 percent of residents in Crown Heights were of African descent, 9 percent were Hasidic Jews, and 1 percent was comprised of Latinos, Asians, and other ethnic groups. In recent years a significant number of whites have moved into the neighborhood, becoming the third most prominent group of the area's roughly 130,000 residents. Crown Heights North (Figure 2), or the portion of the neighborhood above Eastern Parkway, has seen the greatest shift in demographics. According to the 2010 census, the non-Hispanic white population in Crown Heights North has increased by 186 percent in the past ten years (City of New York 2013).

With this new population have come new tastes and new food cultures. As consumer tastes shift to the more gourmet, upscale, and organic, so does the fabric of the city. Organic grocery stores, fair trade coffee shops, and gourmet restaurants are now competing with the existing West Indian grocers, Caribbean fast food joints, and corner delis. This process of neighborhood change or gentrification, what Sharon Zukin has called 'domestication by cappuccino' (Zukin 1995, xiv), clashes newcomers with demands for 'good food' with low income and minority residents who often lack the privilege to access these good foods. Adapting to changing clientele and preferences, the

new businesses that pop up in the course of gentrification often cater directly to new residents, and often at the expense of the old.

The polarization of communities that occurs at the crux of food and gentrification can be seen directly in the case of Bob & Betty's, which now "sells organic food, mostly to young newcomers, and gives away cardboard boxes to older residents moving out" (Robbins 2012). This consumer divide has led me to ask a seemingly simple question: why are only young whites shopping at Bob & Betty's? Or more broadly, why is it predominately middle class whites that buy organic and local food? While consumer preference certainly plays a role it does not fully explain why older residents are not buying the hydroponic lettuce and Hudson Valley Fresh milk. Through a broad study on our nation's current food system, alternative food movements, and a case study of Crown Heights, I will investigate what structural inequalities, both politically and culturally, are in place that preclude access and acceptance of good food to low-income and minority people, and, further, examine the consequences of these disparities when they are forced together through the process of gentrification.

Uneven, racialized consumption within Crown Heights is indicative of a larger pattern of affluent whites typically consuming more high quality foods than disadvantaged groups. Though some have the privilege, eating good food unfortunately is not the norm in our country today. By 'good food' I do not mean well prepared or good tasting meals, I simply mean fresh, non-processed, whole foods. Apples, pears, lettuce, tomatoes; simple produce is not what most American consume on a daily basis. Most people get by the on heavily processed, corn syrup laden food products that crowd our supermarkets and corner stores. But why?

In attempting to answer this question I have only discovered that the problem is so systemic, so dependent on a multitude of structures, regulations, and patterns that comprise both the way our country is run and our national identity. While a large part of the problem is a lack of education, a lack of knowledge about cooking and fresh produce, that certainly is not the end of the issue. There are underlying structures in place that lead to the lack of knowledge. There is a reason why poverty and obesity go hand in hand. There is a reason why there are higher obesity rates among blacks and Hispanics than whites (CDC 2010). It is no coincidence that those of us with privilege tend to eat better than the underprivileged. It is not just about bad food being prevalent, or a lack of education about produce and cooking, there are imprisoning structures within our capitalist system that trap some members of society in a cycle of unhealthy eating.

But still, the cultural and social contributing factors to the lack of access and acceptance of good food cannot be ignored. We live in a country that does not value the production or consumption of good quality food. Some first learn about food from their parents or grandparents, but most, and disproportionately the resource-poor first learn from McDonalds and Coca-Cola and Frito Lay. Children rarely learn basic information about food or agriculture in schools, and even more rarely still learn about the immensely complex world of food politics. Bad food has become a culturally accepted reality while quality food in America is still considered a luxury item.

It is accepted that we all must eat, but eating well is something still relegated to the wealthy. The myth that only rich people care about what they eat, or that they are the only ones who should or have the privilege to care about what they eat, has been perpetuated endlessly. Tracie McMillan writes, “seeing good food as a luxury lifestyle

product has been so deeply embedded in our thinking about our meals that we barely notice it” (McMillan 2012, 2). Because good food is in a fact hard to come by for many disadvantaged groups, we accept its luxury status as fact rather than examining why this notion has come to be. We too often assume that those who eat McDonalds every day do so simply because that is what they like to eat. We too often assume that they do not care about the food they are eating, that they do not care about their health, that they do not want to eat higher quality foods. Processed foods are the easiest, cheapest, and most convenient option, but we do not assume often enough that many eat processed foods because they are the only realistic option.

While some struggle simply to obtain fresh food, produce has been sensationalized and transformed into an even more unattainably luxurious product. Through alternative food movements, organic, local, and sustainable produce has been elevated and absorbed into the realm of ‘white food’, proving to be a counterproductive narrative as it only furthers alienates people from accessing good food. To place my project within the existing literature, I will first explore ideas of white privilege and whitened consumption practices as discussed by previous authors (Pulido 2000, McGuinness 2000, Bonnett 1997, McIntosh 1998) and in relation to Crown Heights. Laura Pulido defines white privilege as “those practices and ideologies carried out by structures, institutions, and individuals that reproduce racial inequality and systematically undermine the well-being of racially subordinate populations” (Pulido 2000, 15). While not frequently acknowledged as racist, white privilege allows for the advancement of whites at the expense of non-whites. Pulido describes how white privilege aids in spatial inequalities such as environmental racism, but I argue that it is also expressed materially

through consumption patterns. Drawing from previous work (Slocum 2007, Guthman 2008), I will explore the idea of alternative food – organic, local, sustainable, etc – as ‘white food’, looking at how systems of privilege contribute to and perpetuate the whiteness of alternative food and the subsequent exclusion of non-whites.

Gentrification serves as a nexus for these political and social issues. Whereas these polarized food worlds usually remain separate, they are forced together when neighborhoods begin to change. With the coming together of different races, classes, and ages, comes the clash of socio-economic backgrounds, cultural ideals, and food privileges. As young, educated gentrifiers move in to gritty urban areas, there is often a cultural mismatch between their desire for good food and the bodegas and take-out restaurants in the neighborhoods that are cheap enough for them to afford. The new residents therefore flock to and create new consumption spaces to fit their needs, rallying around their chosen lifestyle. Gentrification can become a lens to not only observe how foodscapes are affected by the influx of whiteness, privilege, and upscale tastes, but also to study the impact on a diverse community of the injection of whitened food cultures.

Gentrification has been sweeping other Brooklyn neighborhoods for the past 50 years and now, “Franklin Avenue is the epicenter of a renaissance, the next subway stop on Brooklyn’s gentrification express” (Robbins 2012). The rising popularity of Franklin Avenue and Crown Heights over the past few years has unsettled the community, as the neighborhood is finally regaining a sense of normalcy and ease after a bloody race riot shook the community over twenty years ago.

On August 19, 1991 Yosef Lifsh was part of the motorcade for Rabbi Menachem Mendel Schneerson, the leader of the Chabad Lubavitch Hasidic sect. Attempting to

keep up with the group, Lifsh sped through a light and struck an oncoming car. Lifsh swerved onto the sidewalk, crashed into a wall, and struck and killed a seven-year-old black child named Gavin Cato. Lifsh was pulled out of the car and beaten even before the police could arrive on the scene. When a Hatzolah ambulance arrived the police instructed them to take Lifsh away first for his own safety. Many from the black community were outraged that Lifsh was taken away in a private ambulance while Cato was still trying to be pried out from under the car. Cato was picked up by the next ambulance just minutes later, but was pronounced dead shortly after he arrived at the hospital (McGowan 1993). A riot soon broke out between the two communities and at the end of three days, one man – an Orthodox Jew named Yankel Rosenbaum was killed, 152 police officers and 38 civilians were injured, 27 police vehicles were damaged, 6 stores were looted, and 129 people were arrested (Girgenti 1993, 139).

Attempts to heal and make amends began almost immediately after the riots ceased. The Crown Heights Coalition was founded by black, Jewish, and Caribbean community leaders to serve as a forum for neighborhood issues and as a space of acceptance. The Crown Height Mediation Center grew out of the coalition as a “neighborhood institution that works to improve community problem-solving, collaboration, and inter-group relations” (Crown Heights Community Mediation Center 2012). Now the influx of young whites into the still shaky neighborhood is creating what has been described as a “social cohesion gap” (Robbins 2012): not hostility, but not trust either. The community has however put forth a concerted effort to make peace between the various groups over the last 20 years, and many believe that neighborhood is moving forward, focusing on a rosy future instead of a bloody past. As Kevin Phillip, a local

business owner who has lived in the neighborhood all his life said, “I don’t think anybody really thinks about what happened here. It’s more what’s happening here” (Robbins 2012). Crown Heights is a neighborhood that has worked hard to improve community structure and is very aware of its importance, but is determined to not be defined by past conflicts.

To understand what is really happening in Crown Heights I draw from census data, commercial records, and crime statistics to provide an overview of the past and current status of the neighborhood. I will supplement this data with information from newspapers, neighborhood centers, community blogs, and online forums. By gathering data from a variety of sources I hope to construct the most accurate picture possible of the status of the neighborhood.

While my intention will be to produce a truthful and non-biased representation of Crown Heights, I must acknowledge my status as an outsider and potential contributor to the systems about which I am writing. I lived in Crown Heights for one summer and know the neighborhood fairly well, but I do not claim to be an authority or a member of the community. I also want to recognize my status as a young, white, relatively privileged, educated woman: an archetypical gentrifier. I admit to enjoy shopping at Bob and Betty’s, buying organic food, and eating at trendy restaurants. This ability to participate in the processes with which I see many faults and negative repercussions is an unsettling disconnect I see within myself and others of my generation, and therefore is a large motivator of this project.

In my next chapter, I will more fully examine this idea of good food as a luxury in order to understand why some groups have more access to quality food than others. I will

begin with conventional, industrialized agriculture, looking at what systems and structures are in place that contribute to the ease and accessibility of junk food, and why fresh produce remains out of reach. I will also investigate the social and cultural ideas that perpetuate the notion of food as luxury, questioning why we sensationalize the simplest of foods, organic foods, and how that notion perpetuates the ideology that quality food is only for the rich.

I will follow the hierarchy of luxurious food in chapter two to examine the ways that organic and local foods have been turned into ‘white food’. Using literature on whiteness, privilege, and alternative food movements I will unpack the ways in which good food and the discourses surrounding it have been thoroughly claimed by whites. I also seek to show how these good food movements are often read as exclusionary by non-whites, effectively denying minority participation and voices within the movement.

In chapter three I will explore gentrification as a process that brings together and propels political, social, and food related issues. I will provide a background of gentrification’s history in Brooklyn and its current manifestation in Crown Heights. I will then overview demographic, economic, and other social changes occurring in the neighborhood to set the stage for a more in depth study of the relationship between food and gentrification.

Chapter four will provide an ‘on the ground’ picture of food in Crown Heights. I will chart and map the current food options on both a gentrified and non-gentrified street to more fully understand the spatial development of ‘good food’ establishments, the neighborhood’s access to fresh food, and the relationship between access, race, and class.

I will conclude with a further analysis of my case study in conjunction with my theoretical discussion of racialized consumption. By tracing the structural and societal inequalities within the food system through a study of gentrification, I hope to produce insights into the ways in which good food can become normalized and more accessible across the board.

ONE

Good Food's Path to Luxury

The basic fact is that food is no longer seen as a source of nourishment, but as a source of profit. It is treated by the federal government and large agribusiness conglomerates as any other commodity and is exploited for capital gain. The transition from food as fuel to food as currency is what has led to our system of Big Business agriculture that dominates the food market today. This project is not the time or place to go into the immense amount of data relating to the rise of industrialized agriculture, however I will briefly touch on major points, as it has no doubt led to the over-prevalence of processed foods, the sad state of quality food, and the perpetuation of the idea that good food must be a luxury.

Large scale, industrialized farming is the norm and the dominant force in the market place today. The nostalgic image of the family farm we know and love is no longer the reality in the United States. In 1935, over half of the nation's population lived on 6.8 million farms, compared to one percent now living on less than one million farms today. Not only have the number of farms and farmers decreased, the number making significant contributions to the market has severely dwindled as well. While they only comprise 12% of the total number of farms in this country, industrial farms make up 88% of the value of farm production (Hauter 2012, 13). The intensification of agriculture into the hands of a few enormous corporations has proved to be the cheapest, most efficient way to turn a profit.

A large factor in the ease of industrial production is government issued subsidies. These subsidies can take many forms, such as direct payments, loans, risk management

insurance, or disaster aid. The US government gives out \$10-\$30 billion – dependant on market value for crops and other factors – in cash subsidies to farmers each year. 75% of these incentives go to the top 10% of farms, and over 90% of subsidies go to farmers of wheat, corn, soybeans, rice, and cotton – all commodity crops (Environmental Working Group 2012).

Although it seems that efficient production of an abundance of food must lead to more produce in the grocery stores, these industrial farms are typically mono-crop operations, producing cheap grains that are used to create corn syrup, snack foods, or cattle feed. By making it so cheap and economically safe to industrially produce these five commodity crops, we are making it cheap and easy to saturate the market with processed foods and factory-farmed meats. The corn, for example, that is receiving subsidies is not the type we like to eat on the cob at picnics. About 40% of the US corn crop is federally mandated to be used for ethanol, 40% is used as animal feed, and the remaining 20% goes towards corn syrup, corn flakes, and other processed food items (Piller and Weise 2012). Soybeans are mainly used to produce soybean oil or meal for livestock. 22% of wheat grown in the US again goes towards animal feed while 70% is used in food products (U.S. EPA 2012).

While the United States Department of Agriculture advises us to fill half of our plate with fruits and vegetables at every meal (USDA 2011), they do not back up this recommendation with their policy. Farm bills typically only subsidized commodity crops and do not provide direct support to ‘specialty crops’, which includes fruits and vegetables. One estimate even surmises that if every American were to follow USDA

guidelines, “an additional 13 million acres of fruit and vegetable crops would have to be planted each year to provide the food” (Allen 2012).

At the very base level of food production, we place the incentive on efficient commodity production to garner the largest profit, instead of the production of real food products to feed real human beings. The products that do go towards sustaining humans are primarily in the form of genetically modified grains and starches that will become the corn syrup in your Pepsi, or the mush that makes your Doritos, or the animal feed that will eventually become your Big Mac. The small amount of good food that actually gets to the market place then encounters societal inequalities that make quality food scarce, expensive, and inaccessible.

Policy and subsidies tell part of the story but cannot fully explain why more people are not buying good food. Individual consumption patterns vary of course but when pressed, most people buy food based on cost and convenience, and for most, junk is the easiest, cheapest option. And unfortunately, low-income neighborhoods tend to have the least amount of access to fresh foods. There is an abundance of food in this country but that does not mean that it is evenly distributed. The poorest areas of cities consistently have fewer grocery stores and retailers selling fresh produce than richer areas. For example, in affluent SoHo, there are seventeen square feet of supermarket space per resident. While in Washington Heights, where incomes are a third of those in Soho, each resident has only half of a square foot of supermarket space (McMillan 2012b, 6).

While supermarkets are the guide by which food deserts – or areas with little to no access to fresh foods - are determined, they are not as ubiquitous in a cramped city

like New York as are corner stores and bodegas. For this reason we must also consider non-typical shopping venues when thinking about access to fresh food. However, convenience stores are typically not a viable option for fresh produce, usually selling only calorie-dense, nutrient-poor foods such as potato chips, candy, and beer. It varies from store to store but national trends indicate that very few convenience stores are selling good food. Only 5% of shops in Atlanta, GA sell vegetables while no small markets in Baltimore supply fresh produce (Jetter and Cassady 2010). McMillan points out that when urban centers began to decay due to lack of industry and white flight, many supermarkets chose to set up shop in suburbia where the lots were bigger and the incomes were higher. Without the big buying power of a supermarket, wholesalers and distributors had little incentive to bring produce to inner city, low-income neighborhoods, making it nearly impossible for corner stores to sell produce even if they wanted to (McMillan 2012b, 6).

If it is not convenience and access to good food that is the deterrent, it may be cost. Though most of us can appreciate the beauty of \$9/lb heirloom tomatoes at the farmers' market, most of us cannot afford to buy them regularly. It is not that the people eating junk food do so because they do not care about their health or do not know how to cook, they often do so because it is what they can afford. Of 1,500 low-income families surveyed, 85% reported that healthy eating was important to them. But of that 85%, 60% said they frequently failed to eat healthfully because of a lack of funds to do so (McMillan 2012a). A study by the American Dietetic Association found that a low-income family would have to dedicate 43-70% of its budget to meet the USDA dietary

guideline of 5-9 servings of fruits and vegetable a day (Williams 2007), making healthy eating into an unfortunately unrealistic goal.

Calorie for calorie, processed foods are much cheaper and their price is less likely to be influenced by inflation. In fact, researchers in Seattle studying the most commonly bought 372 foods in major supermarket chains found that higher-calorie, energy-dense foods like candy and snack foods cost an average of \$1.76 per 1,000 calories, while low-calorie but nutrient-dense foods like fruits and vegetables cost an average of \$18.16 per 1,000 calories (Monsivais and Drewnowski 2007). While this is only taking calories into concern, and not accounting for the fullness you might feel after 1,000 calories of junk versus 1,000 of produce, it still accurately portrays that the cheapest road to sustaining yourself is through processed foods. The study's leader, Dr. Drewnowski, notes that with empty calories being so cheap, and the cost of produce going up, "vegetables and fruits are rapidly becoming luxury goods" (Parker-Pope 2007).

This brings us back to the idea of good food as luxury - the idea that sustaining oneself calorically is assumed, but that vitamins, nutrients, and minerals are an indulgence. While this is the case economically and politically, it has also leaked into our cultural thinking about good food. We are a culture confused about food. As the mixing pot that we are, it is hard to pin down some sort of national cuisine outside of McDonalds and Applebee's. We do not seem to value food, but we simultaneously raise it to god-like heights with the proliferation of celebrity chefs and television channels dedicated to watching other people cook. We have an obesity 'epidemic', but we also fetishize the local, organic, small-family-farm produce. So what are the implications of elevating good food to luxury status under these conditions? How does this, along with

the political and economic concerns, affect access and acceptance of good food across the board?

While I would not argue that all of our nation's problems with food stem from culturally held ideas and attitudes, I also do not think that we can ignore their influence. It cannot all be boiled down to political ecology. As Wenonah Hauter has said, "Something is fundamentally amiss in a society that does not value or cherish authentic food that is grown full time on appropriate-size family farms" (Hauter 2012, 5). There is something within our society that causes our food culture to be so polarized, for food quality to be both so ignored and so celebrated, for the most simple of foods – produce – to be luxury items. I believe this stems from a history of ambivalence towards food and a desperate attempt to reclaim some sort of authenticity within our food system.

I approach this conundrum primarily with one question in mind: why is good food trendy? In recent years there have been hundreds of new 'Farm to Table' style restaurants, more organic grocery stores, and more interest generally in local, seasonal eating. What strikes me is that this idea is really nothing new, and really nothing that special. For some reason today, it is entirely hip to try to eat the way our great grandmothers did. Eating in season, eating what you could grow, eating food grown without chemicals is the way that humans had been eating for centuries, maybe millennia. So now that we have the technology to do otherwise, we want to go back to how things used to be in the good old days. While 50 years ago there may have been nothing special about a carrot covered in dirt or a tomato on the vine, these are not sights we are familiar with anymore. Many children have likely never seen a vegetable growing or even know that a carrot ripens underground. The technological discoveries that will now 'feed the

world' have taken the world away from its food, making what was once mundane and ordinary into something exotic and exciting.

So while this may stem from one generation raised on Wonder Bread and Kool Aid raising the next generation on Hamburger Helper and Capri Sun, the modern fascination with simple, natural foods must come from a more deep seated longing for some sort of authentic food. There certainly are pockets of food traditions - think gumbo in Louisiana, lobster rolls in Maine, or fried chicken in the South – but it is increasingly difficult to pin down a national food culture. This is certainly a result of our immigrant background and expansive size, and is not necessarily a problem with the prevalence of regional food cultures, however, for most of us it leads to a sense of rootlessness and a desire to cling to something we believe to be authentic and essentially American.

It is a mix of backlash against the Wonder Bread, mixed with a nostalgia for the America that was, even if it something that we never truly knew or never really existed. Take for example the prevalence of bucolic images of red barns nestled among rolling green hills on packaging for cheese, yogurt, or milk. Or the images of cows happily grazing on the walls of the Whole Foods. We are drawn to these images in part because we would like to believe this is how our food is really produced, but also because they represent a sort of pure, natural, simple way of eating that we find appealing amidst an industrial foodscape.

Local-foods restaurants and markets take pains to distinguish themselves from conventional food systems. It would never go unnoted that the salad greens are organic, that the beef is local, that the bread is handmade. All that once was normal is now put on a pedestal because it is in fact abnormal in our culture to eat sustainably and make things

from scratch. If I were to open a bakery in which I milled my own flour and baked every loaf from scratch, these qualities would be sensationalized in the US as ‘artisan’, whereas they may not even be given another thought in parts of Italy or France where daily bread baking is a part of the culture.

On one hand, this food movement is beneficial. The increased attention on local and sustainable eating - which promotes personal, environmental, and local economic health - has given advocates a new platform for their message. There is now an organic garden on the White House lawn and more and more farmers’ markets are accepting food stamps. Bringing attention to the importance of eating healthfully is positive, however the sensationalization of good food is not if it means that such food becomes cast as an elitist niche. It seems almost irresponsible to have such a booming ‘foodie’ culture when two thirds of the country is obese and 15% are food insecure (Coleman-Jensen et al. 2012). The foodie culture is even more problematic as it is often only a term adopted among affluent white communities. ‘Good food’ in many circles has become ‘white food’, embodying privilege and status and creating even more divisions and polarities within the food system.

TWO

Whiteness and Power in the Food Movement

Addressing whiteness, privilege, and institutionalized racism within the food system and the burgeoning food movement is imperative for understanding the full scope of the issue. As much as we want to believe that we can all just ‘vote with our forks’, doing so is assuming that we are all on an equal playing field, and that all of our votes would hold the same weight. Unfortunately that is just not true. Due to the systemic factors that keep minorities and low-income people eating processed foods and the privilege that allows affluent whites to eat well, farmers’ markets, organic grocery stores, food co-ops, and other spaces of good food consumption have become spaces for white consumption.

This type of food – organic, local, sustainable – is practically on another level of luxury. By being branded as something special (the term ‘organic’ did not exist 50 years ago and would likely seem silly to older generations of farmers when ‘organic farming’ was just ‘farming’), organic food is separated from conventional food as something better for you, better for the farmer, and better for the environment. Organics also tend to be more expensive, as the increased risk in harvest and the high costs the farm takes on to obtain USDA Organic status is often reflected in market price. ‘Local’ and other markers like ‘all-natural’, ‘sustainable’, or ‘free-range’ take on similar mythic qualities, appealing to a customer that is interested in more than just sustenance, and even more than nutrients and minerals. The consumers of these products are seeking the pinnacle of health, social justice, and taste, but unfortunately these foods remain a relatively unattainable luxury to all but the affluent and privileged.

It is important to note that most spaces of white food consumption, such as farmers' markets or Community Supported Agriculture programs, attempt to operate outside of the realm of conventional food and are frequently proposed as solutions to combat issues of access and affordability in urban areas that lack consistent access to fresh produce. However, simply placing a farmer's market in a poor neighborhood does not mean that the residents will now magically stop buying junk food and start buying organic Swiss chard. Even if shoppers wish to turn to these alternatives, the current model is one that is not entirely welcoming or accessible.

Not only are these spaces most frequented by whites, but they have also been coded as white in such a way that excludes and alienates minorities. The USDA has conducted the only comprehensive study to determine racial and ethnic patterns of farmers' markets patrons, finding that they were 74% white, 4% African American, 5% Asian, and 6% Hispanic. Smaller, localized studies have produced similar results, finding that the market shoppers were disproportionately white to their surrounding neighborhood. Scholars such as Julie Guthman have observed that even farmers' markets in predominately African American communities, which tend to be smaller and fewer in number, are mostly frequented by whites (Guthman 2008b).

This cycle perpetuates itself, as the majority of markets are located in affluent, white neighborhoods where the demand is highest and farmers know they will make the most money. One farmers' market manager notes, "Farmers' markets are good for everyone, but many of them are being located in 'high-end' areas. The farmers may make more money there, and the higher income communities are 'entertained' by outdoor markets" (Guthman 2008b, 392). This comment illuminates how markets are more often

playgrounds for the wealthy rather than sources of sustenance, providing entertainment rather than a viable food option. While it makes economic sense for farmers to sell their crops in areas where the clientele is wealthier and seeks out the market atmosphere, it must be asked why there is only demand in ‘high-end’ communities.

When farmers and market managers at a California farmers’ market were asked such questions about the racial composition of shoppers and the distinct lack of minority shoppers, many chalked it up to personal preferences, values, and principles. Many believed whites simply had “better education,” “more concern about food quality,” were “more health conscious,” or had “more time” than their low-income or minority counterparts. Some portrayed whites as more invested in social justice and another suggested, “Hispanics aren't into fresh, local, and organic products” (Guthman 2008b, 393). The overarching theme is that whites simply care more about good food and poor minorities lack the education and interest to participate in alternative food systems. But this cannot possibly be true. By ignoring underling structures we are allowing both overt and systemic racism to persist. It is not that only one sect of people care about the food they eat, but that farmers’ markets and the alternative food movement have been influenced and shaped by whiteness and privilege.

‘Whiteness’ refers to more than simply pale bodies; it is an embodied, unearned privilege that often goes unnoticed and unacknowledged. Whiteness is taken as the norm, the default, as the lack of color, the lack of difference. George Lipsitz notes, “as the unmarked category against which difference is constructed, whiteness never has to speak its name, never has to acknowledge its role as an organizing principle in social and cultural relations” (1995, qtd by Pulido 2000, 13). The responses of farmers and

managers support this notion by not recognizing the prevalence of whiteness within spaces of alternative food consumption. By pretending that these spaces are neutral or non-racialized, we are effectively denying the existence of structures and systems that perpetuate privilege and continue to exclude minorities from participating in alternative food.

The pervasiveness of white bodies coupled with the often unacknowledged presence of whiteness and white privilege has led spaces of alternative food consumption to become white spaces, and the good food movement itself to become dominated by white voices and white values. The lack of non-white voices and the subsequent erasing of different points of view can further perpetuate systems of inequality and lead to exclusion and disconnect. For example, Rachel Slocum observed the extreme whiteness of expensive food co-ops in Minneapolis, noting how every cashier or bag clerk in the co-op was a person of color, while the majority of shoppers were white. While this may not be the case for all food co-ops, as some are actually much cheaper than supermarkets, many carry an air of exclusivity for non-middle class whites. Although the Minneapolis co-op most likely did not have the malicious intention of only catering to whites, white privilege and its manifestation in alternative food practices have made this a reality (Slocum 2007).

Guthman provides another example of disconnect, describing African American children on a trip to a farm to pick fruit. Many students expressed anger at the expectation that they would work for free, and for white farmers (Guthman 2008a). Good food and fresh produce is typically conceptualized and marketed in a way that ignores the deeply connected history of agriculture and racism in this country. This

children's reactions show a modern distrust of whites that stems from a long history of abuse and prejudice. Even the rhetoric surrounding sustainable eating is centered on a whitened, nostalgic image of an agrarian past. Common phrases such as 'get your hands dirty' is not entirely sensitive to those who either already have to perform manual labor to make a living or whose ancestors were the ones exploited in the development of agriculture in this country. When fresh produce is simplistically marketed through such rhetoric or through bucolic farmhouse images, we are grossly ignoring that historically it was whites who owned these farms and blacks who had no other choice but to get their hands dirty.

The mainstream image of the food movement and organic farming is dominated by white faces as well, with the history of black subsistence farming going largely unnoted. While the food movement tends to profile the recent influx of young, educated, white farmers (see Charles 2011, Hickman 2009, Hogue 2012), there are long traditions of African American small-scale, organic farming in the South that do not receive the same buzz in the media. bell hooks has written extensively on "black folks who have been committed both in the past and in the present to local food production, to growing organic and to finding solace in nature" (hooks 3). She goes on to assert that the culture shock of urban life and the subsequent detachment from a collective history of farming, as 90% of blacks lived in the agrarian South in the early 1900s before mass migration to northern cities, has led to strife and a loss of self. She emphasizes that "collective black self-recovery" will only take place when "we begin to renew our relationship to the earth, when we remember the way of our ancestors" (hooks 40). While hooks does not acknowledge the myriad of other factors that have contributed to this disconnect from

nature and forgetting of agrarian traditions, she provides an essential counterpoint to the dominant narrative in modern ecological and food movements. She reminds both blacks and whites that growing quality food is in no way instinctually white and combating that notion may be a key tool in navigating modern, urban life.

Investigating and considering this disconnect within the African American community is an essential component to understanding the present whiteness of the food movement, however it has been largely unexplored. In a segment examining the lack of diversity within the environmental movement, Michel Martin of National Public Radio tries to unravel the situation, saying,

It's interesting that African-Americans are seen as disconnected from the environment because historically, African-Americans have been so connected to the land. It used to be very common to have, you know, this patch, no matter where you lived, to have a patch of something growing... Why did growing ones' own food become - why did black folks get disconnected from the land in the way that they have, which is a relatively recent phenomenon? (Martin 2009)

The reporter she interviews, Dayo Olopade from the online magazine *theRoot.com*, has few answers or solutions. She partially attributes this social and historical disconnect to federal policies “that have kept good, nutritious food out of communities of color” (Martin 2009), but is ultimately unable to determine any real root to such a complex issue. Olopade does however highlight the importance of black role models participating in agriculture, the most visible example being Michelle Obama and her organic garden on the White House lawn. While it is a simplification, it is ironic that the Obamas represent both the problem, Barack’s public policy, and the solution, Michelle’s garden. But this familial disconnect is oddly metaphoric for the current state of food access for minorities. On one hand there is a concerted effort to change the culture and embrace healthy eating,

but simultaneously there are overarching policies and societal conditions that limit the effectiveness of such efforts.

While hooks and Olopade both exemplify efforts from within the African American community to diversify the food movement and reclaim a connection to an agrarian past, most of the food movement is still dominated by whites trying to supply good food to their own community and, as Guthman puts it, trying to ‘bring good food to others’. It becomes a very difficult issue. The food movement likely does not want to be entirely comprised of whites, but direct attempts at reaching out to minorities, while good intentioned, tend to come off as missionary-like and intrusive. For example when an African American woman was asked why she was not participating in a program that supplied affordable produce to her food insecure neighborhood, she answered, “Because they don't sell no food! All they got is birdseed.... Who are they to tell me how to eat? I don't want that stuff. It's not food. I need to be able to feed my family” (Tattenham 2006). Clearly just trying to attract minorities for the sake of diversity is not a valid solution. Even this idea is problematic. If the goal is diversity in the movement, then we are already coming from a standpoint of assumed whiteness. While this is the current reality, remaining within that line of thinking is not going to suddenly bring about change within the food system.

While these issues are at play everywhere, they come to a head in a particularly dynamic way in diverse urban neighborhoods, and especially those experiencing gentrification. During these periods of change, neighborhoods see the direct collision of older generations with new generations, poor with affluent, and minority with white. These sorts of collision can bring social issues to the forefront, accelerate them, make

them confront each other in a way that does not typically happen in other communities. In terms of food politics, a neighborhood in flux is suddenly confronted with these issues of access, accessibility, and differing consumption preferences all at once, and particularly in Crown Heights, the injection of white food culture into places that probably did not have such a culture before. In this way, gentrification creates a strange dynamic when suddenly an organic grocery store like Bob & Betty's exists across the street from a run down bodega or down the block from a West Indian grocery.

To take this project out of the abstract, I will now turn to a case study of Crown Heights, a rapidly changing neighborhood in Brooklyn, New York. Crown Heights is becoming more and more popular by the day; attracting young white college graduates for its still relatively low prices and burgeoning cultural scene. While new residents are moving in every day, slowly changing the fabric of the neighborhood, it is still a primarily working class and African American community. As I have argued that food is central to so many systems within our lives, I would also argue that it is at the heart of this process of neighborhood change.

While it's nearly impossible to determine causation, I have yet to see gentrification without an influx of coffee shops, upscale restaurants, and organic markets. Food, in these up-and-coming areas is certainly branded as luxury, or at least something special and unique. It seems that this process, with the influx of youth and wealth, has the potential to bring more good food options into a neighborhood that may have previously had few options, however the types of establishments taking root in freshly gentrified soil more often than not cater to the tastes of new residents. In the following chapters I will investigate the relationship between gentrification and access and

acceptance of good food within Crown Heights, seeking to find if the changing foodscape has worked to unite the community or if it has perpetuated the idea of good food as a luxury only afforded to the 'gentry'.

THREE

Gentrification in Brooklyn and Crown Heights

My very first encounter with Crown Heights was unpleasant to say the least. I was living with a group of freshly graduated Vassar students and we were considering moving from the safe, quiet Greenpoint, Brooklyn, to the relatively unknown to us, potentially dangerous Crown Heights, Brooklyn. Our initial research told us that the neighborhood was predominately African American with a crime rate on par with the rest of the borough. Feeling uneasy at the potential of being outsiders in the community, we decided to drive through Crown Heights one night to get a feel for the neighborhood. What seemed like the moment we crossed the line into Crown Heights, we noticed cop cars sitting at virtually every corner. Soon after, we were pulled over by one of those cop cars for turning right on a red light. Two white policemen let us off with a warning, but not before also cautioning us to “be careful in this neighborhood”.

Despite our unease and the police’s warning, we moved into an apartment on Rogers Avenue and Sterling Place. But still, the heavy police presence and that first bit of advice we received about the neighborhood remained in my mind. It was in contrast with what we were told by other young Brooklynites. While most reviews were positive, the common theme was that Crown Heights is changing. People would say that it was getting ‘nicer’ week by week, that in six months it will be unrecognizable. Crown Heights is a neighborhood on the rise, it is up and coming.

While I can attest to the dynamic feel of the neighborhood from simply one month of residence, I will explore what exactly it means to be ‘up and coming’, tracing the legacy of gentrification in Brooklyn and its beginnings in Crown Heights. I will begin

this chapter with an overview of gentrification both theoretically and through its particular history in Brooklyn. With this background information in mind, I hope to firmly ground the change that is happening in Crown Heights within this broader cultural context.

There are countless theories and explanations about what drives, contributes to, and perpetuates ‘gentrification’ - a word that more often than not is used as a stand in for an entirely complex, multi-faceted process that remains virtually impossible to define. While the term, originally coined by Ruth Glass in 1964 in London, indeed referred to an established aristocracy returning to inner cities, the type of gentrification we most commonly refer to is not done by the ‘gentry’. In fact newcomers are often attracted to changing neighborhoods “because house prices are moderate compared to other alternatives, and their own economic resources are limited” (London and Palen 1984, 7). Although it may be said that Americans have appropriated the term from its original meaning, gentrification is still far too vague and too often misunderstood a term to use to describe the situation in Crown Heights. For this reason, the purpose of this project is not to explain gentrification or relay the theoretical works that have been done on the topic, but to explain the processes at work within Crown Heights that many may call gentrification.

Despite my skepticism of the term, I will still use gentrification loosely within this project for ease of explanation. While it takes on many forms and trajectories, I will use it here to mean the general process of people of power and privilege (note that these people do not necessarily need to be wealthy in their own right, but often have access to wealth and status through family, friends, and other connections) moving into previously

poor, undesirable urban areas. This word typically represents the residential shift from working class to professional class, from minority to white, and from ‘unrefined’ to ‘cosmopolitan’ tastes.

Gentrification is responsible for the modern image of Brooklyn: tree-lined streets and the ubiquitous elegant brownstones. Though the majority of these 19th century Victorian style row houses have been renovated into luxury living, there was a time when these homes lay abandoned and dilapidated, serving as a relic of more prosperous times. In the 1960s, Brooklyn, like many other U.S. cities, experienced a decline in the industrial sectors and a subsequent flight out of downtown and into the suburbs. The changing racial composition and dwindling work opportunities also spurred many middle-class whites’ to flee to Staten Island, Long Island, and New Jersey. African Americans, Puerto Ricans, and other minorities began to move into these previously white spaces, but found themselves amid decaying homes and abandoned neighborhoods (Osman 2011).

In places such as Gowanus, a neighborhood in northwestern Brooklyn, city planners hoped to revitalize the community by tearing down brownstones to make room for more modern apartment buildings and parks. However in November 1966, construction workers sent to tear down an abandoned home were met by thirty protestors from the Boerum Hill Association. Mothers blocked the entrance with their baby carriages while others marched with signs reading “Don’t Destroy Our Neighborhood” or “People Need Homes – Not Parking Lots”. These protestors were somewhat atypical for the diverse working class region of Brooklyn. The young, white-collar professionals, led by a Columbia educated lawyer, called themselves ‘The Brownstoners’.

Brownstoners first appeared in the 1940s in Brooklyn Heights. White-collar artists, lawyers, bankers, and others flocked from Manhattan to North Brooklyn, renovating old brownstones and tenement houses. The trend continued and ‘Brownstone Fever’ was proclaimed in 1969. Brownstoners spilled out of Brooklyn Heights and began to spread to the nearby communities of Cobble Hill, Boerum Hill, and Carol Garden

(Figure 3). The residents claimed these spaces for their own, giving them new meanings and new names as they renovated. Cobble Hill, Boerum Hill, and Carol Gardens all received distinct names in the 1950s, previously the entire area was just called ‘South Brooklyn’.

The Brownstoners’ choice to live in Brooklyn was about more than just

cheap rent and renovation, it

was a “cultural revolt against sameness, conformity, and bureaucracy” (Osman 2011, 5).

Against the mass-produced feel of Manhattan and the boring sameness of the surrounding suburbs, Brooklyn Heights and Park Slope seemed authentic and dynamic. The



Figure 3: A 1980s map of ‘Brownstone Brooklyn’ (Osman 2011, 7)

Brownstoners desired the community they perceived existed when their homes were built and centered their lifestyles around a desire for a tight-knit community, face to face interactions, and a glorification of the old and historic. Their grand, hundred year old homes were the physical manifestation of the simpler time they longed for.

Although the original Brownstoners were likely just idealistic and not ill intentioned, they were soon vilified in *The Displacement Report*, a pamphlet produced and distributed around the neighborhood in 1980 by Acción Latina, a group that advocates for social justices and cultural pride within the Latino community, and The Tenants Action Committee. The groups claimed that the Brownstoners' revitalization was "resulting in "the displacement of low-income renters" and "the eviction and harassment of longtime residents of color" (Osman 2011, 6). Though some had noticed this trend already, the pamphlet questioned whether these new residents, in the process of creating quaint, livable, authentic communities, had truly just turned neighborhoods into overly planned and sanitized "middle class ghettos" (Osman 2011, 5). By stripping away the past, both by renovating their homes and displacing the earlier residents, Brownstoners in fact turned a diverse neighborhood into a suburb, all while striving to 'revolt against sameness'.

This is a familiar story to any New Yorker, and really any urban dweller. Gentrification does not seem to be a process that is stopping any time soon, but that does not mean its consequences must be accepted as inevitable. Neighborhoods do not necessarily need to become middle class ghettos and exclusionary practices do not need to be the norm. With this brief history of Brooklyn gentrification in mind, I will now turn

to the case of Crown Heights, a neighborhood where residents claim they do not want to see it become ‘another Park Slope’ (Rotondaro and Ewing 2013).

While Crown Heights has a sullied history of drugs, violence, and riots, the community is changing rapidly. This can be seen most visibly in its demographics. As I have mentioned, the non-Hispanic white population in Crown Heights has been rising rapidly in the past decade. While the neighborhood is still predominately African American (including those of African descent, i.e. Caribbean and West Indian), the number of white residents has increased by 186 percent since 2000 (Figure 4). With the increase in the white population the community has also seen a decrease in the black population. In 2010, the black population was 76,358, down 11.7 percent or 10,107 since 2000. The Black population is now 74 percent, as opposed to 83.6 percent in 2000. The number of young people is growing as well, since 2000 the 20-24 years group has increased by 13.3% and the 25-29 years group by 23.6%.

	2000	2010	Percent change
White population	3,581	10,237	185.9
Black population	86,465	76,358	-11.7
20-24	7,805	8,844	13.3
25-29	7,913	9,779	23.6

**Figure 4: Demographic change in Crown Heights
(The City of New York 2013)**

While the neighborhood is getting whiter, economic data indicates that it is not quite at Brownstoner level yet. The median household income as of 2009 was \$31,398, as compared to an average of \$40,478 for Brooklyn as a whole (City Data 2011). The poverty rate is also higher than the New York City average, with 20.9-41.7% living below the poverty line (ICPH USA 2010). These numbers indicate that while the

demographics are changing, the neighborhood is still relatively low-income and high-minority. While the newcomers are young and white, they are not bringing in a large amount of material wealth into the neighborhood at this point. But still as interest in the neighborhood increases, so do the rents. In 2011, real estate agencies report the average rent for a one-bedroom apartment increased by 36% compared to the year before, with single-family townhouses selling for over \$1 million, a price that would have been unheard of a decade ago. Crime rates too have significantly dropped in the past decade, likely due in part to the increased police presence that is so palpably felt. (Robbins 2012).

While new residents only began flowing into the neighborhood in the past ten years, the ‘revitalization’ was originally spurred in the 1980s by a group of African American women who were long time Crown Heights residents. Evangeline Porter, a resident since 1968, witnessed the decline of Franklin Avenue from “the most elegant street in Brooklyn” to “a hot, ugly, dirty, drug-infested street” in the 1970s and 80s (Wall 2011). Wanting to reclaim the street and the neighborhood, Porter and a few friends created a block association that later became the Crow Hill Community Association. Since 1999 the group has been working to improve the area surrounding Franklin Avenue through such measures as removing graffiti, planting trees, installing security gates for Franklin businesses, and lobbying for increased police presence. The work of these original community members twenty years ago is what has allowed Franklin Avenue to return to a safe place worth visiting. But this change has no doubt contributed to the attractiveness of the neighborhood to newcomers.

Many residents see the new population as taking advantage of the work of the previous residents. Older residents were the ones who cleaned up Franklin Avenue and

now ungrateful newcomers are reaping the benefits. For example Fisher of Bob & Betty's stated, "I look at all these newcomers and these new businesses on Franklin Avenue and I think they are jumping on a bandwagon. Where were they 25 years ago?" (Robbins 2012).

While there is unease about new residents exploiting the economic opportunities the older residents may have made possible for them, there is also tension surrounding the rebuilding of a sense of community and the repair of race relations. Following the riot the community made strides to come together again in a cohesive unit. Assemblyman Hakeem Jeffries, who grew up in Crown Heights, reminds that "the collective efforts of the black and Jewish neighbors are what made Crown Heights the destination and the attractive neighborhood it is today" (Robbins 2012). This effort very likely contributed to the recent popularity of the neighborhood, however the idea that new residents have only taken advantage of the neighborhood's splendors is contested.

Further complicating the traditional gentrification narrative, Evangeline Porter is pleased with the impact new residents have had on Crown Heights. She praises the young whites for attending community meetings and offering help and support, and condemns the black merchants for being complacent in regards to rebuilding Franklin Avenue. Porter is even happy to facilitate the process of neighborhood change. She recalls a recent conversation with a landlord: "He said to me, 'You're letting these people come in and take over.' I told him, 'I am.'" (Robbins 2012). Though the original residents may have put revitalization in motion, Porter sees the young people allowing it to continue.

While it is nearly impossible to gain a consensus, and public opinion is always in flux, it is important to note that Porter's opinion is not an outlying case. While it might be more extreme and less critical than most, she is not alone in seeing the benefits of a changing neighborhood. Her sentiment is not surprisingly echoed by real estate agents and small business owners looking to make a profit, but also, as I will investigate in the following chapter, by some residents who are happy to have safer streets and nicer grocery stores. Though we cannot draw definitive conclusions from such few examples, they serve as a reminder of the multitude of opinions that are present in the community and the complexity of the situation at hand.

FOUR

The Role of Food and Consumption

Gentrification is no new concept in the United States but little work has been done on the connection it has to food. With all the talk of obesity, diabetes, and hunger within disadvantaged groups, we have barely looked at the ways in which these disadvantaged communities interact with those communities who are eating well. In Brooklyn there is hardly a neighborhood that has not experienced some sort of gentrification and development. Williamsburg used to be a post-industrial wasteland only a few decades ago, and now it is one of the most desirable, most expensive locations in Brooklyn. Red Hook used to be known for its low-income housing developments and now it is home to the borough's only IKEA. Even Bushwick, which was once known for rats and high crime rates, was recently featured in the New York Times as an up-and-coming neighborhood (Higgins 2013).

The clash of gentrifiers and longtime residents is particularly jarring in Brooklyn, as it has become the epicenter of the 'artisan food' movement. If food could even be taken to a new level of luxury it has been done in Brooklyn, both through upscale produce markets and upscale dining. Sophisticated tastes for good food are not a new phenomenon, but over the past few years Brooklyn has been riding the wave of its own specific, artisan-oriented food movement. The borough has seen an influx of bars, restaurants, and markets that have been crafted to fit a particularly "Brooklyn" ideology and aesthetic.

Brooklyn has become a hub for creative, culinary-minded individuals, serving as a home base for small batch, handmade goods: pickles, beer, chocolate, cheese, mustard,

the list goes on and on. Gabrielle Langholtz, the editor of *Edible Brooklyn* – a magazine that covers the borough’s food scene, claims this trend has developed in the past ten years. She sums up this new culture by saying, “Every person you pass has read Michael Pollan, every person has thought about joining a raw milk club, and if they haven’t made ricotta, they want to” (Schwaner-Albright 2009). The trend is towards wholesome, natural, and anti-corporate with a strong sense of nostalgia and longing for a time when food was simple and good. There is communal appreciation for top quality ingredients as well as for traditional methods and modes of production. Aesthetics are also very important; Brooklyn artisans share a look “that’s equal parts 19th and 21st century, with a taste for bold graphics, salvaged wood and, for the men, scruffy beards” (Schwaner-Albright 2009). This food culture has fostered the birth of a new Brooklyn identity, one in which food choices are a direct statement about the self.

New York Magazine supplies a satirical, yet accurate portrayal of an artisanal food devotee’s relationship to a particular brand of Brooklyn-based granola:

The organic rolled oats and organic pumpkin seeds and organic coconut and organic brown sugar pleasingly affirm my endorsement of sustainable farming practices. The use of whole ingredients, slow roasting, and “tiny batches” testifies to my discerning appreciation of the artisan and to my rejection of the industrial food system. The dried sour cherries and salt and extra-virgin olive oil prove the sophistication of my palate: I am beyond the easy pleasures of butter and unadulterated sweetness...I know \$9 is a lot to pay, but this isn’t just food. (Wallace 2012)

Though it first seems over the top, the assertion that ‘this isn’t just food’ is exactly right. The \$9 bag of granola carries layers of meaning beyond its ingredients and nutritional content that have come to inform and shape a culture of young people in Brooklyn.

This attitude and aesthetic is fairly hard to pin down and difficult to make academic, but it is certainly one of those know-it-when-you-see-it sorts of phenomena.

Many businesses along Franklin Ave fit this description and, unsurprisingly, they have all opened in the past 6 years, coinciding with first waves of gentrification. These include locales such as Franklin Park, a garage turned beer garden, Barboncino, a Neapolitan style wood fire pizza restaurant, or Little Zelda, a French inspired coffee and pastry café. While upscale food choices frequently accompany gentrification, the effect is especially apparent in Brooklyn where food has become a primary medium for expression, identification, and livelihood.

Also embodying this new aesthetic is the run down bodega turned natural, organic market, Bob & Betty's. Keeping up with the changing neighborhood, Fisher's supermarket decided to remodel and rebrand itself in early 2011 to appeal to more health and environmentally conscious shoppers. Bob & Betty's carries a good selection of local and organic produce and dairy products, vegan and vegetarian options, as well as high-end brands of chips, chocolate, and beer. Though some are happy with the new options, many are off put by prices and pretension, worried about what such changes mean for the neighborhood.

While little academic work has been completed on the link between food and gentrification, the connection has not been lost on the residents of Crown Heights. In researching Bob & Betty's I came across dozens of comments, both on blogs and review websites such as Yelp, mentioning the impacts of gentrification, hipsters, or new residents on the food offerings at Bob & Betty's. A few did so in a positive way, happy to see that gentrification has brought different food to their local store, but most were not pleased.

One reviewer summed up the market well, calling it “A gourmet small organic ‘i-eat-fancy-schmancy-stuff-after-my-yoga-class’ grocery spot (bodega's for hipsters, yuppies and buppies) recently revamped and gentrified in Crown Heights.” Many note the changes that have taken place before and after the remodel. Some say it “has only improved cosmetically”, while another notes that it has improved, but with consequences, saying, “It's such a symbol of the perils of gentrification. Before the quality sucked, now most of us cannot afford to shop here.” The general consensus is that prices are too high, and higher than other organic shops in the neighborhood. Many attribute this to gentrification and pricing based on image and aesthetics rather than quality.

While prices are a unanimous source of contention, other comments report on underlying issues and conflicts between the needs of new and old residents. One points out the distinct lack of minorities, saying, “At Bob's you don't really see the thuggies in the neighborhood, which is a plus i guess, but instead replaced by newly moved-in gentrifiers. Lots of (if not all) white customers, ok I said it.” While this reviewer simply observes that the shoppers are predominately white, another takes deeper issue with this pattern, expressing anger as a longtime resident who does not feel her community’s needs are being met:

The only people who give this store a good review are the hipsters who now flood the area... Wannabe Park Slope Food Coop with all the overpriced stuff. I'll tell you what, ask all of the NATIVES who have lived in this neighborhood from the beginning how they feel about this place. Their answers will tell you everything you need to know. (Yelp 2013)

While it is difficult to know whether this woman’s opinion is the norm without conducting more intensive research, it certainly indicates that tension exists at the crux of food and gentrification. Bob & Betty’s is a prime example of this conflict, as a site

where food was gentrified in conjunction with its surrounding neighborhood. Using the market as a jumping off point, I will now broaden my lens and investigate the current food situation along the two major shopping streets in Crown Heights.

I have chosen to highlight a relatively small area of Crown Heights - bordered by Franklin Avenue on the East, Atlantic Avenue to the North, Nostrand Avenue to the West, and Eastern Parkway to the South (Figure 5). Franklin and Nostrand are the two major commercial streets in the neighborhood, but with very different identities. Within these boundaries I will track the existing food options to see where and how gentrification has influenced access to food.

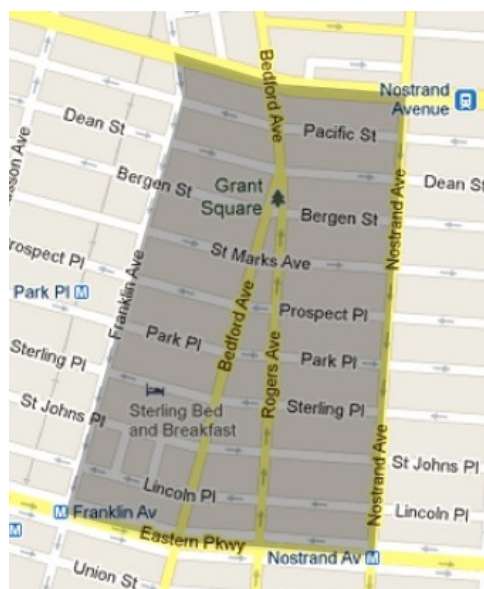


Figure 5: Targeted subject area (Google Maps)

From surveying this area I have found a total of 78 different establishments that sell food products in some capacity (Appendix 1). I have broken these down into six categories: coffee shops, restaurants, grocery stores, convenience stores, fast food or take out, and bars. I acknowledge that these are unscientific classifications and that many of these establishments can fit into multiple categories. I am loosely defining coffee shops as businesses that primarily sell coffee or tea but may also sell food, restaurants as any sit-down style dining establishment, grocery stores as markets selling produce and other staples, convenience stores as any small corner mart or deli, and fast food/take out as any casual dining establishment. I have also chosen to include bars as they frequently serve food and play a

role in shaping the commercial scene. I have done my best to categorize each business appropriately and accurately, but recognize that these labels are subjective.

The data I have collected (Figure 6) shows that restaurants are the most common food option (32), followed by convenience stores (12), fast food and take out (12), grocery stores (9), bars (8), and coffee shops (5). In this small area Crown Heights residents are fairly well served on all food fronts, and it is worth noting that only two of the 78 businesses are corporate chains (a Dunkin Donuts and a Connecticut Muffin).

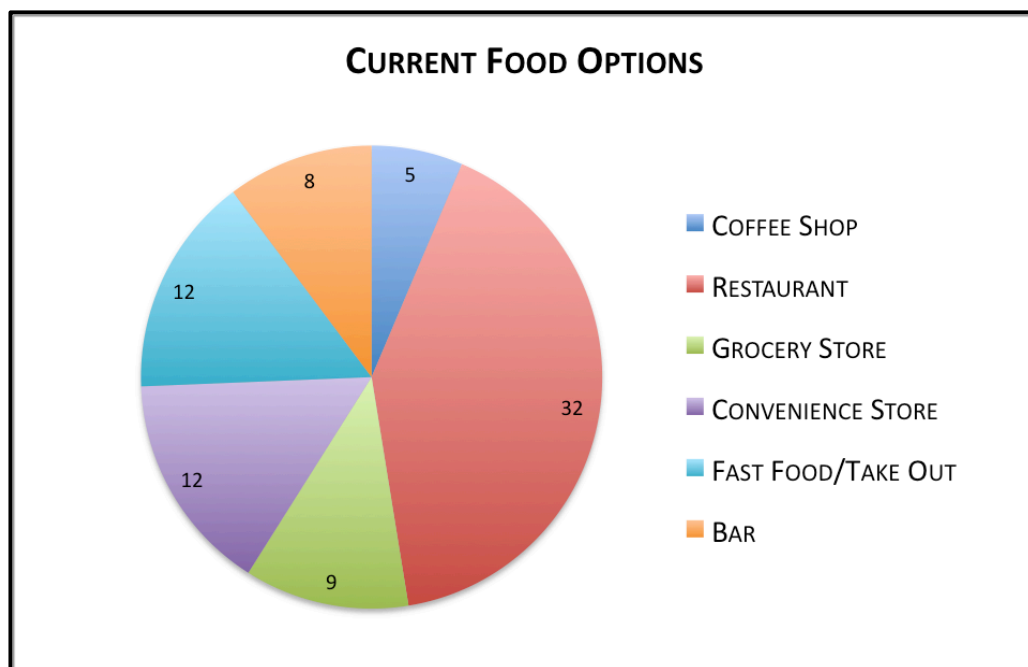


Figure 6: Food options by type

There is also reasonable access to fresh foods for residents in the area. By looking at just grocery retailers (grocery stores, convenience stores, and coffee shops) I found that nine locations have a large selection of produce, twelve carry some produce, and six do not carry any produce (Figure 7). ‘Much’ produce denotes the presence of a variety of fruits and vegetables to be purchased, ‘some’ indicate that there is produce

available but it might be only a few apples or bananas, and ‘none’ designates that the establishment either does not carry produce or did not at the time of this study.

While there seems to be decent access and options to a variety of fresh food to residents of both streets, I will now see how the two streets compare. Franklin and Nostrand have developed two very different commercial personalities. Franklin is what may be considered the main drag. It

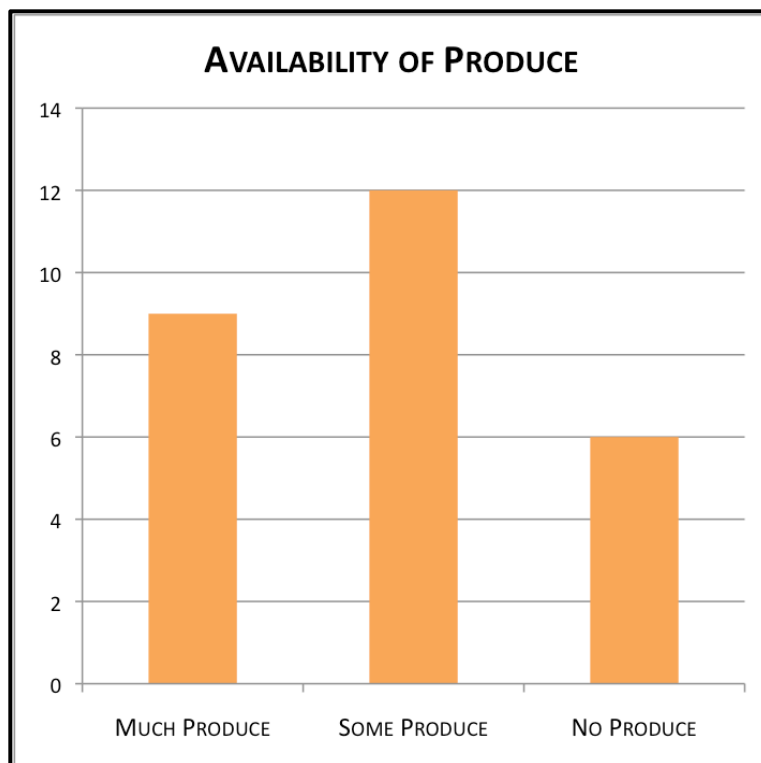


Figure 7: Availability of produce by amount

is right off of the subway stop and is the locus of both gentrification and ‘artisan’ food retailers in the neighborhood. Nostrand on the other hand has not seen the same sort of gentrification or the influx of white food culture, but remains a bustling commercial street that caters heavily to the neighborhood’s African population. Where Franklin is filled with organic markets, Nostrand is filled with West Indian groceries.

First looking in terms of commercial development, over twice as many new food businesses have opened on Franklin in the past six years than have on Nostrand (Figure 8). I use 2007 as the cut off point as this seems to be both when new residents started to move in and new businesses began to spring up. New development is only one indicator

of gentrification but it does point to Franklin Avenue as the center of the process. While Franklin has seen the majority of new development, Nostrand is beginning to follow suit with the majority of its new food businesses opening in the past three years.

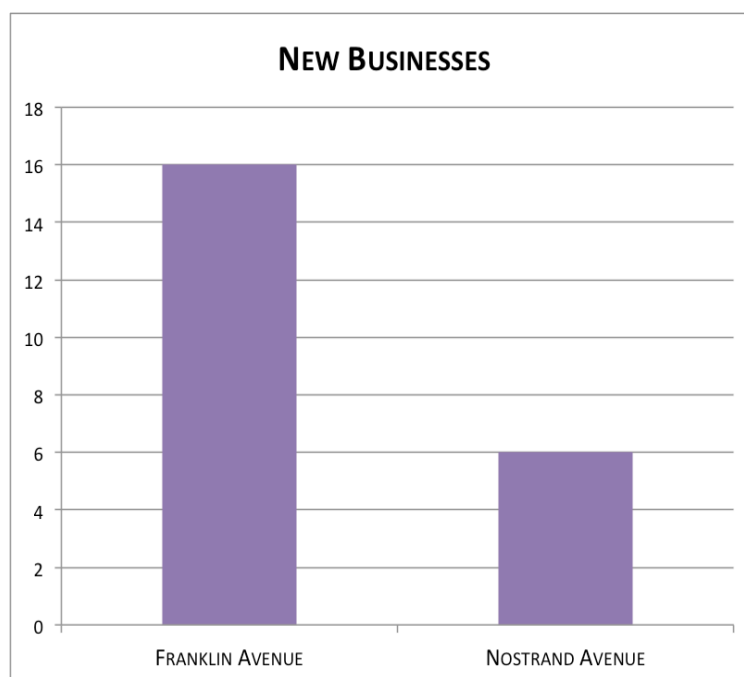


Figure 8: New businesses since 2007

Because Franklin is still the more gentrified of the two streets, one might assume that it has more thriving businesses - more grocery stores, restaurants, and bars. However in comparing the streets I have found this not to be the case (Figure 9). While the types of establishments are different, the two streets have very similar culinary make-ups. Categorizing the businesses by their location on either Franklin or Nostrand – placing the ones in between with the street to which they are closest – I have found the following:

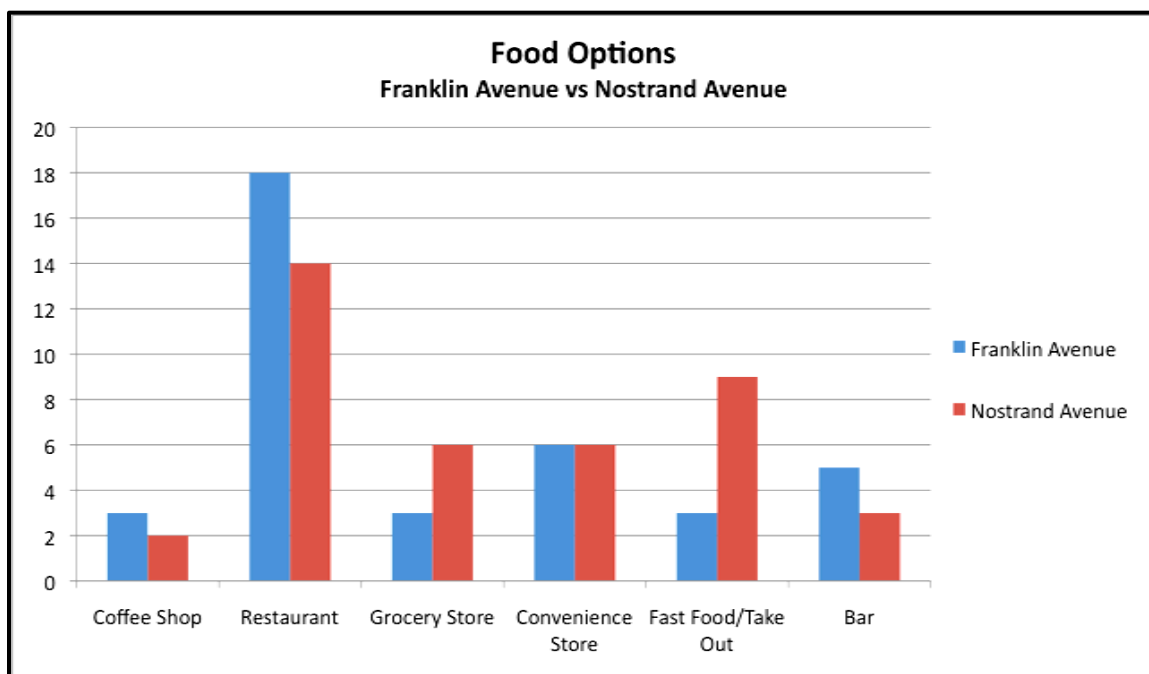


Figure 9: Food options by type, Franklin Ave compared to Nostrand Ave

The spatial distribution of food options is surprisingly even between the two streets. Franklin has a few more coffee shops, restaurants, and bars, but still the numbers are fairly even. What is also surprising and defies the typical narrative is that Nostrand has twice as many groceries as Franklin. While trends and data might indicate that the more developed street would have more markets, the situation on the ground is the opposite. Not only does Nostrand have four smaller produce markets, but it is also the location of two larger supermarkets, Met Food and Key Food.

Another seeming disparity between the two is in fast food/take out restaurants, however this data could be somewhat misleading. The fast food in Crown Heights is not the typical McDonalds or Burger King (Dunkin Donuts is the only chain I categorized as ‘fast food’). There are a few casual Caribbean and West Indian restaurants that are more ‘take out’ than ‘restaurant’ and therefore were placed in this category. While it may seem

that Nostrand is home to more unhealthy restaurants, as that is what we typically consider fast food, the grouping indicates more about the type of service than the type of food.

The situation becomes more interesting and telling of demographics when we more carefully examine the types of restaurants, markets, and food options available on the two streets. Specifically, the types of groceries and produce being offered on the two separate streets is not the same and does not intend to cater to the same audience. While there are still convenience stores, the three groceries on Franklin Avenue sell almost exclusively organic or local produce and high-end specialty items. They are also notably more up-scale in terms of product displays, design, aesthetics, and atmosphere. These shops fit into line with many of the other new bars, restaurants, coffee shops, and bakeries, creating a strip of food and entertainment options for the young neighborhood newcomers. Apart from the larger supermarkets, the grocery options on Nostrand Avenue are almost exclusively West Indian groceries, small markets, most run by West Indian immigrants that sell predominately fresh fruits and vegetables, spices, and traditional Caribbean staples. Though the produce is abundant, only one of the markets specifically sells organic food.

However it is important to not make assumptions or generalize about the community that frequents the shops on Nostrand. It may seem like Franklin Avenue shoppers must demand local and organic more than Nostrand Avenue shoppers, but this again makes the assumption that development and access is constructed by personal preferences alone. It also important not to form judgment simply on the presence of an organic market, as in Crown Heights, and likely in other diverse neighborhoods as well, even the types of organic markets differ.

The businesses on Nostrand seem to largely reflect the customs and tastes of the surrounding community. I see this through the many Caribbean and West Indian food establishments (Trinidad Golden Place Restaurant, Silver Crust Restaurants, Ital Shak Vegetarian Restaurant, Imhotep's Health & Living, Gloria's Caribbean Cuisine, and others) but also through the cultural emphasis on health food, produce, and organics. However, the interesting divergence from Franklin Avenue produce and organic shops is that the businesses on Nostrand do not market themselves to new residents or sensationalize their good food. This lack of sensationalization appears to stem from a more cultural outlook on food than participation in a trend. One Trinidadian resident explains, “in the islands, everything we eat is natural and organic, so its not new to us. I used to pick mangoes from trees in my front yard. It doesn’t get more local, green, or organic than that” (Nostrand Park 2010).

This resident touches on a very important aspect of the organic movement: its newness in the United States. The modern organic movement only has meaning and traction because it is in such opposition to our dominant industrialized agriculture model. The majority of Americans cannot pick mangoes from trees in their front yards, and having access to fruit that fresh is almost unimaginable. There seems to be a common understanding and acceptance of good food among the Islanders in Crown Heights stemming from a cultural attachment and appreciation for fresh, healthy food. Eating organic food is naturalized in this culture, but still, to add even more complexity to the situation, the Islander community seems to be disconnected from, or perhaps does not feel the need to participate in the ‘new’ organic movement.

A prime example of this disconnect is the failing farmers' market located in Eastern Crown Heights, even though it carries many Caribbean vegetables that are quite familiar to neighborhood residents. The farmers noted that while their produce, "practically sells itself to Park Slope parents at the Grand Army Plaza Farmers Market, it hardly moves in the heart of Brooklyn's Islander community" (Sharp 2012). Established in the summer of 2011, it is unclear whether or not the market will be back for another season. Even though farmers catered to the local palates, and even accepted food stamps, there was just not the same interest as can be seen at larger markets in Union Square or Grand Army Plaza.

If it is not price, quality, or selection that is keeping shoppers away than what is it? There are many individual factors at play – the residents nearby may just not be interested, or they do not feel a need to change their shopping routine, or they are satisfied with the produce elsewhere – but a contributing factor is very likely an unease within the space of the market and a perception that farmers' market produce is too luxurious for a shopper of limited means. As I have discussed, farmers' markets and organic food are typically white dominated arenas and the discourses surrounding them have been shaped by whiteness. The seemingly exclusionary nature of these spaces may contribute to the low customer turnout, even if the community supports the same ideals of fresh high quality food.

The sensationalization of not just organic food, but produce in general has also led many to the false assumption that they cannot afford to shop at farmers markets. For example, the market at 125th Street in Harlem was "often passed over by poorer residents who carried the perception that fresh produce was always more expensive than more fatty

foods” (Edwards 2012). While on the surface it seems beneficial to bring a market to a low-income neighborhood, much work still needs to be done for their presence to be accepted and normalized. If this does not happen then they will just continue to serve the white patrons who feel comfortable and accepted within their confines.

My research seems to show that the influx of creative, food minded people into Crown Heights prompted the opening of many new restaurants and bars, as well as the revamping of Fisher’s supermarket into Bob & Betty’s. However, gentrification does not explain the abundance of fruit and vegetable markets on Nostrand Avenue that have been serving the community for years. On the whole it does not seem like access to fresh produce is an issue in the neighborhood, but it does appear that shopping locales are fairly segregated. Instead of asking why only whites shop at Bob & Betty’s, maybe the real question is why do not more young white gentrifiers shop at the plentiful food markets on Nostrand?

CONCLUSION

Changing the Wave

Gentrification is not a new problem and does not seem to be stopping anytime soon. Though we like to name them, bound them, and categorize them, neighborhoods are not static institutions and their identities will constantly be in flux as their communities continue to shift. A changing clientele, especially when the clientele are young Brooklynites, ultimately means changing food resources and food cultures. While there are always differences of taste between groups, the privilege that comes with being white and well connected leads to a sort of cultural power, or an ability to assert cultural preferences over the preferences that were there before. While the gentrification of a neighborhood threatens to dislocate residents due to higher rents, the gentrification of food may lead to displacement by changing the cultural identity of a place.

For now, the preexisting food cultures in Crown Heights have not been completely wiped out, but they are being challenged by the influx of gentrified spaces such as Bob & Betty's. While Crown Heights has worked hard for the past twenty years to maintain social cohesion, spaces of food consumption seem to break apart these bonds by either catering specifically to the young whites or to the minority community. In fact, virtually every new food business that has opened in the past ten years is consciously pandering to the young, hip demographic. While this tends to be the way new businesses work, it does not discount the fact that longtime residents might feel uncomfortable or ostracized in these spaces. This has led to the extreme polarization of the landscape in Crown Heights between Brooklyn-chic 'fancy' food and immigrant run grocers and delis.

The only in-betweens seem to be the large Met Food supermarket and the 24-hour Chinese take out restaurants.

It seems too that people do not readily cross food identity lines, even if their wants and desires are similar. Bob and Betty's remains a center of white consumption, even though the Caribbean community is perhaps more culturally tied to organic food. The farmers' market in Eastern Crown Heights receives very little business, even though it is affordable and caters to local palettes. Due in part to an industrialized agriculture system that does not allow for even distribution of affordable healthy food, and also to structures of whiteness and institutionalized racism, spaces of food consumption in Crown Heights have developed largely around race and class identifications.

The fairly segregated consumption in Crown Heights is likely not an anomaly, and is almost certainly representative of a larger pattern. We tend to eat what we know and shop where we like. It is no one's place to tell another how and where to eat, and we cannot force unity and integration, but residents must still feel comfortable in order for a neighborhood to be cohesive. These issues are so difficult to tackle on a community level largely because they are not simply matters of personal preference, but rather are the result of years of injustice and inequality. Without sweeping policy change and radical shifts in culture, there is no quick way for minorities to feel welcome in white spaces of consumption.

While I tremendously advocate for these systemic changes and strongly believe in the necessity of political action in changing the conventional system, I do not mean to say that food politics on the local community level are unimportant or that neighborhoods do not have power to create change. Neighborhoods are where these issues play out. These

realities of inequality and social unrest are manifested through processes of neighborhood change and are highlighted immensely when we examine local foodscapes. What food ends up on the grocery store shelves and who has the privilege to purchase it is largely dictated by federal policies and institutionalized injustice, but that does not mean that nothing can be done to promote equality and social cohesion on the community level. Especially when food politics are so intertwined with the epidemic of gentrification in Brooklyn, it is essential to learn and change with each particular wave.

While we know that this process of neighborhood change is not realistically slowing down, this does not necessarily mean that it needs to follow the trajectory it has taken in other areas of Brooklyn and in the United States at large. Part of the danger in labeling such community shifts as gentrification is that in doing so we too easily excuse the results, chalking them up the inevitable consequences of an inevitable process. The typical narrative of gentrification also indicates a process that has a beginning and an end. We talk about neighborhoods experiencing gentrification as if it is a phase like puberty. The community starts out rather underdeveloped, there is a period of sometimes awkward and turbulent transition, but then it comes out the other side looking better than ever.

For this reason, I think it may even be counterproductive to think of these neighborhoods in such terms. By broadly attributing neighborhood change to this concept of gentrification, we are ignoring the idiosyncrasies and individualized conditions of the particular place. Attributing change to such a generalized concept stops the conversation and the investigation. If we were to accept that Crown Heights is merely gentrifying, then we are missing the complexities of the problem. The goal then must

become not to stop gentrification, but to manage it by being attentive to cultural and community change.

In places such as Crown Heights, this might mean respecting difference and allowing different food cultures to grow and develop simultaneously. By working to protect the West Indian organic grocers from the encroaching white-food establishments, the neighborhood can allow for both populations to consume as they please. However it then becomes difficult to balance celebrating individual difference, while still trying to create a united community. There seems to be a fine line between ‘diversity’ and ‘segregation’ and Crown Heights is tiptoeing along it. But this has been the struggle all along; how does a community manage and embrace difference in a way that is inclusive but does not allow one group to dominate another?

The first step could be through food. While the goal of establishing new food businesses rarely has the intention of increasing access to good food to others within the neighborhood, it certainly has this potential. Not only might newcomers chose to start businesses that coincide with their consumption preferences, but the attention, status, and money that gentrification brings may help attract more businesses, like quality grocery stores, to the area. However, development usually comes with a cost. While Crown Heights has not reached the level of growth that it will be attracting a Whole Foods anytime soon, the rents are already rising at a steep rate that has the potential to displace older, less affluent residents. Even if the buzz around the neighborhood was enough to bring more good food into the area, the question will be if the longtime residents will be around to see it.

Though my preliminary research indicates that access to food is not worse for the minority communities, to say that there is equality is to ignore the patterns of gentrification entirely. At the moment, the Caribbean and West Indian population may be content with their options, but Crown Heights is certainly not declining in popularity, which means that gentrification will continue on its regularly scheduled path. Rents will likely go up, the price of living will go up, and more whites who can afford to live in the neighborhood will displace the residents who cannot. If this pattern continues there will be more 'white' organic shops than West Indian organic shops in ten years.

So what then can stop this cycle and change this particular wave of gentrification? With the current state of our conventional food systems, there is likely no getting rid of the hype and pretension surrounding good food. If food production were different, if industrialized agriculture was not the norm, then the good food, the locally and organically produced food, would not seem so special anymore. Our Monsanto-based food system constrains not only the way our food is produced, but also ways in which we conceptualize, market, and sell food. Cafes and restaurants will still tout their small batch pickles, grass-fed butter, and organic kale because these items are still special. The majority of food today is genetically modified, overly processed, and filled with byproducts. Selling and serving food that is simple, that does not come with all the extras, is actually the most luxurious.

Without enormous structural changes first within the conventional food system, organic food will always be the 'alternative', and both due to its production costs and its alienating social status as a yuppie luxury it will not become accepted and therefore accessible to the majority of eaters in the United States. However, in the meantime,

Crown Heights can serve as an example to the next stop on the gentrification express of a community that is cognizant and aware of the change that is occurring within the neighborhood. Neighborhood leaders, business owners, and residents alike are keen to the processes at work and understand their consequences, both beneficial and harmful. For now the Caribbean jerk chicken shops and the West Indian grocers will stay in business, and with a heightened awareness of neighborhood change and a dedication to preserving a diverse yet united community, perhaps they will stick around.

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Appendix 1: Food suppliers in Crown Heights, Brooklyn

This list was obtained through field research in the area, noting all establishments that sell food and specifically noting if the establishment sold fresh produce. It is accurate to my knowledge as of April 2013.

Name	Type	Address
***The Pulp and Bean	Coffee Shop	809 Franklin Ave
***The Breukelen Coffee House	Coffee Shop	764 Franklin Ave
***Crown Sky Café	Coffee Shop	662 Nostrand Ave
***Connecticut Muffin	Coffee Shop	615 Nostrand Ave
***Lily & Fig	Coffee Shop	727 Franklin Ave
Opel Carribean Cuizine	Restaurant	796 Franklin Ave
**JamRock Kitchen	Restaurant	796 Franklin Ave
**Veggies Natural Juice Bar	Restaurant	785 Franklin Ave
**Barboncino Pizza	Restaurant	781 Franklin Ave
**Dutch Boy Burger	Restaurant	766 Franklin Ave
**Chavela's	Restaurant	736 Franklin Ave
**Little Zelda	Restaurant	728 Franklin Ave
**Black Tree Sandwich Shop	Restaurant	724 Franklin Ave
Sweet Basil Inc	Restaurant	709 Franklin Ave
**Mayfield	Restaurant	688 Franklin Ave
Gueros Brooklyn	Restaurant	605 Prospect Pl
**A Slice of Brooklyn Pizza	Restaurant	685 Franklin Ave
Bombay Masala	Restaurant	678 Franklin Ave
Roscoe's Pizza	Restaurant	685 Franklin Ave
**Catfish	Restaurant	1433 Bedford Ave
Brooklyn Exposure Inc	Restaurant	1401 Bedford Ave
Taste of India	Restaurant	1018 Bergen St
Francine's Cuisine	Restaurant	774 St Johns Pl
**Juice Hugger Café	Restaurant	85 Rogers Ave
Feeding Tree	Restaurant	816 Nostrand Ave
**Syd's Serious Sandwich Shop	Restaurant	759 Nostrand Ave
Glenda's Restaurant	Restaurant	854 St Johns Pl
Ital Shak Vegetarian Restaurant	Restaurant	780 Nostrnad Ave
Chicago 60	Restaurant	770 Nostrand Ave
Imhotep's Health & Living	Restaurant	735 Nostrand Ave
Excusitie Ocean View	Restaurant	710 Nostrand Ave
**Richol Café and Bakery	Restaurant	563 Nostrand Ave
Randy's Phenomenal Eats	Restaurant	602 Nostrand Ave
Pearl Indian Food	Restaurant	738 Franklin Ave
Kelso Dining	Restaurant	648 Franklin Ave
Gloria's Carribean Cuisine	Restaurant	764 Nostrand Ave
**Sakura Tokyo	Restaurant	604 Nostrand Ave
***Bob & Betty's	Grocery	805 Franklin Ave
#Nam's Fruit Market	Grocery	767 Franklin Ave

#Pine Tree	Grocery	744 Franklin Ave
#Triple S Market	Grocery	822 Nostrand Ave
#M&K Fruit and Vegetable Market	Grocery	784 Nostrand Ave
#Met Food Supermarket	Grocery	739 Nostrand Ave
#Song's Fruit and Vegetable Store	Grocery	721 Nostrand Ave
#Key Food	Grocery	653 Nostrand Ave
#Nature's Organic Natural Foods	Grocery	776 Nostrand Ave
#Mcking gourmet deli	Convenience Store	790 Franklin Ave
#Franklin Grocery	Convenience Store	788 Franklin Ave
#Shorty Grocery Corporation	Convenience Store	801 Franklin Ave
#Broadway Grocery	Convenience Store	758 Franklin Ave
#Franklin Mini Mart	Convenience Store	690 Franklin Ave
#Bedford Grocery Corporation	Convenience Store	1478 Bedford Ave
Betty Deli Grocer Inc	Convenience Store	159 Rogers Ave
#Alex Deli Grocery	Convenience Store	738 Nostrand Ave
Prospect Deli	Convenience Store	669 Nostrand Ave
America Grocery Store	Convenience Store	579 Nostrand Ave
Ali Grocery Store	Convenience Store	818 Nostrand Ave
Roddrigues Deli & Grocery	Convenienc Store	587 Franklin Ave
Hong Kong Restaurant	Fast Food/Take Out	789 Franklin Ave
Dunkin Donuts	Fast Food/Take Out	1550 Bedford Ave
Kings Wok Restaurant	Fast Food/Take Out	1473 Bedford Ave
Crown Fried Chicken	Fast Food/Take Out	824 Nostrand Ave
May Wong Kitchen	Fast Food/Take Out	767 Nostrand Ave
Cocks Restaurant	Fast Food/Take Out	806 Nostrand Ave
Trinidad Golden Place Restaurant	Fast Food/Take Out	788 Nostrand Ave
Silver Crust Restaurants	Fast Food/Take Out	747 Nostrand Ave
Number One Chinese Kitchen	Fast Food/Take Out	661 Nostrand Ave
Hing Hung Kitchen	Fast Food/Take Out	619 Nostrand Ave
J's Wong	Fast Food/Take Out	717 Franklin Ave
**French Chips Corp	Fast Food/Take Out	638 Nostrand Ave
Q Tavern	Bar	761 Nostrand Ave
95 South	Bar	778 Franklin Ave
**Franklin Park	Bar	618 St Johns Pl
739 Franklin	Bar	739 Franklin Ave
**The Crown Inn	Bar	724 Franklin Ave
B&B Sports Bar	Bar	640 Franklin Ave
Liv Café	Bar	813 Nostrand Ave
NoBar BKNY	Bar	608 Nostrand Ave

Produce available

** New Business