BACKYARDS AS BORDERLANDS: HUMANS, ANIMALS, AND URBAN FOOD PRODUCTION

by

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(Under the Direction of Amy Trauger)

ABSTRACT

This thesis documents and analyzes motivations for and methods used in keeping prohibited urban livestock in Athens, GA. Through their animals, participants in this study reimagine, resist, and rework normative urban landscapes. Backyards act as borderlands of struggles to change normative human-animal relationships and undermine dominant food systems. Urban livestock keepers' viewpoints and actions are examined and related to food movements in the US using an analytical framework of three typologies of political action for food sovereignty (libertarian, civil disobedient, and radical collectivist). Exploring the extent and ways in which participants engage with food sovereignty narratives expands an understanding of the developing concept of food sovereignty in the US. The analytical framework developed in this thesis, used to view participants' actions and beliefs, offers a way of thinking about current and future food sovereignty efforts. Interviews with urban livestock keepers, neighbors without urban livestock, and elected officials in Athens, GA reveal the importance of political and territorial autonomy to achieve food sovereignty.

INDEX WORDS: food sovereignty; urban livestock; normative urban landscape; alternative food; human-animal relationships; political action; resistance

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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this work to small-scale urban livestock keepers, particularly those whose love of animals and reimagining of the world outweighs any fear of violating local authorities that prohibit such activities, and all neighbors and elected officials who appreciate and support the presence of food animals in the city. I would also like to dedicate this research to my hens who have taught me so much about myself and the world.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

I. Introduction

In 2008, a family in Athens, GA entered into a minor dispute with one of their neighbors. A few days later, the family received a visit from a code enforcement officer who issued them a warning for keeping a small flock of chickens in their backyard. The family was informed by the officer that an anonymous complaint had been filed about the chickens and that they had two weeks to remove the chickens from their property or would otherwise receive further penalty. Coincidentally, around this same time, a neighbor shot and killed the rooster belonging to this family's flock of birds[1]. Before these events, the family was unaware that keeping chickens in Athens was illegal on properties under one acre or not zoned for agricultural purposes[2]. They have since launched a "pro-chicken" campaign, advocating for changes in local zoning ordinances to allow and support urban food animals like hens. The increase in urban livestock and the growing support for it in Athens and other cities raises questions about why food animals, like chickens, are unusually restricted in Athens, how urban livestock and private property are (not)

[1] This event has too many offshoots to include here, but a brief summary may be important: The family at first decided to push back against the ordinance and refused to give up their chickens. At the time, their house was under construction. The city used this to find a building code violation that allowed code enforcement officers to evict the family from their house until they complied with this violation by fixing their house. After this occurrence is when the family became fearful of continued city penalties and decided to relocate their chickens. To this day, they still see the same code enforcement officer walk by their house on occasion.

[2] Throughout this thesis, I often refer to urban livestock in Athens as "prohibited" for purposes of brevity. Livestock is technically permitted, though with convoluted restrictions, on properties zoned agriculture or residential lots over one acre.

regulated, and what motivates people to keep such animals, especially in spite of current ordinances prohibiting them.

In recent years, urban livestock has seen a surge in popularity in many countries, including the United States. A 2008 report by the World Bank and Food and Agriculture Organization stated that 34 percent of meat and 70 percent of eggs produced worldwide are produced in urban areas (NPR, 2013). The US is home to an increasing number of people engaging in small-scale urban livestock keeping (Blecha and Leitner, 2013) and engaging in a variety of new and different kinds of urban agriculture (Fulton, 2013). While urban agriculture continues to increase in popularity and could prove to be an easy way for urban dwellers to add nutritious and relatively inexpensive food to their diets (NPR, 2013), it is not without controversy.

Agriculture and food animals were first pushed out of the city in the late 1800s with efforts to modernize urban areas (Butler, 2011). Today, many cities and towns adhere to local ordinances that reflect this historical spatiality of human-animal relationships. Prohibitions on livestock in the city control urban agriculture either by completely banning food animals or by so restrictively defining the methods of keeping livestock that many livestock keepers are still in violation of these laws. Although urban agricultural activities are gaining momentum in the US, "there is little research about the topic and many regulations have not caught up to this trend" (Fulton, 2013: 1). As food animals become more numerous in US cities, human-animal patterns and normalized urban landscapes are reworked and changed. These changes are often controversial and "deserve some attention" from researchers and scholars (Carolan, 2011: 98). This thesis investigates such changes by acknowledging and exploring ways people work with animals to resist

normalized urban landscapes and reimagine food systems. As this thesis discusses, motivations and methods in keeping urban food animals often reflect participants' desires for reworked food systems, political-economic structures, and social relationships.

Alternative food markets[3], such as farmers markets and certified organic agriculture, have also experienced dramatic growth in the past several decades. These shifts in food production signal concern with food supply and sources, and are mobilized by food scares, inhumane animal treatment, and dependence on the large-scale agrofood system. Alternative markets, however, have not solved many of the food system injustices they may have set out to right, and in some cases have reproduced them. Food sovereignty arose from the failures of alternative food markets to return control of the food system to food producers, and to end class-based food systems that continue to leave many hungry and impoverished (Report of the World Food Summit, Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, Rome, Nov. 13-17, 1996).

In its origins, food sovereignty aims to give all people the right to control and define their own food systems, and thus increase access to nutritious and safe food that is distributed in decommodified and decentralized ways (Nyeleni, 2007). It empowers producers through political and territorial autonomy:

> All peoples that want to be free and independent must produce their own foods. Food sovereignty is more than just a right; in order to be able to apply policies that allow autonomy in food production, it is necessary to have political conditions that exercise autonomy in all territorial spaces: countries, regions, cities and rural communities. *Food sovereignty is only possible if it takes places at the same time as political sovereignty of peoples* (Nyeleni 2007: 16, emphasis added).

[3] Alternative food markets are also known as alternative food networks (AFNs) and are used interchangeably throughout this thesis.

Patel (2009) adds that "to demand a space of food sovereignty is to demand specific arrangements to govern territory and space" (668). In order to achieve food sovereignty, there must be control of political *and* territorial space. In expanding territorial and political control, food sovereignty hopes to dismantle consolidated wealth and power and decommodify markets. In this way, food sovereignty is a progression from other food movements such as alternative food networks (AFNs). AFNs may have begun as true alternatives to food production and distribution systems, but according to food sovereigntists, they ultimately fail by working within conventional systems and markets. Where AFNs generally aim to "fix" social and political-economic problems by using current structures, food sovereignty aims to dismantle such systems in order to address underlying inequalities.

While the concept of food sovereignty originated in developing countries made hungry by neoliberal policies and structural adjustments, it appears with increasing frequency in developed nations such as the US. Scholars debate the definition of food sovereignty and what it means to be a food sovereignty participant, with particular attention to the role of the state and market in achieving the aims of food sovereignty. Some scholars argue that the state and market impede food sovereignty, while others encourage incorporating the state, especially its role in regulating production and distribution of food, in facilitating food sovereignty in the form of food self-sufficiency. Since debates about what food sovereignty is and does are not settled, the focus remains on defining it and understanding how it resonates with certain activities and attitudes not entirely consistent with AFNs.

Scholars call for more investigations to research how food sovereignty works and appears to gain a better understanding of it. For example, Clendenning and Dressler (2013), instead of "measuring how much urban food movements build on international food sovereignty movements," stress examining "to what extent US urban food movements employ food sovereignty concepts, strategies and practices" (5). Holt-Gimenez and Shattuck (2011) compare food sovereignty efforts to previous (and ongoing) food movements by identifying four major categories of political action in the food system. They position food sovereignty as the most radical, but warn that it could potentially fall to the same fate as progressive food movements, such as AFNs, and become usurped by dominant markets and political systems. Alternatively, they believe that radical food movements, like food sovereignty, may be in a position, if they are not co-opted by conventionalism, to influence and radicalize participants that are slightly more progressive, and not yet fully radical, in their efforts.

As I read and became more familiar with food sovereignty literature and debates, I wondered if the debates about the legality and place of livestock keeping in Athens, GA, with people claiming rights to keep urban livestock and in effect often violating local ordinances, relate to the goals, strategies, and practices of food sovereignty. Many people in Athens claim autonomy over their space by keeping prohibited food animals, and employ livestock keeping methods to secure their activities from local code enforcement officers. The city government, however, ultimately has the power to decide how land can and cannot be used, and what sorts of animals and activities are permitted in urban spaces. This thesis examines in what ways participants' in Athens actions and viewpoints connect with food sovereignty narratives. To more clearly define and identify food sovereignty

narratives in the US, I introduce three typologies of political action within the larger food sovereignty realm (libertarian food sovereignty, civil disobedient food sovereignty, and radical collectivist food sovereignty), and discuss to what extent participants engage with each.

II. The Study Area: Athens, GA

Athens, GA provides a rich opportunity to study issues of food production, space and power. Current zoning ordinances prohibit agricultural activity in all residentially zoned areas[4], which is the majority of housing in Athens-Clarke County. These ordinances define agriculture as:

> The production, raising, breeding or maintenance of plants and animals including but not limited to: forage and sod crops, grain and seed crops, *dairy animals and dairy products, poultry and poultry products, livestock, including beef cattle, sheep, swine, horses, ponies, mules or goats, and any mutations or hybrids thereof, including the breeding and grazing of any or all of such animals, bees and apiary products, fur animals,* trees and forest products, fruits of all kinds, including grapes, nuts, and berries; vegetables, nursery, floral, ornamental and greenhouse products, or lands devoted to a soil conservation or forestry management program. This does not include the commercial slaughter of poultry, livestock, or other animals (Athens Municipal Code Section 9-2-1, emphasis added).

Here, agriculture is broadly defined to include everything from ornamental flower gardens to dairy animals and any mutations thereof, making the same ordinance that outlaws chickens outlaw flowers and pecan trees.

Yet, residents are really only in potential danger of receiving citations for prohibited animals and not plants because city officials and code enforcement officers spot enforce

[4] Agriculture is allowed on residential plots at least one acre in size. Engagement in agriculture on these lots is still restricted to "no more than two heads of livestock over the age of six months" (Athens Municipal Code Section 9-2-1).

this ordinance. They generally ignore the section prohibiting plants and choose to focus on enforcing the ban on livestock, usually only when a complaint is made but sometimes while on patrol (personal communication with city officials). Some city officials are aware of the ambiguity this type of enforcement brings, but still say that the Community Protection Division (CPD)[5] and Mayor and Commission have chosen to interpret the ordinance to mean that small gardens on individual property are legal (personal communication with city officials).

Zoning ordinances in Athens have not always used this definition of agriculture, nor have they always prohibited it on residential lots. In 1960, the ordinance allowed small-scale livestock as long as it was not for "primarily commercial purposes" or in a way "that would be objectionable because of noise, dust, or odor to surrounding residents"(Athens municipal code, 1960). In 1986, under the direction of Mayor Lauren Coile[6], the definition changed to the one in place today, but still expressly permitted "horticulture" which was defined as "the cultivation of row crops, a garden, or an orchard for non-commercial purposes" (Athens municipal code, 1986). Expressly permitted and prohibited land uses appear in the current ordinance in long tables that present acceptable activities on residential properties. Horticulture is no longer mentioned whatsoever, but an added rule makes the selling of homegrown products illegal. As Athens grew in population density, and continued to develop, modernize, and urbanize, its ordinances became more restrictive of in-town agriculture.

[5] The Community Protection Division (CPD) is the unit of government responsible for dealing with code compliance.

[6] Mayor Lauren Coile served as the mayor of Athens from 1980-1988. He and his administration supported large development projects, such as parking decks in downtown, and were not in favor of taxing property owners (Athens Banner-Herald, 1986).

As stated above, many residents in Athens keep urban livestock regardless of the current restrictive ordinance. Most participants in this research project are aware of the illegality of their animals, largely because of the "pro-chicken" campaign. As this research shows, they attempt to hide their animals so as not to attract attention from code enforcement officers. From March 2007 to December 2013, CPD officers issued eighty-eight warnings and two citations for non-compliance with the ordinance banning urban livestock in non-agricultural zoned lots (Appendix A). The majority of warnings were for chickens, but several cited goats, pigs, bees, ducks, and roosters, and a few were for horses and donkeys. One citation was issued to the family I spoke of in the beginning of this chapter, and the other citation was issued to a man with a donkey on an in-town residential lot. These warnings and citations illustrate a normalized urban landscape absent of food animals that is challenged and undermined by residents acting outside of the law by keeping these animals in the city.

III. Thesis Objectives

In order to better understand how residents view and are affected by the ordinance, what motivates them to keep prohibited animals, and how their actions might relate to food sovereignty, this thesis asks and answers the following questions:

1) Why and how do residents keep urban livestock even though it is often in violation of zoning ordinances? How does the ordinance affect these residents?

2) How do elected officials and residents view private yard space? Who or what defines the normative uses of these spaces? How do residents and elected officials think private property and urban livestock should be regulated? At what scale?

3) How do these activities and viewpoints relate to food sovereignty? Are residents participating in food sovereignty by keeping urban livestock? How do these activities and participants shape the meaning of food sovereignty?

Theories of place and resistance, and an analytical framework of food sovereignty and alternative food markets/networks, guide this research endeavor and give it the ability to critically examine human-animal relationships, with an emphasis on food production, in urban normalized landscapes. Qualitative methods are most appropriate to answer these questions as this thesis looks thoroughly at events and people in one location and investigates individuals' "figured worlds" (Gee, 1999), through their beliefs and actions, which are not easily quantifiable.

This thesis speaks to gaps in existing literature by contributing to a deeper understanding of changing spaces and borderlands of human-animal relationships (Wolch and Emel, 1998). I detail *how* participants keep urban livestock, document their motivations for doing so when it is prohibited, investigate how participants' figured worlds affect their motivations and actions, and ultimately analyze connections to food sovereignty. In examining these areas, I highlight ways in which participants interact with zoning ordinances to undermine and/or shape normative landscapes (Cresswell, 1999) and social relationships between people (Plotkin, 1987). I also draw conclusions relative to shaping food sovereignty definitions and meanings, highlight the importance of territorial and political autonomy (Patel, 2009; Nyeleni, 2007), and suggest necessary action to preserve a radical approach to food sovereignty (Holt-Gimenez and Shattuck, 2011). Many scholars identify these issues as important and deserving of academic attention. They call for further research to examine the ways in which humans and animals interact spatially and the ways in which food sovereignty appears in the Global North. Given the recent rise and change in patterns of both animals in the city and food sovereignty in the US, more research must focus on these issues to gain insight into the relationship between space,

food and power. Additionally, the vast majority of existing research in this area has occurred outside of geography, most often in legal studies and urban and environmental planning.

IV. Outline of Thesis

The following chapters build a structure to analyze actions and viewpoints in Athens in relation to normalized urban landscapes and food sovereignty. Chapter two contextualizes and situates this research in a broader sense by reviewing existing relevant literature. This chapter gives an overview and history of urban livestock and urban agriculture, reviews theories of human-animal relationships and resistance through space and place, and describes recent research in alternative food networks and food sovereignty. Here, gaps in the literature are revealed to highlight the importance of this research and its contributions.

Chapter three describes the methods and methodologies used throughout research and data collection methods, and explains the use of qualitative methods and narrative and discourse analyses. This chapter also reviews the study sites and, relatedly, my positional awareness as an insider to urban livestock keeping in Athens. This chapter then presents an analytical framework for the typologies of political action for food sovereignty, which I use to determine the extent and type of involvement with food sovereignty. Here, I build on Holt-Gimenez and Shattuck's (2011) framework for understanding and categorizing food movements to develop new typologies of political action for food sovereignty (libertarian, civil disobedient, and radical collectivist) that focus on views and uses of private property, regulation of space, and rights.

Chapters four and five are analysis chapters that answer this thesis' research questions by showcasing relevant quotes from participants and connecting them to broader theories. The first analysis chapter, chapter four, describes how participants use Scott's (2009) "hard to reach" spaces, such as backyards, to keep urban livestock. I examine the reasons they began keeping food animals, as well as the reasons they choose to disregard the ordinance, both of which indicate some articulation with various food sovereignty narratives. This chapter further analyzes human-animal relationships in normalized urban landscapes by examining ways participants use their food animals as boundary objects to push normalized boundaries of acceptable animals in the city and challenge dominant definitions of companion animals. Participants also use food animals to resist normative boundaries of social relationships.

The second analysis chapter, chapter five, critically investigates participants' views on the regulation and use of private property, individual and collective rights, and causes of social inequalities such as hunger. Using the typologies of political action for food sovereignty, I examine these viewpoints and actions to analyze the extent that participants echo principles associated with libertarian, civil disobedient, and radical collectivist food sovereignties. This chapter also looks at elected officials' perspectives on urban livestock, land use, and private property regulation, which indicate a tension between and within the livestock keepers in this study and the Mayor and Commission, and highlights how those with political power are influenced by personal ideologies.

The sixth and final chapter concludes this thesis by reviewing the major contributions of this research. I review how this research demonstrates a changing normative urban landscape in Athens, GA, with participants pushing human-animal

boundaries in the city by keeping urban livestock. I then move to discuss the importance research like this has for shaping a better understanding of food sovereignty in the US, and restate and summarize participants' involvement with the three typologies of political action for food sovereignty. I end this discussion by emphasizing the political and territorial control necessary for achieving food sovereignty, and reiterate how the current ordinance restrains food production methods by confining them to private rather than collective production. Finally, I suggest potential places where a radical collectivist approach to food sovereignty could either be stymied or strengthened and/or preserved by wording of future local ordinances.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

I. Introduction

The place of livestock in the United States has had a contested history. Livestock were once an accepted part of urban life, but their acceptability changed in cities, and even in some rural spaces, due to the modernization of agriculture in the 20th century. Today, through the efforts of a variety of social movements and food system activists, livestock are being reintroduced to some urban areas (Carolan, 2011). Perceptions of what is "in place" in urban space, normative/racialized landscapes and human-animal relationships shape the level of acceptance of livestock in cities (Carolan, 2011; Butler, 2011; Schindler, 2012; Philo and Wilbert, 2000).

Urban livestock studies in the Global North are new to the geographical literature. The majority of research and documentation of urban livestock "has occurred outside geography, in history, development, and legal studies" (Blecha and Leitner, 2013: 9). This thesis addresses this gap in the literature by aiding in the development of a stronger image of how urban livestock keepers and their animals resist and rework boundaries in the Global North. This research examines *how* urban livestock keepers keep animals in the city (how many of what types, where, and for how long), and *why* they are motivated to do so, especially in instances where such activities are prohibited by local authorities.

Additionally, this research expands on an understanding of food sovereignty in the Global North and whether and how food sovereignty discourses relate to urban livestock and their keepers.

In this chapter, a review of literature relating to urban livestock and its prohibition provides a context for understanding spaces of human-animal relationships. Theories of place and resistance provide a framework for thinking about urban livestock keepers' motivations and actions, and how people in the study area view land space and rights. In conclusion, I offer a framework for understanding how the presence of urban livestock might be explained using theories of alternative food networks and/or food sovereignty.

II. Urban Agriculture

In the mid 1800s, food animals were an integral part of urban life, and city dwellers lived in close proximity to their food sources (Butler, 2011). In the late 1800s and early 1900s, with the advancement of technology and transportation and the development of suburbs and industrialized food production, food sources moved from urban areas to rural areas. Modernatization and capitalization of agriculture diminished the number of producers and agriculture livelihoods and criminalized food production in cities. Increasingly, urban dwellers began to see lifestyles in urban areas and livelihoods in rural areas in contrasting terms (Pothukuchi and Kaufman, 1998). Urban areas lost their association with food production, and agricultural activities became seen as appropriate for rural spaces only. This was codified through legislation at the scale of the city via zoning ordinances to control the types of people who produced food and where and how they could do it.

Today, urban agriculture is reappearing in many cities. An increasing number of people in the US are "recognizing the value of urban agriculture for economic development, food security, and preservation of green space" (Brown and Jameton, 2000: 20). According to a study by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), 800 million urban residents worldwide were engaged in agricultural production in the mid-1990s (Bryld, 2003). In some cities, however, food cultivation is still a crime. In 2011, a resident of a Chicago suburb faced jail time for keeping a front yard garden (Schindler, 2012), as did a resident in Orlando, FL (NYT, 2012). Residents with urban livestock have also faced jail time and serious fines in various cities, such as Garden City, MI (Ferndale Chickens, 2013) and Virginia Beach, VA (Burke, 2012). Even though many urban agriculture projects are legally located on vacant or unused land, livestock are often prohibited because of pre-existing regulations (Brown and Jameton, 2000).

A. Urban Livestock

The first ban on urban livestock in New York City in 1877 pushed urban agriculture and livestock out of city life due to alleged concerns about public health and quality of life (Butler, 2011; Schindler, 2012). Municipalities and wealthy urban residents believed food animals were "dirty", and that their germs and diseases posed a risk to human health in confined urban spaces (Butler, 2011). Also, municipalities and wealthy residents thought property values were critical to public welfare and the economy of the city, so protecting them by keeping livestock out was seen as protecting the entire urban population (Maantay, 2001). Blecha and Leitner (2013) point out that urban livestock started reappearing in major US cities around the year 2000, with "increasing numbers of

residents...keeping chickens and other small livestock in backyards" (1). Many US cities, including Chicago, San Francisco, Cleveland, St. Louis, Seattle, and Portland, changed their ordinances to allow the keeping of urban bees, chickens, and goats (Acres USA, 2013).

Even though livestock keeping activities are legally accepted in these cities, residents keeping urban livestock are often still in violation of the ordinances that legalize their activities. The new ordinances are often full of prescriptive wording that still restricts and controls how residents participate in urban agriculture (Schindler, 2012: 13). For example, Sacramento, CA revised its ordinance to allow for residential front yard gardens, but included in the new ordinance wording that criminalizes any garden that produces overgrowth or blight from not being properly maintained (Schindler, 2012: 13). Another example is when cities allow for the production of individual food gardens, but not for the sharing or selling of food between individuals (Schindler, 2012:14). Similarly, ordinances that have been changed to allow for urban chicken keeping still restrict the ways in which residents can do so, making it difficult for some residents to comply with the law (Schindler, 2012: 18; Rocheleau, 2011).

Some urban livestock ordinances allow for chicken keeping, but may require a permit, documented neighbor consent, or minimum lot sizes, ultimately increasing the difficulty of keeping chickens within the confines of the ordinance (Salkin, 2011; Rocheleau, 2011). For example, in 2011 a Boston resident received a citation for keeping three hens in spite of the fact that chicken keeping in Boston is permitted. The ordinance, however, requires residents to obtain and purchase a chicken-keeping permit through a nearly impossible process that leads to a "dead end" (Rocheleau, 2011:1). Although cities may technically allow urban livestock activities, they may have stipulations that are impossible

or improbable for residents to follow, indicating that they are not in fact supporting urban agricultural activities.

B. Debates Around Urban Agriculture

Many scholars and activists have argued that bringing agriculture back into urban settings is a vital part of the solution to solving many social, economic, and environmental issues surrounding food. Heynen, Kurtz, and Trauger (2012) state that urban agriculture allows a co-location of food production and consumption, which shortens supply chains, reduces social distance and lowers energy requirements for transporting food. They add that some urban agriculturalists see themselves as political activists, directly reclaiming spaces in the city and their agency as producers and consumers. Urban gardens can be a source of cheap, local, fresh produce which can increase sustainable access to food and aid in alleviating urban hunger (Heynen, Kurtz, and Trauger 2012; Jarosz, 2008; Shepard, 2009; Koc, M., et al, 2000). Historically, WWII victory gardens prove that urban farms and gardens are capable of producing enough food to feed a vast number of urban dwellers. In fact, in 1943, 20 million urban victory gardens, whose existence was supported by the US government, produced 8 million tons of foods (Pothukuchi and Kaufman, 1999; Schindler, 2012).

Even though urban agriculture offers great potential benefits, city legislation often renders these activities illegal in both the Global North and the Global South. Urban agriculture in developing nations has become a survival strategy, even though it remains illegal because city officials see it as antithetical to modernism (Bryld, 2003: 83). Bryld (2003) adds that legalizing urban agriculture is a "step towards securing land for the urban

poor" (1). Schindler (2012) argues the legalization of urban agriculture fosters "civic virtue", "democratic self-governance", and food security (37). As Pothukuchi and Kaufman (1999) argue, "the urban food system...contributes significantly to community health and welfare" (1) but promoting it is not at the top of the political agenda for many cities. Urban agriculture remains largely invisible to city governments, as city officials and planners put more effort into addressing urban issues such as transportation and housing. Supporters of urban agriculture believe city governments should move pro-urban agriculture legislation to the forefront of their agendas because of the ways in which it would benefit urban communities (Pothukuchi and Kaufman, 1999; Schindler, 2012). Schindler (2012) points out, "Though individual traits are strengthened through urban agriculture, individuals are not isolated, and are instead engaged with their community" (61). Scholars, like Guthman (2009) and Domene and Sauri (2007), advocate for research that focuses more on the problems of space and governance that threaten urban agriculture and alternative food movements.

III. Space, Human-Animal Relationships and Resistance

Zoning laws and ordinances map, reflect, and control human-animal and human-human relationships. Although dominant views of relationships become reinforced by these codes, people often resist and transgress them. By keeping food animals in cities urban livestock keepers transgress and resist normative landscapes, and also often violate local zoning ordinances.

A. Zoning

The first comprehensive zoning ordinance was enacted in 1916 in New York City as a way to designate "appropriate" uses of land. Owners of upscale shops on Fifth Avenue complained to city officials that encroaching industrial immigrant workforces would deter wealthy shoppers. The 1916 ordinance favored the wealthy, and pushed industrial activity into poor neighborhoods (Maantay, 2001). Through land use ordinances such as this, municipalities constructed normative landscapes, which Cresswell (1996) defines as places created by and (re)enforcing hegemonic ideologies.

The first significant land use case, Euclid v. Ambler in 1926, ultimately supported the segregation of land for separate uses. The village of Euclid, Ohio enacted a zoning ordinance to protect its residential area from developing industries, leaving Ambler Realty Company unable to industrially develop their land. Ambler Realty sued the village of Euclid, claiming that the zoning ordinance significantly decreased its property values. The US District Court in Ohio backed Ambler, ruling that the ordinance was "an illegal use of police power because it unreasonably controlled private property to serve class ends" (Plotkin, 1987: 105).

The people of Euclid appealed to the US Supreme Court, and won their case by convincing the Court that zoning ordinances such as Euclid's were justified because of the benefits to public health, public safety, and general public welfare (Plotkin, 1987:106; Village of Euclid v. Ambler Realty Co., 1926). The US Supreme Court reasoned that urban life was not as "simple" as it used to be, and that new restrictions on property use would benefit urban dwellers. It was during this case that Justice George Sutherland famously

said, “A nuisance can be the right thing in the wrong place, such as a pig in the parlor instead of the barnyard” (Village of Euclid v. Ambler Realty Co., 1926).

The US Supreme Court’s decision to favor the residents of Euclid set a precedent for zoning ordinances to control activities on private property, and to decide where activities and buildings were allowed and not allowed. For example, an apartment building might be allowed in certain areas, but not in areas where it appeared “out of place”, perhaps next to stand alone houses. This zoning controls where physical things could be, but it also controls where people could be:

> Keeping functions and functionaries together seemed efficient, after all. ‘In the nature of things,’ presumably, some people were compelled to live near the ‘barnyard’ use that other people could legitimately exclude. There was nothing wrong with living next to ‘barns’ if one could not afford otherwise. But if this were true, then zoning had much less to do with protecting people from harmful things than with protecting some people from other people. The focus of zoning was the *social relationships of the people* not things (Plotkin, 1987: 108, emphasis added).

Euclidean zoning changed the way people access food (Schindler, 2012). Before zoning, urban residents enjoyed neighborhood farm or produce stands within walking distance of their homes. The onset of Euclidean single-use zoning[7] made walkable food access much harder, and instead encouraged suburbs and big box supermarkets (Schindler, 2012). The majority of local governments in the US continue to use this Euclidian type of single-land-use zoning (Elliot, 2008: 34) where laws effectively control space, activities, people, social relationships, and create normative understandings of what (and who) is in and out of place.

[7] Unlike mixed-use zoning, single-use zoning separates the uses of space. For instance, single-use zoning keeps residential, commercial, and agricultural areas and activities completely separate.

Omi and Winant's (1994) racial formation theory clarifies the socio-political origins of zoning which use "race-neutral" language to achieve racially coded agendas. These are used to "effectively re-marginalize minority cultures without ever having to invoke issues of race" (Omi and Winant, 1994: 128). Words and ideas like protecting "quality of life", "public health", and "property values" are racial codes that help dominant white groups segregate and control land through zoning policies (Omi and Winant, 1994; Schindler, 2012). Hankins, Cochran, and Derickson (2012) argue that "the state plays a critical role in facilitating, sanctioning and normalizing these spatial practices, through planning, zoning, and the management and ordering of public and private property" (Hankins, et al, 2012, no page number).

Racialized and classed ideologies are at the root of and have shaped politics and land use policies. Race and racism heavily influence policies such as zoning that control land use and create spatialized segregation of people, with white people usually benefitting from the implementation of these policies and social organization (Lipsitz, 2006). Scholars have shown that types of food production outside of dominant food systems (i.e. urban agriculture and urban livestock) are often associated with recently immigrated poor minorities, and that these means of food production are also often criminalized via ordinances (Barraclough, 2009; Trudeau, 2006; Alkon and Norgaard, 2009).

In addition to codifying normative landscapes, social pressures shape appropriateness in lawns and yards. Robbins (2007) argues that yard management is not so much an individual choice as a product of neighborhood landscapes, which cultivate the types of lawns that are acceptable. Robbins recounts residents' feelings of isolation and anomie if their lawn care management does not match those of their neighbors.

Even if residents are concerned with the application of chemicals, they will participate in chemical landscape management in order to fit into the neighborhood. As Robbins' work shows, normative landscapes are powerful influences on individual and collective actions.

B. Animal Geographies

In addition to shaping the social relationships between people, zoning laws codify human-animal relationships in the city. Through zoning laws and normative landscapes, the absence of food animals in urban space is now taken-for-granted and common sense. Some animals, such as cats and dogs are normalized as "companion animals" (Wolch and Emel, 1998), and, as such, are in place in the city while others, such as chickens and goats, are seen as food animals, and are out of place (Philo and Wilbert, 2000; Wolch and Emel, 1998). The presence or absence of certain species is often taken for granted, and Philo and Wilbert (2000) argue that they should be looked at critically.

Recently, scholars examined the nature and meaning of human-animal relationships, forming a sub-discipline of geography known as "Animal Geography" (Wolch and Emel, 1998). In particular, animal geographers are concerned with mapping spaces of human-animal interaction, and study animals as agents in space. Humans have always relied on animals (for food, clothing, and other necessary materials), and are therefore central to human spaces (Philo and Wilbert, 2000). Animal geographers are attentive to how we "other" animals by positioning them in relation to "us" (Philo and Wilbert, 2000), and the subsequent places animals occupy in society. For example, certain animals, such as types of monkeys, tigers, or other "exotic" animals, are acceptable in zoos but not in residences (Philo and Wilbert, 2000). Urban residents are not keen on sharing space with

non-companion animals in "outsider animal groups" like coyotes. Wolch adds that "livestock animals such as chickens, pigs, sheep, and cattle [are] the most 'outsider' of outsider animal groups" (Wolch and Emel, 1998: 93). Yet, within mutually exclusive metropolitan spaces for certain animals and humans,

> there remain ….zones of potential coexistence… cases of negotiation/struggle over sharing space which reveal how representations of both animals and people reflect the *interspecific balance of borderlands power* (Wolch and Emel, 1998: xvii-xviii, emphasis added).

Livestock in densely populated areas is still seen as out of place, and is often criminalized in spite of an increasing number of initiatives to legalize urban livestock. These urban spaces can be viewed as Wolch and Emel's borderlands, where people contest who has the power to decide whether to include food animals in urban areas and, by extension, potentially grant greater freedom to produce food on a home-scale.

Wolch (1998) argues that urbanization increases distance from nature and decreases human concern about animal welfare (Wolch and Emel, 1998: 128). The presence of urban livestock reimagines both the role of food production in the city and reconfigures human-animal relationships (Blecha and Leitner, 2013). Lynn (1998) adds that our moral values influence our relationship with animals. Blecha and Leitner (2013) found that urban chicken keepers resist consumerism, think differently about urban lifestyles and human-animal relationships, and participate in sustainable eco-system building. Small-scale food production, such as most urban chicken keeping, contributes less to climate change than large-scale industrial food production, and allows for more easily traceable food products so that in the event of a food scare, such as an E.Coli outbreak, the point of contamination is much easier to identify and contain (Schindler, 2012).

Blecha and Leitner (2013) also found that urban chicken keepers imagine new economies: They emphasized the pleasures of building relationships with neighbors and of companionship with animals, they commented on the unexpected benefits of barter, and reflected on their attempts to resist commodification of chicken keeping. They see their practices as welcome alternatives to the individualism and associated isolation, consumerism, and stressful pace of everyday urban life in the contemporary capitalist city (13). Urban livestock keepers thus work to change the normative place of animals in the city in human-animal "borderlands", while also resisting dominant food economies.

C. Resistance

Cresswell's (1996) influential work on place explains relationships between space and governance, with particular attention to opportunities for resisting normative social landscapes. According to Cresswell (1996), space and place are constructed through spatial and social norms. The common sense ideologies that inform these norms create normative landscapes, which are then used to govern acceptable or "in place" things, people, and behavior, and define what is unacceptable or "out of place". Those in power and who make laws are typically those who represent dominant social values and thus use their power to reify and codify normative landscapes. While normative landscapes are deployed to control people and things, they also provide opportunity for meaningful resistance. Transgressions, or actions that occur outside of or in contrast to common sense ideologies, break normalized ways of being, and allow people to push boundaries and resist and sometimes change normative landscapes. Transgressive actions or things that begin as "out of place" can grow in acceptance, eventually becoming "in place" (Cresswell, 1996). Normative

landscapes are thus influential in shaping the culturally acceptable use of space. Laws, such as land use zoning, reflect these conventional ideologies and support or sanction what Plotkin (1987) calls the "social relationships of people" (108) in space.

According to Katz (2004), resistance can be thought of as part of a suite of concepts that include resilience and reworking. People practice *resilience* when they attempt to "recover and reconnect to landscapes wherein their knowledge remained relevant" (245). Resilience is a way for people, individuals and collectives, to gain *some* agency, particularly in constraining circumstances, and can be thought of as actions people take to solidify their community and enter into "reciprocal relations" where they share knowledge and skills in order to survive (246). Building resilience allows people to be somewhat independent from market forces by giving them the ability to practice self-sufficiency at a smaller scale and in mutually-interdependent ways. *Reworking* happens when people respond to problematic conditions by attempting to "recalibrate power relations and/or redistribute resources", and undermine inequities stemming from dominant social order (247). Katz (2004) says, "Projects of reworking...generally operate on the same plane and scale that a problem is experienced, although their effects--both in terms of practical outcomes and for producing consciousness--are often much broader" (247). Reworking undermines constraints in order to make everyday life both "more livable and to create viable terrains of practice" (251).

Resistance expands on reworking and undermining of structural constraints by producing a "critical consciousness to confront and redress historically and geographically specific conditions of oppression and exploitation at various scales" (251). Katz describes acts of resistance as consciously redressing imbalances of power that take place "however

fleetingly and even covertly" in order to "redirect the flow of resources" (253). Thus, perhaps people with urban livestock participate in everyday acts of resistance in attempt to undermine and/or change normative assumptions about urban space and the place of animals in the city. Examining urban livestock keepers' practices and motivations could help reveal to what extent or in what ways they participate in everyday acts of resistance, if at all. Additionally, if livestock keepers do in fact participate in acts of reworking or resistance, an investigation could reveal what it is they are attempting to rework and/or resist.

Katz's insights on resilience, reworking, and resistance may relate to how spatial strategies can be deployed in transforming the food system through the location and type of food production. For example, Scott (2009) asserts that citizens/subjects evade oppressive state power though the creation of spaces of autonomy by opting to live in geographically marginalized "hard to reach" spaces where they can adapt agricultural lifestyles that facilitate the evasion of and resistance to state power. Likewise, Van der Ploeg (2009) suggests that repeasantization can be seen as one form of resistance through developing and maintaining skills and practices on small-scale farms. New peasants represent the struggle for autonomy and diminishing dependence on corporate food regimes, and the state which supports them, through cultivating land either individually owned or collectively accessed. Scott's hard to reach spaces and Van der Ploeg's new peasants offer a way of thinking spatially about agriculture. Katz's concepts of resilience, reworking, and resistance, may help explain struggles over power in the food system, and spatial strategies like Scott's hard to reach spaces offer a way to think about how strategies

of resilience and resistance use space in the fight to gain independence and power from corporate food systems.

For instance, people may resist local governance of space and undermine normative urban landscapes by keeping food animals in the city illegally. Whether their animals are legal or not, they may be resisting types of food systems through their practices. Perhaps their spaces of animal food production can be seen as borderlands where transgressions of normative landscapes result in the cultural and political change that is necessary for the transformation of the food system that food sovereignty demands. Alternative food markets do not dramatically configure the distribution of food in the way that food sovereignty requires. If urban livestock keepers rework the use and control of space in cities and build resilience, they also seem to assert a political autonomy that resonates with food sovereignty narratives, as I demonstrate below.

IV. Alternative Food Networks and Food Sovereignty

Understanding the concepts of alternative food and food sovereignty are key to assessing whether and how those participating in the keeping of urban livestock act in ways consistent with food sovereignty. Both alternative food networks (AFNs) and food sovereignty act as paths for sidestepping participation in conventional industrial food systems. The two camps, however, are separate, and provide distinct ways of interacting with market economies and methods of food production and distribution. In what follows, I give an overview of the origins and characteristics of alternative food networks and food sovereignty, and conclude by addressing debates around places of overlap between the two concepts.

A. Alternative Food Networks/Markets

Alternative food networks (AFNs) appeared in the Global North in response to food scares and in opposition to the conventional agro-food system (DeLind and Howard, 2008**;** Abrahams, 2007). The 1960s back-to-the-land and organic farming movements in the US represent AFNs in their nascent stages. AFNs, born out of concern for environmental, economic, and social justice, promote alternative food markets that shorten the distance between consumers and producers as a way to combat social and environmental problems caused by conventional food industries (Holloway, et al, 2007; Trauger, 2007; Winter, 2004). A local/global dichotomy pervades AFNs, causing AFN participants to purport localizing food economies as a solution to fixing globalized industrial food problems, such as malnutrition, obesity, food scares, and food insecurity (Holloway, et al, 2007; Hinrichs, 2003). AFNs are exemplified in local and organic agriculture, Fair Trade, eco-labeling[8], the Slow Food Movement, Community Supported Agriculture (CSAs) and small-scale farmers markets (Goodman and DuPois, 2002). These alternative food economies and markets aim to benefit both producers and consumers. Smaller localized markets that preference food produced without added chemicals or synthetic fertilizers support small-scale eco-friendly farms, and promote community-citizen reciprocity and equity (Goodman and Goodman, 2008). Small-scale localized food production and distribution is also seen as a way to increase food security and food safety (Delind, 2008). AFNs are characterized by a focus on consumer concerns over human health and food safety, the environmental consequences of globalised and industrialised agriculture, farm animal welfare, and fair trade. It is these consumer concerns which are seen as the prime motivating factors in a move away from

[8] Eco-labeling is exemplified by produce certificates such as “non-GMO”, “cage free”, or “hormone free”.

the homogenised products of the global agro-food industry in the western world (Winter, 2004: 24).

Although AFNs aim to challenge larger social and economic injustices, they often reify the ideologies they oppose by promoting individual choices and working within a market economy rather than through policy change (Holloway, et al, 2008; Guthman, 2008; Fairbairn, 2012; Alkon and Mares, 2012). AFNs focus more on individual consumer choice and less on radically changing the conventional food system and underlying collective social injustices. Many have been co-opted by corporatism (e.g. Whole Foods; industrial organic) and encourage consumerism, entrepreneurial and market based solutions to food system troubles (Johnston, 2008**;** Holloway, et al, 2008; Alkon and Mares, 2012; Delind, 2011).

Supporters of AFNs often approach solutions to social and food injustices using individualized and neoliberal frameworks. Participants believe the reason that many people are hungry and malnourished in the US is because of a lack of education in consumer choices, and see educating others on how to eat "good" food (i.e. local and organic) as a solution to the growing concerns around obesity and malnutrition (Guthman, 2008). This type of approach relies on individual agency occurring within the existing social and economic systems rather than a call for collective rights to deeply challenge current structures. By approaching solutions to hunger and poverty via personal health and individualized consumer choice, AFNs lack criticisms of state sponsored market-based policies, which puts the responsibility of solving large scale problems on the shoulders of individuals. While AFNs act to decentralize the food system, they are not necessarily concerned with rethinking political or economic systems (Akram-Lodhi, 2013; Johnston,

2008; Johnston and Baumann, 2010; McWilliams, 2009; Winter, 2004). Scholars have argued that alternative food and its individualized approach is not new (Bobrow-Strain, 2012; Johnston, 2010). In talking about the social history of bread, Bobrow-Strain (2012) states:

> ...eager attempts to 'improve' the poor by teaching them about 'good food' may have made reformers feel great about themselves but often missed the point. The emphasis on scientific diet and efficient household management as routes out of poverty was no match for the grinding structural forces keeping people poor: nativism, racism, political corruption, anti-worker laws, and monopoly power (23).

In addition to reifying individualism, AFNs can and have inadvertently contributed to class and racial divides.

Scholars critique AFNs for being a product of white desire (Slocum, 2006). Farmers markets and boutique grocery stores, for example, cater to a white middle-class clientele. While these places allow for engagement with alternative food sources such as "civic agriculture", which emphasizes local food systems with short supply chains (Trauger, 2014), they also have high priced food items that can be prohibitively expensive for lower-class citizens. Many alternative food markets attempt to reach low-income populations by accepting EBT/SNAP (government food stamps) or participating in programs geared towards low-income populations.

For example, Wholesome Wave Georgia (WWG), an organization whose sole purpose is to provide funds to double EBT/SNAP benefits at farmers markets in Georgia, uses private donations from corporations and individuals to subsidize government food stamps at farmers markets in attempt to increase poorer citizens' access to fresh fruits and vegetables. While Georgia farmers markets have seen a rise in consumption via food

stamps, many market managers feel further work is needed to truly increase food access to low-income eaters (personal communication with WWG Program Director).

Food policies such as EBT/SNAP programs that distribute food to the poor are in line with neoliberal policies (Barret, 2002). Civic agriculture and food justice programs, such as WWG, often (re)produce a two class system of wealthy and poor (Trauger, 2014). They need to incorporate intra-class alliances to encourage transformative politics rather than conforming to the neoliberal market (Dickinson, 2013). Although some scholars may argue that using state programs, like food stamps, to increase access to food is indicative of moving towards food sovereignty (Dickinson, 2013), others argue that these types of programs simply work around the corporate food system without contesting deeper political power and inequalities (Clendenning and Dressler, 2013). In other words, by using state based programs, the responsibility of ensuring access to safe and healthy food is lifted from corporations and agribusinesses and placed onto public-private organizations and programs. If problematic conditions set by consolidated political and economic power are not contested and brought to the forefront of conversations and movements, corporations will continue to define and control the food system.

B. Food Security and Food Justice

Alternative food networks, focused on food justice and hunger that emerged in the late 20th century, challenge injustice in the food system are largely inspired by the global discourse of food security and the "right to food". In 1974, international organizations such as the United Nations and the World Bank became concerned with food security, which they defined as "access by all people at all times to enough food for an active and healthy

life" (World Bank, 1986). By this definition, those concerned with food security are only concerned with supplying hungry people with necessary caloric intake by whatever means possible, including food aid and industrialized agriculture (Fairbairn, 2012). Food security does not attempt to challenge dominant economic or social policies but rather supports current structures without question (Fairbairn, 2012).

Appearing in the late 1980s and early 1990s, Community Food Security (CFS) is a localized version of the more state based policies on food security, and emphasizes food security via local and sustainable food sources. CFS stems from alternative food thinking and "aims to ensure affordable, appropriate, nutritious, accessible food for all residents at all times, through conventional (rather than charitable or welfare) channels, and by means that are sustainable" (Pothukuchi and Kaufman, 1999: 218). Food Policy Councils (FPCs), which arose from alternative food movements, are comprised of various community members (farmers, hunger/food activists, city officials, etc.) and work to strengthen the local food system and benefit communities (Pothukuchi and Kaufman, 1999). Like other AFNs, CFS criticizes dominant economic, social, and environmental policies by calling for more equitable and just policies. Its focus is on community food, and aims to analyze food production from a communal standpoint rather than individual food consumption (Fairbairn, 2012; Alkon and Mares, 2012).

Food justice subscribes to the same core values and actions of alternative food and community food security with an added emphasis on "the multiple ways that racial and economic inequalities are embedded within the production, distribution, and consumption of food" (Alkon and Mares, 2012: 348). Food justice advocates see institutionalized racist policies as the cause of food insecurity, malnutrition, and hunger that plague many

communities of color (Alkon and Mares, 2012). Food justice programs frequently exist as urban agriculture operations that aim to empower people to grow their own food, such as Will Allen's youth urban farming program, Growing Power, in Milwaukee. Yet, while these approaches to hunger seek to change markets to advantage themselves and marginalized groups, they continue to work within, rather than challenge, economic markets.

While alternative food networks and food justice approaches aim to decentralize food production/distribution and shorten the distance between consumer and producer, they are not deeply political at their core (Winter, 2004). AFNs provide consumers with alternative markets "which are neither collective nor anti-market" (Guthman, 2008 : 436) *while food sovereignty challenges global capitalism, neoliberal markets, and ways of acting within these systems* (Fairbairn, 2012; Alkon and Mares, 2012; Trauger, forthcoming). Activists for food sovereignty question market mechanisms for food security and focus on dismantling larger injustices that "underlie disparities in food access" rather than on the quality of food (Guthman, 2008, 443). AFNs try to address social, environmental, and economic injustices through sustainable agriculture but largely fail at creating political change in social and economic arenas (Trauger, 2007). I position food sovereignty as a progressive response to AFNs shortcomings, and see it as having the potential to expand on and further radicalize alternative food values and goals.

C. Food Sovereignty

The concept of food sovereignty developed in the 1990s in the rural Global South as a peasant-based response to unjust policies. Its most common definition is as follows:

> Food sovereignty is the right of peoples to healthy and culturally appropriate food produced through ecologically sound and sustainable methods, and their right to define their own food and agriculture systems. *It puts the aspirations and needs of those who produce, distribute and consume food at the heart of food systems and policies* rather than the demands of markets and corporations (Nyeleni's Declaration for Food Sovereignty, emphasis added).

Food sovereigntists aim to destabilize corporate and state power in the food system, replace global markets with decommodified food distribution and decentralize food production. Holt-Gimenez and Shattuck (2013) state that food sovereignty is not just about access but *control,* and aims to restructure power over land, food production, and markets through returning the right to food to eaters and the right to produce to farmers (423). Food sovereigntists reimagine entire world systems with these values, and use food production and distribution as a starting point to effect major social change and transformation (Alkon and Mares, 2012).

Food sovereignty thus seeks alternatives to and participates in reworking and resisting both market and state-based approaches to food security. Food sovereigntsts reject food regulations that support the interests of transnational capital and assert the right to democratically control their food systems and become more involved in determining what is safe and nutritious food (Almy, 2013). Food sovereignty "moves beyond a focus on food security...to advocate for communities' rights to produce for themselves rather than remain dependent on international commodities markets" (Alkon and Mares, 2012: 347). Food sovereignty not only targets problems within food systems but also recognizes the harmful effects of modernity and privatization. Trauger (2014) states,

> Food sovereignty narratives identify modern notions of property rights and global capitalist markets as the source of the problems in the food system. These narratives are clear that reform in the food system requires rethinking the neoliberal market as a mechanism for state-based food security initiatives, and implicates the state for its policies that marginalize small producers in the interests of capital(2).

Noting that food anxieties and concerns stem from modernity (Trauger, 2007; Bobrow-Strain, 2012), food sovereigntists understand that they must first fix larger underlying injustices, including those perpetuated by alternative food systems, that privilege market solutions to food insecurity and the policies that support transnational capital.

D. Debates Around Food Sovereignty

Food sovereignty offers an opportunity to radically transform and rework dominant social, economic, and environmental systems in the US in ways that AFNs failed to do successfully (Fairbairn, 2012). AFNs, such as organic agriculture, offer alternatives within the conventional system, but have ultimately become heavily co-opted by neoliberalism and consumerism. Food sovereignty demands change beyond state (food security) and market solutions (AFNs) (Trauger, 2014). As Fairbairn (2012) states, "food sovereignty advocates challenge neoliberalism on a micro-level by refusing to adopt its individualizing and commodifying language. Instead they emphasize peasant solidarity, often call for collective control over resources, and question the very commodification of food" (222).

Both AFNs and food sovereignty frameworks require a decentralized food system, and both advocate for the right to food. The major difference between the two is their relation to and participation in liberal market economies. AFN participants place value on individual rights, and mostly act at the individual consumer level and participate in entrepreneurial alternatives existing within the neoliberal state. Food sovereigntists often

act outside of markets and work in opposition to liberal state policies that facilitate market engagement and privilege individual rights. Trauger (2014) and Clendenning and Dressler (2013) argue that the state's priorities hinder true food sovereignty. Akram-Lodhi (2013) states that "food sovereignty is about fundamental transformation of existing structures, ways of thinking and being" (18), and continues to say that "the struggle for food sovereignty requires that people are able to use their individual *and* collective rights" (6, emphasis added).

Johnston (2007) points to ideological tensions between consumerism (rooted in "individual self interest") and citizenship (rooted in "collective responsibility to a social and ecological commons") (229). Some scholars believe that although US consumer activists may not be attempting to dismantle capitalism, they do to some extent challenge and rethink dominant economies (Johnston, 2008) and "emphasize responsibility to ensure the survival and well being of others--human and non-human" (Johnston, 2007: 244). Johnston continues:

> The complexity of on-the-ground food politics compels us to abandon the search for ideologically 'pure' agents of domination and resistance, and instead look for points of contradiction, change, and ideological struggle (247).

As the concept of food sovereignty is still being defined and shaped, borders between types of actions in food system movements and struggles are not clear. Scholars wrestle with this tension between approaches to restructuring the food system that align with alternative food movements and/or food sovereignty. Holt Gimenez and Shattuck (2011) categorize approaches to the food system into four groups: Neoliberal, Reformist, Progressive, and Radical (Figure 2.1). Neoliberal members support food enterprise via

corporations, unregulated markets, and privatization, and Reformists believe in food security by market-led reform. Progressives participate in food justice via AFNs, CFS, Community Supported Agriculture, local and organic food, and regulated markets. Radicals, or food sovereigntists, are closely linked to and support many of the same initiatives as Progressives, but they are more adamant about dismantling (rather than fixing) large scale food corporations and global markets, place high a value on collective rights, and demand the right to *democratically control* their food system. Each of these approaches to the food system "reflects important class, race, and systemic divides", and has "its own set of discourses, institutions, models, and approaches" (114). The authors add that a better understanding of the "similarities and differences within these different approaches is essential for charting equitable and sustainable ways forward through the multiple crises plaguing our food systems" (114-115).

Figure 2.1

Table 1. A food regime/food movements framework.

	Corporate food regime		Food movements	
POLITICS	NEOLIBERAL	REFORMIST	PROGRESSIVE	RADICAL
Discourse	***Food Enterprise***	***Food Security***	***Food Justice***	***Food Sovereignty***
Main Institutions	International Finance Corporation (World Bank); IMF; WTO; USDA; USAID; GAFSP; Green Revolution/CGIAR; Millennium Challenge; Global Harvest; Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation; Cargill; Monsanto; ADM; Tyson; Carrefour; Tesco; Wal-Mart	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank); FAO; HLTF; CFA; CGIAR; IFAP; mainstream Fair Trade; Slow Food; some Food Policy Councils; Worldwatch; OXFAM-AMERICA; CARE; Feeding America and most food banks and food aid programs	CFS; Alternative Fair Trade & many Slow Foods chapters; many organizations in the Community Food Security Movement; CSAs; many Food Policy Councils & youth food and justice movements; Coalition of Immokalee Workers and other farmworker & labor organizations	Via Campesina and other agrarian-based farmers' movements (ROPPA, EAFF, ESAFF); International Planning Committee on Food Sovereignty; ATTAC; World March of Women; and many Food Justice and rights-based movements
Orientation	***Corporate/Global market***	***Development/Aid***	***Empowerment***	***Entitlement/Redistribution***
Model	Overproduction; corporate concentration; unregulated markets and monopolies; monocultures (including organic); GMOs; agrofuels; mass global consumption of industrial food; phasing out of peasant & family agriculture and local retail	Mainstreaming/certification of niche markets (e.g. organic, fair, local, sustainable); maintaining northern agricultural subsidies; 'sustainable' roundtables for agrofuels, soy, forest products, etc; market-led land reform; microcredit	Agroecologically-produced local food; investment in underserved communities; new business models and community benefit packages for production, processing & retail; better wages for ag. workers; solidarity economies; land access; regulated markets & supply	Dismantle corporate agri-foods monopoly power; parity; redistributive land reform; community rights to water & seed; regionally-based food systems; democratization of food system; sustainable livelihoods; protection from dumping/overproduction; revival of agroecologically-managed peasant agriculture to distribute wealth and cool the planet

(*continued*)

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Holt-Gimenez and Shattuck (2011) express these trends as distinct categories but concede that the trends often overlap, which makes clear-cut boundaries between them not possible. They say that while some actors are easily and solidly categorized, "others are much harder to categorize because they adopt politically distinct positions on different issues--*or adopt one position while practicing another*" (132, emphasis added). The biggest difference, however, between Radical and Progressives is that the Radical groups, or what they term food sovereignty, advocate for limits on corporate power and demand collective (versus private) ownership and rights to seeds, water, and land. Progressives (AFNs) advocate for less radical changes, often focused on individual decisions related to consumption within the current political system.

Holt Gimenez and Shattuck (2013) assert that if Progressives become swayed by Reformists and Neoliberals, which in no way resist current political-economic systems,

then the corporate food system will remain unchallenged. If Progressives trend toward Radical discourses then the movement to change corporate control of the food system will be strengthened. Additionally, if the class interests reflected in these two approaches were to converge, they might contribute "significantly to the construction of a different food regime" (Holt-Gimenez and Shattuck, 2013: 131). Later in this thesis, I build on both Holt-Gimenez and Shattuck's categories of food movements and suggestions of potential conversion between them by adding subsets of food sovereignty and using them to interpret conflicting socio-political viewpoints and actions that are expressed by urban livestock keepers in Athens. (Figure 3.2)

As AFNs exemplify, markets threaten the future of food sovereignty with the potential to co-opt the original concept's collective ideology and envelop it into individualism and consumerism within dominant market economies (Fairbairn, 2012). Food sovereignty in the Global North also has the potential to drop its fight against transnational capital, and instead reify localism and individual consumer choice as the only means to achieve food sovereignty (Fairbairn, 2012). Fairbairn (2012) argues that food sovereignty in the context of the Global North needs to be reframed slightly in order to be effective at making change, but it needs to not be reframed so much that it is unrecognizable as food sovereignty. Alkon and Mares (2012) suggest a deeper engagement with food sovereignty's core objectives could help (re)radicalize alternative food efforts that have been pulled into the neoliberal state.

V. Conclusion

This chapter reviews existing literature relevant to this thesis in order to contextualize an analysis of urban livestock keeping in Athens, GA. A history of urban agriculture and livestock allows for an understanding of the role such activities play in the US. Theories and examples of place, resistance, and human-animal relationships, and a brief history of zoning, are useful for analyzing my first and second research questions: (1) How and why do residents in Athens, GA keep urban livestock even though it is prohibited? (2) How do residents and city officials view yard space? At what scale do they think yard space and private property should be regulated? An explanation of alternative food networks (AFNs) and food sovereignty unpacks the two concepts, and identifies tensions in the US between and within food sovereignty and alternative food. This discussion in particular is helpful for answering my third research question: In what ways do these activities of urban livestock keeping relate to food sovereignty?

This literature review presents a comprehensive overview of what scholars have put forth on issues relevant to this thesis, and represents an understanding of existing knowledge on relevant subject matter. Applying this knowledge to my research permits me to ask and answer questions that fill gaps or less robust spaces in existing literature. For instance, this research adds empirical data for better understanding how urban livestock in the US is kept, and addresses definitions and debates of food sovereignty in the Global North. In the following chapter, in addition to detailing the methods and methodologies used to procure data for analysis, I build on Holt-Gimenez and Shattuck's (2011) categorization of political actors in the food system by offering an analytical framework for thinking about prevailing subsets of food sovereignty in the US, which I identify as

Libertarian, Civil Disobedient, and Radical Collectivist. I then explain how I use this framework in examining urban livestock keeping in Athens, GA to uncover how and to what extent those with livestock engage with and contribute to food sovereignty discourses. These typologies and narratives are most often characterized by conflicting values and behaviors, preventing participants from solidly occupying one category. By expressing overlapping typologies rather than reflecting one type of food sovereignty, participants show that food sovereignty in the US is potentially in danger of distancing itself from its original principles. Chapters five and six further investigate these typologies and trends and their significance.

CHAPTER 3

METHODS AND METHODOLOGIES

I. Introduction

> *Molly, This is Sarah. I'd be happy to talk with you, but would prefer you use a pseudonym for me in your research. My hens Daisy & Buttercup are actually illegal aliens in my 'hood & if word gets out about them, I fear my local political activism would give more than a few people good cause to turn them in....Let me know what your schedule is like & perhaps we can get together soon....Sarah*

The above excerpt from an email with a respondent illustrates the sensitive nature of the research topic on the keeping of urban livestock in violation of zoning ordinances. It also demonstrates the need for confidentiality and trust between researcher and research participant that is best facilitated from an insider's position. This project looks deeply at the "figured worlds" (Gee, 1999) of people in one location, making qualitative methods and methodologies most appropriate for data collection and analysis. Interviews and narrative and discourse analyses allow for the interpretation of participants who say one thing and do another (Holt-Gimenez and Shattuck, 2011). Thus, these methods also interpret expressions that do not easily fit into separate categories, such as whether and how urban livestock in the US contributes to the emerging discourse of food sovereignty.

The goals of this research project are to find out how residents in Athens, GA are keeping urban livestock, why they are doing so in violation of a local zoning ordinance, and how their activities and viewpoints relate to food sovereignty. This research project also aims to identify and discuss the thoughts expressed by participants and elected officials in

Athens on uses and regulations of urban space and private property as they relate to urban food production. In addressing these goals, this research adds to larger discussions on urban livestock, alternative food networks, and food sovereignty in the US.

This chapter begins by providing brief context for my study site, Athens, GA, and revisiting my research questions and their significance. I then explain the use and importance of qualitative methodologies in this project, and discuss my positionality as an insider researcher. An explanation of my methods follows, in which I detail my data collection and participant recruitment methods. In section four, I detail the analytical framework I employ to draw conclusions about the relationship between urban livestock and food sovereignty. The chapter concludes with a discussion about this research's limitations and strengths.

II. Study Site and Research Objectives

Athens, GA provides an opportunity to explore questions and issues surrounding space, power, and food. Zoning ordinances disallow the majority of residents in Athens-Clarke County from engaging in "agricultural" activities on their private property. Agriculture is broadly defined as anything from personal food and flower gardens to food animals such as chickens, goats, and bees (Athens Municipal Code Section 9-2-1). The zoning laws allow "agricultural" activity in the outskirts of Athens, in areas zoned AR or RS-25 and RS-40, which are usually outside of the higher density urban area (Athens Municipal Code Section 9-2-1).

Residents living in non-agriculturally zoned areas in Athens (the majority of plots inside the City of Athens) are not permitted to keep livestock or gardens. Yet, many

residents in the Athens area still garden and/or keep small-scale urban livestock (chickens, bees, goats, and sometimes pigs). “Pro-chicken” and “pro-goat” campaigns are even underway, where residents show support for a change in ordinances to allow food animals in the city, especially through sporting “pro-chicken” t-shirts and bumper stickers (personal communication with community activists).

Athenians say that the livestock ordinance enforcement is “complaint driven”; that is, code enforcers turn a blind eye to the illicit behavior of keeping urban livestock, unless a neighbor makes an official complaint (personal communication with residents and city officials). The Athens-Clarke County city commission has yet to act one way or another on the issue: it has not actively sought out and punished livestock keepers on illegal livestock, nor has it seriously discussed making livestock permitted in non-agricultural zones. According to primary sources within the city government, mayor Nancy Denson refuses to even place the discussion of allowing urban livestock, especially chickens, on the commission’s agenda (personal communication).

A. Study Site

This research project originated in an in-town neighborhood district in Athens, which I will call Chicken City because of its high concentration of chicken keepers. The neighborhood, which lies North of UGA’s campus, consists of one main road, with many offshoots and dead ends, and is bounded by three heavily trafficked roads. Railroad tracks also run through part of the neighborhood. Residents of Chicken City can, and do, walk to downtown Athens in less than fifteen minutes. Chicken City is not a historic district, meaning there are few regulations on housing and yard aesthetics. It is zoned residential,

and incorporates low income to high income residences[9]. Most front lawns in this neighborhood are not manicured and instead cultivate wildflowers and food plants. Chicken City is where I began my interviews, because I was already friendly with many chicken keeping residents, as I discuss in further detail later in this chapter.

The snowball method moved my research from Chicken City to two other neighborhoods in close proximity. I will refer to these as Hilltracks and Beeville. Hilltracks lies just East of Chicken City and, unlike Chicken City, is a historic district with certain regulations on housing and yard aesthetics, such as the prohibition of tearing down any standing structures. The area of Hilltracks is a bit larger than Chicken City, and has much larger residences that often sit further back from the street because of large lawns. These lawns are slightly more manicured than those in Chicken City, and although a few consist solely of grass, many showcase flower and vegetable gardens. There are many low trafficked offshoot streets and dead ends in this neighborhood, as well. Beeville lies South of Hilltracks and Southeast of Chicken City. It is not a historic district, and has a mix of housing styles: brick houses, mill houses, and more historic large homes. Lawns in this area tend to host more manicured grass-only lawns than Hilltracks and Chicken City.

B. Research Objectives

Urban livestock is an understudied area, particularly in the discipline of geography, which lacks rich empirical data about food animals in the city. The goals of this research are to provide empirical descriptions of how residents in Athens, GA keep urban livestock,

[9] Historically, Chicken City has housed predominantly poorer residents, but there has been a recent influx of new houses custom-built for higher income residents. None of the new residents are participants in this research project.

explore their motivations for doing so, and gain insights into the politics of regulating urban livestock and yard space. This research also aims to find what relationship exists, if any, between participants' activities and viewpoints and food sovereignty. The following questions guided this research endeavor:

1) Why and how do residents keep urban livestock even though it is often in violation of zoning ordinances? How are residents affected by the zoning ordinance, if at all?

2) How do city officials and residents view private yard spaces? Who or what defines normative uses of these spaces? How do community members and city officials think private yards and urban livestock should be regulated? At what scale?

3) How do these activities and viewpoints relate to food sovereignty? Are residents participating in food sovereignty by keeping urban livestock? How do these activities and participants shape the meaning of food sovereignty?

These questions attempt to better understand the keeping of urban livestock, the normative uses of urban space, and the meaning of food sovereignty in the US. In a broader sense, these questions allow this research to say something about power, urban space, and human and animal relationships as they relate to food production. To meet these objectives and answer these questions, I conducted semi-structured interviews with residents who keep urban livestock, neighbors who do not, and elected officials.

III. Methodology

Qualitative methodologies are most appropriate for this research because I seek to answer "questions that stress how social experience is created and given meaning" (Denzin and Lincoln, 2008: 14). Qualitative methodologies allow me to study urban livestock keepers in "their natural settings", and assist in attempts "to make sense of, or interpret,

phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them" (Denzin and Lincoln, 2008: 4). This project looks deeply at events and people in one location and how they are influenced by both place and understandings of the world (DeLyser, et.al, 2010), and addresses the meanings and spatiality of social relationships (Plotkin, 1987) which are better expressed qualitatively. Additionally, this thesis necessitates qualitative methodologies because it examines ways in which participants beliefs and behaviors are both hard to separate and hard to categorize because many participants "adopt one position while practicing another" (Holt-Gimenez and Shattuck, 2011: 132).

In-person conversational interviews provide opportunity for the research participant and researcher to fully express and share their ideas. For example, engaging in conversation with research participants about how they keep their food animals allows me to not just better understand the ways in which they maintain their animals, but also their relationship to the animals. Given pre-prescribed answer choices, a participant may simply check a box marked "free range" to answer the question "how do you keep your food animals?". A conversation, however, would reveal that the participant lets her hens roam free because she feels bad for the hens if they are confined to a coop, although she does wish that there was a way to keep the hens confined in a way that doesn't restrict their roaming so that she could find their eggs more easily and better protect the hens from predators.

A. Ethnographic Methodology

Researchers using qualitative methods, are concerned with how their position affects not only the data collection process but also the interpretation and analysis of the data (Best, 2003; DeLyser, et al, 2010; Baxter and Eyles, 1997; Shope, 2006; Schensul, Schensul, and Lecompte, 1999). As a resident of one of my study sites, and a keeper of clandestine hens, I am more of an insider than outsider in this research endeavor. I had pre-existing relationships with some of the participants, and forged new relationships during the interview process. Because I see many of the participants in my neighborhood and around Athens, and because of my own livestock keeping activities, I was already immersed in the community in which I conducted research.

Participant observation and ethnographic methodologies (Angrosino, 2008) were therefore key tools available to me in conducting research. Schensul, Shensul, and Lecompte (1999) define ethnography as

> a scientific approach to discovering and investigating social and cultural patterns and meaning in communities, institutions, and other social settings. One primary difference between ethnography as science and other social and behavioral science methods of investigation is that ethnographers discover what people do and why before they assign meaning to behaviors and beliefs (1).

The authors add that ethnographic research is conducted at a local level and with face-to-face interactions between researcher and participant (6-7). By this definition, this project utilizes ethnographic methods as it investigates social patterns and behaviors in a localized setting, and collects data via face-to-face in-depth interactions. Following ethnographic and qualitative methodologies, I am able to better understand what Gee (1999) calls a "figured world", which is a theory about how the world works, by conversing about participants'

beliefs and at the same time viewing the ways in which they do, or do not, actively express these beliefs in their behavior. Figured worlds, which consist of beliefs that then assign meaning or significance to actions or things, shape behavior. Gee (1999) says, "figured worlds are linked to simulations we run in our minds, simulations that help us to think about things and prepare ourselves for action in the world" (78). Theories and simulations that inform figured worlds can be partial and inconsistent, making people's beliefs and behaviors able to be inconsistent, too. For example, participants may inhabit a figured world where corporations, privatization, and individualism are seen as dangers, causing them to desire a restructured society. Their behavior, however, might stem from a slightly contradictory figured world, causing them to act in less radical or individualistic ways. Both viewpoints and activities must be taken into account when analyzing participants' involvement with broader concepts such as food sovereignty.

Angrosino (2008) points out that even if the main method of data collection is in-person interviews, as is the case for my research, these studies "employ observational methods to note body language and other gestural cues that lend meaning to the words of the persons being interviewed" (163). Throughout (and before and after) the research process, I engaged in participant observation with research participants as I went about daily life. For example, as a result of my pre-existing relationship to this community, I knew that one of my participants had started a free garden in town in hopes that people would use it as a place to obtain free food. While the garden did not come up in our interview, this knowledge added texture to our discussion and my interpretation. During interviews, I also observed participants' manners, body language, gestural cues, and places of work or homes, all of which shaped and helped me interpret people's responses.

According to Fontana and Fey (2008), "[i]nterviewing is one of the most common and powerful ways in which we try to understand our fellow humans" (118). As this research seeks to discern participants' thoughts and related behavior on multiple complex matters, interviews gave me a chance to talk to people face-to-face in an in-depth manner. Interviews were semi-structured, as I prepared a "list of predetermined questions" but still allowed the interviews to "unfold in a conversational manner offering participants the chance to explore issues they feel are important" (Longhurst, 2003: 117). Because researchers that use structured interviews do not have the freedom and flexibility to deviate from their list of pre-determined questions and cannot explore new issues, semi-structured interviews were best for the purposes of this research project. Asking more open ended questions in a less rigid structure, which semi-structured interviews allow for, usually gets people talking and gives them greater control (Riessman, 1993). For instance, I began most interviews by asking the participant to tell me how and why they started keeping livestock. This allowed the interviewee room to bring up any relative issues they found important, without prompting.

B. Data Analysis

According to Maxwell (2013) and Strauss (1987), coding qualitative data is meant to rearrange and sort data into categories that "aid in the development of theoretical concepts" (Maxwell, 2013: 107). I also used "open coding" (Maxwell, 2013: 107; Corbin & Strauss, 2007: 195-204) where I developed some categories "based on what data (including the participants' terms and categories) seem most important" (Maxwell, 2013: 107). I considered important data to be data that in some way answer my research

questions, or data that appeared consistently throughout the collection and interview process.

1. Narrative Analysis

Themes and codes make comparing and contrasting the data easier, and also spotlight new connections (Cope, 2003), which begins data analysis and answering the research questions. In order to give a thorough account of participants' thoughts and ensuing data, my process of analysis moves back and forth between what Maxwell (2013) calls "categorization" (thematic and coding analysis) and "connecting analysis" (105). The connecting analysis takes form in a narrative analysis, where I focus on intact chunks of data rather than solely working with coded segments. As Coffey and Atkinson (1996) point out,

> When we chop [participants' responses] up into separate coded segments, we are in danger of losing the sense that they are accounts. We lose sight, if we are not careful, of the fact that they are often couched in terms of stories--narratives--or that they have other formal properties in terms of their discourse structure (52).

Narrative analysis looks at stories or accounts in whole, rather than breaking up sections of speech into codes (Riessman, 1993). We therefore often learn about participants' viewpoints, personal beliefs, and what they consider important given that"[e]vents become meaningful because of their placement in a narrative" (Riessman, 1993: 18). Looking at what participants' showcase in their narrative, and how and when they tell a story in conversation, can reveal what broader discourses influence their thoughts.

Narratives represent how we would like others to see us (Riessman, 1993), and are indicative of the larger contexts and discourses that shape our figured worlds (Gee, 1999). For example, one of the research participants who keeps livestock, Kelly, talked at length

about her reasons for wanting to produce her own food. She starts by stating that "everybody should have the right to good food", which echoes food sovereignty narratives that demand the right for everyone to have access to and control of their own food system. Kelly then talks about the prevalence of unsustainable consumerism in the US, and continues recounting how she quit listening to the news because it made her too sad. She points to major political economic events, such as weapons of mass destruction in North Korea and the housing market crash, as the impetus for her decision to start learning as much as she could about growing native foods in her yard. Throughout this narrative, she identifies the state and corporations as problematic, and growing your own food as a way to have *some* agency in an otherwise overwhelming and oppressive environment. Viewing this narrative in its entirety helps illustrate how Kelly's feelings relate not just to "the right to food" but also to larger contexts of anti-corporatism, and individual agency in her figured world.

2. Discourse Analysis

While discourse and narrative analyses are similar in approach, they differ in the way they approach the data. Discourse analysis draws on more of a categorical analysis where data can be broken into segments for easier comparison, while narrative analysis encourages the researcher to view interview data in unbroken segments. Discourse analysis looks intensely at the expressive values of words and language (Fairclough, 1989), which reveals underlying ideologies and identities. Referencing Foucault (1972), Holstein and Guburium (2008) add that these discourses are "working attitudes, modes of address, terms of reference, and courses of action suffused into social practices" (Holstein and Gubrium, 2008: 182). Both discourse and narrative analyses examine events and stories

within larger context. Language and conversations cannot be studied independently of these broader contexts and discourses (Riessman, 1993). Gee's (2011) figured worlds is another way of thinking about how people become embedded with ideologies.

Discourse analysis provides a systematic method for analyzing conversations with participants to relate their verbalized thoughts to broader implicit ideologies and theories, or to understand their "figured world". For example, when asked why she thinks people are hungry, Sarah, a research participant currently keeping livestock, states, "I feel like massive overtaking of every fiber of our being by corporate culture has a lot to do with hunger problems and malnutrition problems and obesity problems and diabetes and health that we have in our culture". This quote reveals how Sarah's "figured world" includes a connection between corporate power and food injustice, that on the surface, has little to do with chickens, but that invokes food sovereignty narratives, and explains some of her motivation for keeping chickens.

C. Positional Awareness

Because some livestock-keeping residents already knew me, and knew that I'm also a law-breaking pro-chickenite who dabbles with growing food in my front yard, I did not have a hard time finding primary research participants and initiating the snowball method. I believe my status as a fellow neighbor comforted interviewees who do not keep livestock, as well. Rather than coming across as an opportunistic outside researcher, I could relate to events and people that came up in conversation. Getting people to speak their mind on sensitive matters to an outsider is hard due to a lack of trust. Trust can develop between the researcher and the participants from pre-existing relationships and insider status.

Fontana and Fey (2008) point out, "[g]aining trust is essential to the success of interviews" (132). Intersubjective relationships, in which researcher and participants co-produce knowledge, are more likely to occur when neither researcher nor participant is othered (Trauger and Fluri, 2014) and are familiar with one another.

As an insider to the community I study, I was regularly made aware of the strengths and weaknesses of my position. Similarities between myself and research participants usually had the effect of fostering connections and building trust (Baxter and Eyles, 1997: 508). Interviewees who kept livestock seemed to feel more comfortable talking openly and honestly with me after they learned I also keep livestock. Often times participants' activities were in conflict with the zoning ordinance, making imperative participants' trust that I would not reveal anything about them that might get them into trouble with the city.

Being an insider also has limitations and disadvantages. My pre-existing relationships and similarities with some of the interviewees might have caused them to have pre-conceived ideas about my thoughts on urban livestock and food, which may have skewed the information they shared with me. Talking with the interviewee as a researcher evokes a more serious conversation than if we were just chatting as neighbors or friends. Even though I am an insider in many ways, as a researcher I am also always an outsider with academic privilege (Shope, 2006). It was often difficult to switch from neighbor to researcher and vice versa, but I made great effort to be clear, using words and tone, about when I was interviewing as a researcher and when I was conversing as a neighbor or friend. I also acknowledged the importance of honestly revealing my position to

participants[10] and made ethical decisions about what and what not to include in my analysis.

I also note that "pure objectivity is impossible" (DeLyser, et.al, 2010: 7) and that "reflexivity provides a way of validating the presentation of findings" (Bailey, et al, 1999: 172). I cannot escape, manage, or manipulate my personal beliefs and biases. Therefore, I must engage with my prejudices (Schwandt, 2000: 195). The more aware I am of my own positionality the more able I am to question my data, ensuring to the best of my ability that I don't see only what I want to see (Bailey, et al, 1999). Throughout my entire research process (design, data collection, and analysis), I was careful to approach this research matter with a critical view and keep my positionality in mind.

IV. Methods

To gather data, I recruited participants via flyering and the snowball method, and interviewed residents with and without urban livestock and elected officials. Each interview, with one exception, took place in person and usually in the participant's home[11], was audio recorded, and lasted about an hour. Each group of participants had a corresponding set of interview questions, with questions relevant to the participant's role as either a livestock keeper, neighbor of urban livestock, or elected official with ties to the local ordinance prohibiting livestock. I also analyzed documents, such as old and current city ordinances and maps, and statewide laws relative to the legalization of urban food production. As I detail in my section on data analysis, I transcribed and coded interviews to highlight themes and categories to analyze participants' responses and answer my research

[10] I did not reveal my position as a chicken keeper to elected officials.
[11] Interviews with elected officials all took place either in a local coffee shop or the participant's workplace.

questions. I then created a typologies of political action chart, which I lay out later in this chapter, to better analyze and describe the ways in participants' viewpoints and actions relate to food sovereignty.

A. Qualitative Data Collection

1. Recruiting Participants

To find participants, I used both flyering and snowball methods. I began the interview process by contacting people I knew kept livestock in a specific neighborhood in Athens (Chicken City). After speaking to people in those four households, I placed a flyer at each of the houses up and down the main street in the neighborhood, and the three other streets defining the boundaries of this neighborhood. I placed a flyer in a local restaurant/bar, the local co-op grocery store, and the local tienda (Latin American grocery store). I was alerted to the fact that someone in the bordering neighborhood kept chickens so I decided to expand my research boundaries to neighboring parts of town according to the snowball method (Carolan, 2013). I am aware that "there is still a requirement for qualitative researchers to be mindful of self-selection 'biases' which may come from certain strategies like snowball-sampling" (Baxter and Eyles, 1997: 513).

All of the participants were white, and the majority was middle or lower-middle class. Ages ranged from mid-twenties to seventy. Most participants were married, and some had young children. The snowball method gathered participants from existing social circles, either via friendships or neighborliness, which confined the demographics of participants to a degree. In spite of the fact that my method probably attracted people more like me than not, this method was appropriate, given the hidden nature of livestock keeping in

Athens. A livestock keeper was more likely to speak with me if I came with a personal voucher from a fellow livestock keeper and/or friend. I did receive some responses from individual flyers, but none of these respondents kept livestock, not surprisingly, given the sensitive nature of the topic. I did not receive responses from flyers placed in the local establishments, but I did notice that several contact tags had been removed from the flyers. I was unable to reach the populations of minorities or recently immigrated persons, which are often associated with urban chicken keeping. Although I placed a flyer in the local tienda whose clientele is mostly Latino, also unsurprisingly, I did not receive any responses from this demographic. I am aware that there are certain neighborhoods and apartment complexes that mostly house Latino communities, but my research did not lead me to any of these places or people. Reaching these communities to better understand their role with urban livestock, if any, is an objective discussed in the conclusion, for future research.

During the interviews, my questions provoked participants to talk about motivations for keeping urban livestock, their thoughts on the current zoning ordinance that prohibits these activities, their thoughts on the regulation of urban livestock and private property, and their thoughts on food, hunger and poverty. I wanted to gain insight into these areas to answer my research questions. While I directly asked participants about how and why they keep livestock, and how they think animals and private space should be regulated, I did not directly ask about food sovereignty.

Instead, I looked at the way participants' activities and viewpoints relate to food sovereignty. To this end, I asked participants questions that related to themes in the food sovereignty literature such as: "Do you value individual or collective rights more?" and "Why do you think people are hungry?". Answers to these questions, along with the

motivations for and ways in which participants keep livestock, help establish participants' relationships to food sovereignty values and discourses through their perceptions and beliefs. This research relates activities in Athens to food sovereignty whether or not the participants are conscious of this relationship, which is also why discourse analysis is an appropriate analysis method for this research project.

2. Interviews

I conducted 26 interviews in person, interviewing a total of 33 people, between July and December 2013. 7 interviews consisted of two research participants being interviewed together. 14 of the interviews were with residents who either were currently keeping urban livestock or who had recently kept urban livestock. Most of the participants in this category kept chickens or bees. 2 participants kept goats and pigs. 7 interviewees had never kept urban livestock, but lived in the same neighborhood as those with livestock. I interviewed 4 city officials (2 current commissioners, 1 ex-commissioner, and a city planner) and 1 state representative. I sought participants currently keeping, or who recently kept, urban livestock to understand how and why they were doing so. I interviewed residents within the same neighborhoods as the livestock keepers to better understand how these non-livestock keepers feel about urban livestock in their neighborhood, and to see if some participants are refraining from keeping food animals because of the ordinance. Interviews with city officials offered insight into the ways in which ordinances are passed and maintained, and the view from Athens city government regarding urban food animals. All interviewees' shared their thoughts on the regulation and appropriate uses of private property, which aided in my analysis of how, if at all, urban livestock keepers engage with food sovereignty, and how normative urban space is defined.

Each category of interviewee (currently keeping livestock, have kept livestock, never kept livestock, or city or state official) had a corresponding list of interview questions, some of which overlapped (See Appendix C, D, E and F, respectively). For example, interviews with participants keeping livestock included questions that asked about their motivations for keeping food animals, such as how and why they started keeping urban livestock and how, if at all, the zoning ordinance affected the way they keep urban livestock. Interviews with participants who have never kept livestock included questions about their reasons for not keeping livestock, if the zoning ordinance affected their decision, and how they felt about neighbors keeping urban livestock.

Table 3.1[12]

Name	How they came to participate	Category	Type of Animals, if applicable
Riley	Snowball	Recently kept UL	Chickens and bees
Isaac and Heidi	Snowball	Recently kept UL	Chickens and bees
Luke	Flyer	Recently kept UL	Bees
Alyssa	Snowball	Recently kept UL	Chickens
Donna	Snowball	Recently kept UL	Chickens
Richard and Pete	Snowball	Recently kept UL	Chickens
*Sam and Alice	Snowball	Recently kept UL/ Activists	Chickens
Kelly	Snowball	Currently keeps UL	Chickens
Walter and Donny	Snowball	Currently keep UL	Chickens, goats, sheep, pigs
Sarah	Snowball	Currently keeps UL	Chickens
*Chris	Snowball	Currently keeps UL	Bees
Savannah	Snowball	Currently keeps UL	Bees
Clare	Snowball	Currently keeps UL	Chickens
Will and Amy	Snowball	Currently keep UL	Chickens
Katie	Snowball	Currently keeps UL	Chickens
Karen	Flyer	Never kept UL	NA
Lisa and Patrick	Snowball	Never kept UL	NA
Steffi	Flyer	Never kept UL	NA
Courtney	Flyer	Never kept UL	NA
Kyle	Flyer	Never kept UL	NA
Allen	Flyer	Never kept UL	NA
Turner		City Planner	NA
Sidney		City Commissioner	NA
Bert		State Representative	NA
Sally		Ex City Commissioner	NA
Candace		City Commissioner	NA

With the exception of the one interview via email, all interviews were conducted face to face, usually in the participant's home, and were audio-recorded. Interviews with participants currently keeping livestock or who recently kept livestock either began or ended with a tour of the space where the animals were kept. Interviews with the city and state officials took place either in a local coffee shop or the participant's office space. These interviews tended to be more formal. The shortest interview lasted 30 minutes and the longest interview lasted 3 hours. Most interviews took about an hour. Prior to interviewing and data collection, I received IRB approval, #00000091, to interview human subjects. To

[12] The asterisk indicates that the participant received a warning or citation for their livestock.

protect the identity of participants, no signature was required to participate, and instead, participants gave verbal consent. During the write up of interviews and analysis, all participants were given pseudonyms to further protect their identity and provide anonymity.

3. Documents

In addition to semi-structured interviews, I examined relevant documents, including the local zoning ordinance prohibiting agricultural activities in residential areas, citations and warnings issued to Athens' residents, and state laws that contravene the legitimacy of the local zoning ordinance. I went to the City Planning Department to view old city ordinances in comparison to the current one. I also used microfilm to peruse old newspaper articles from around the time in 1985-1986 when the ordinance language changed to become more restrictive of agriculture activities in town. I placed an open records request with the Community Protection Division (CPD), which is the division of local government responsible for issuing citations and warnings to residents who violate codes and ordinances. Upon contacting the CPD I learned that only one citation was issued last year for a donkey in a residential area. When I expressed surprise to the CPD employee, she suggested that I look at warnings rather than citations since most residents comply when issued a warning, meaning that the resident gets rid of their animals so they are not issued an actual citation. I then requested to look at warnings and citations issued between 2007-2013, as these years seemed best to capture warnings and citations issued just before, during, and after the start of the "pro-chicken" campaign.

Two relevant state laws came to my attention throughout my research. The first is The Right to Grow Act (H.B. 853), which aims to give all Georgia residents the right to grow

food on their private property. The second is a state law prohibiting the restriction of honeybee production (O.C.G.A. 2-14-41.1 (2010)). While these laws may seem to override local ordinances, each ends with a statement that the law should in no way restrict zoning authority of municipal governments. Community members and city officials debate the legal power of these state laws over local laws because of the ambiguity with which the laws are written.

B. Data Analysis

I transcribed each interview in its entirety using the computer program ExpressScribe. While transcribing the interview into a text document, I began a process of thematic coding that continued after the transcription process ended, and started to develop tentative ideas of categories or themes (Maxwell, 2013; Cope, 2003). To do this, I read the transcriptions using my research questions as a lens to help pull out relevant themes, and began coding these themes in order to organize and transition my data and my ideas about the data into interpretation and analysis (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996; Cope, 2003).

I used different colored highlighters to mark sections of my data that corresponded to each of my research questions to further narrow my data (Cope, 2003). For example, my first research question is: *How and why do residents keep urban livestock even though it is prohibited?* I separated out the "how" and "why" and went through each transcription looking for data that answered these questions. I continued with this "selective coding" (Cope, 2003; Strauss, 1987) by looking for instances when a research participant engaged in discussion in either of these areas and highlighted their words with a corresponding

color. Purple represented how residents keep urban livestock and yellow represented why. I then moved on to my second research question and finally my third, continuing to highlight relevant material with coded colors. After highlighting each transcription, I made a list of themes relevant to each research question that emerged from the data. For example, the list of themes under *"how residents keep urban livestock*" includes key concepts like backyard, hidden, and free range. Some of the categories, like the how and why, are substantive in that they reflect participants' beliefs and help make "claims about the topic being studied" (Maxwell, 2013: 108). Other categories, like "food sovereignty", are theoretical categories (Maxwell, 2013) that represent my beliefs as a researcher and relate to the broader theoretical framework of the research project.

V. Analytical Framework

Based on themes in the food sovereignty literature, I developed an analytical framework that distinguishes alternative food networks from food sovereignty in the US. The framework identifies three different political strategies to achieve food sovereignty already in use in the US. I used this to examine and categorize participants' beliefs and behaviors in relation to food sovereignty and alternative food networks. The following analytical framework posits that there are three typologies of political action for food sovereignty, all of which challenge the conventional food system in varying degrees: (1) Libertarianism, which mobilizes resistance from the spaces of private property, advocates for markets and individual rights to food; (2) Civil Disobedience, which uses illicit actions to change laws and advance individual and collective rights and breaks laws to advance the cause of the right to food, (3) Radical Collectivism, which uses and values collective access

to land and is often opposed to markets, especially those that favor the interests of global capital. This framework is based on categories developed by Holt-Gimenez and Shattuck (2011) and builds on already existing food sovereignty narratives and action in the US. Holt Gimenez and Shattuck's (2011) political actor categories within the food system separates the food system four categories: (1) Neoliberal, which advances industrial agriculture, unregulated corporate monopolies, and free markets; (2) Reformist, which is the "same as neoliberal but with increased middle peasant production [and] some locally sourced food aid" (117); (3) Progressive, which advocates for economic and social justice through government regulation by calling for "better safety nets" and access to sustainable local and/or organic food (117); and (4) Radical, which believes in a human right to local, sustainable, and culturally appropriate food in a democratically controlled food system, and aims to dismantle rather than fix private corporate control. I add to this framework by focusing on the Radical category, and from there develop three categories of food sovereignty.

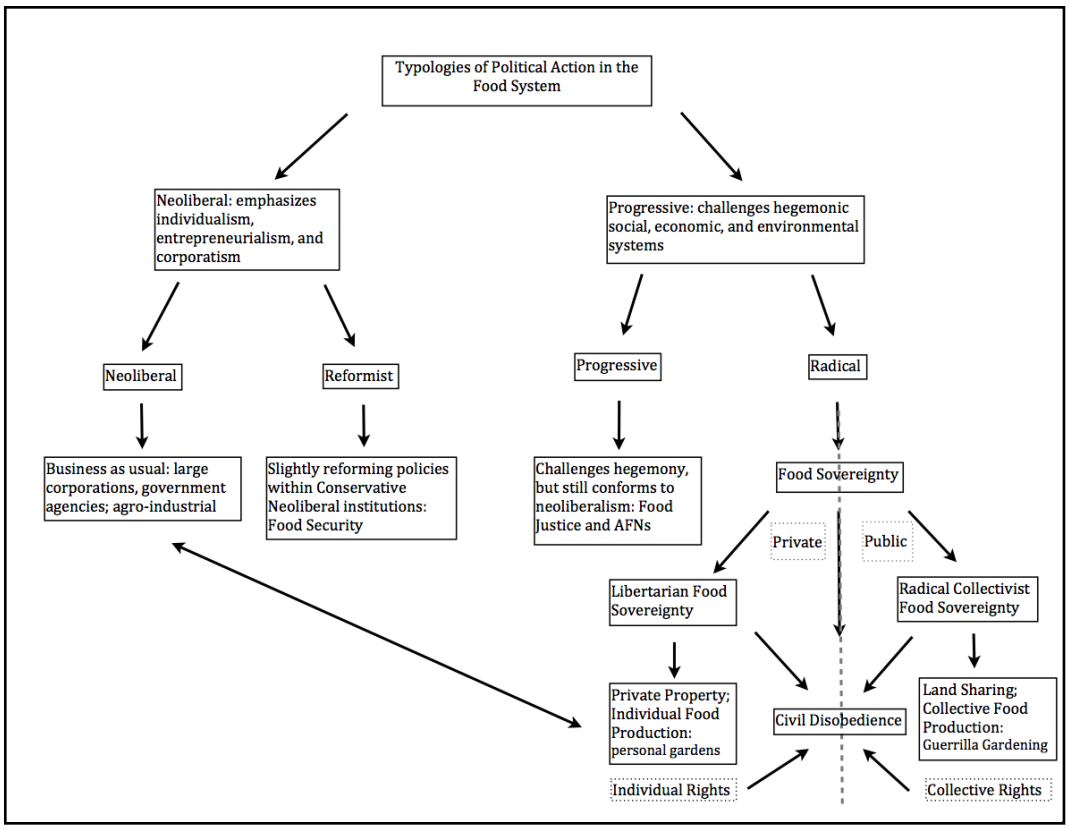
Those on the right and left of the political spectrum in the US occasionally see eye to eye on food issues. Left and right leaning farmers and activists will resist the same regulations, even if they are doing so for different reasons (Anderson, 2013; Bobrow-Strain, 2012; Schindler, 2012). Schindler (2012) explains that in the context of urban agriculture, "supporters of fewer regulations are supporters of market forces. However, in the case of urban agriculture, it is often progressive and otherwise typically pro-regulatory forces--the locavore liberals--who have championed many of the ordinances that loosen restrictions" (7).

In other words, urban agriculture is the unlikely place in which libertarian and radical values meet. In spite of their commonalities, there is a tension between those who see the market as a pathway to gaining rights (libertarians) and those who suggest the market is part of the problem (radicals) (Patel, 2009; Schanbacher, 2010). While all food sovereigntists seek control of their food and agricultural systems, and attempt to gain it by pushing back against municipal, state, and corporate control of space, there are varying views within the food sovereignty community on ways to attain food sovereignty.

A. Typologies of Political Action for Food Sovereignty

Within this framework, I divide food sovereignty into three typologies of political action divided along the lines of whether and how actors see private property and rights as key to their political ambitions (See Figure 3.2.). The following three categories envelope ways in which individuals and communities engage with discourses and narratives surrounding food sovereignty. While actors in these three typologies may share similar goals, such as the right to produce food, they approach these objectives in different ways and with contrasting political agendas. As Patel (2009) says, food sovereignty is a "big tent" under which many disparate groups converge upon core principles (668).

Figure 3.2



I position the "Radical" header of the following three subsets to mean acting outside of the law in some form in order to produce food and gain a degree of autonomy. What I am calling "libertarian" food sovereignty cherishes rights to private property and individual freedoms and uses private property to achieve more rights, typically individual rights, in the food system[13]. What I am calling "radical collectivist" food sovereignty approaches food production in anti or post-capitalist ways and aims to mobilize public or shared space for its activities and expand collective rights to food, land, and seed. Civil disobedient food sovereignty aims to work within the current system to change laws and expand individual

[13] I recognize that because libertarians often see the liberal market and capitalism as avenues to increase individual rights, they are not "radical" in the sense that they work outside of dominant market economies. They do, however, engage with radical individualism, and often disregard laws and government policies, and are in this way "radical".

and collective rights through illicit action using either or both public and private property (Trauger, 2014).

1. Libertarian

Joel Salatin, a sustainable agriculturalist in Virginia, and spokesperson for food sovereignty in the US, articulates a libertarian view. In his many writings, he identifies the state as an obstructionist force that attempts to unreasonably and unnecessarily control its subjects through laws and ordinances. Salatin identifies the state as violating his rights as a citizen, farmer, and consumer. The state makes the sale of his agricultural products to his local community more difficult by not only being unsupportive of his preferred farming and processing methods, but by making some of these methods illegal. Salatin advocates for rolling back food safety regulation that inhibits his business and encourages the expansion of rights to food through individual consumption that will "circumvent the system" (Salatin, 2003). He mobilizes a narrative around the right to food that protects his rights as a farmer and consumer, by leveraging his private property rights and individual rights to consume food of one's choosing.

The Right to Grow Act, a Georgia state bill, took a similar approach as it intended to pre-empt local laws and legalize the production of food on individual private property, urban or rural. Although the state legislator that introduced the bill was affiliated with the libertarian tea party, it was supported on the right and left because it would have allowed them to produce their own food legally[14] (Songster, 2012; Georgia General Assembly, HB 853, 2011; Flynn, 2012).

[14] The Right to Grow Act was never passed into law.

2. Civil Disobedience

Delind and Howard (2008) state that "a safer food system will require much more decentralization and democratic input than exists currently" and that "[a] little civil disobedience is a good thing--a way of strengthening our individual and collective political will" (314). They give examples of chefs running unlicensed restaurants out of their homes, and small-scale farmers and processors running underground markets as ways to circumvent the law to obtain some control within the food system. In such instances, actors would like their behavior to be legal but their beliefs push them to supersede laws they see as unjust or outdated. In this way, those participating in civil disobedience rework (Katz, 2004) these problematic conditions by ignoring the law in hopes of growing individual and collective rights.

Similarly, Raj Patel (2009) calls for a more collective approach to food sovereignty that works to expand rights. Building on Hannah Arendt (1967) and Seyla Benhabib's (2004) concepts of the right to have rights, Patel says that all people have a right to food and to shape their food policies and systems. Patel recognizes that private property rights trump other rights in neoliberal economies, which reflects an underlying inequality of power (670), and believes that individual and collective rights must be expanded to rework these injustices. He asks food sovereigntists to look to cosmopolitan federalism, where people governed by laws have an active voice in making those laws, and to moral universalism, or globally recognized values. This moral framework positions the lack of access to food a violation of basic human rights, and any law that inhibits access to food as morally wrong and unjust. Food sovereignty, according to Patel, challenges deep inequities in power and calls for social egalitarianism to generate a morally universal right to food.

Exemplifying a way in which some US towns strive to protect their rights to food and their food community, Sedgwick, Maine demonstrates civil disobedient food sovereignty in action. By enacting its local food and community self-governance ordinance in 2011, the town of Sedgwick, Maine claimed sovereignty and autonomy over food production, distribution, and consumption, thus resisting state power in a democratic process. The food ordinance exempts the townspeople of Sedgwick from certain federal inspections and regulations, allocating them more rights in choosing the type of food system they want to partake in, and allowing them to support their local farmers. The state government, however, refuses to acknowledge their self-enacted ordinance, and is currently suing farmers in the town (Trauger, 2014).

3. Radical Collectivism

Guerrilla gardening exemplifies a radical collectivist approach to food sovereignty. Guerrilla gardeners take advantage of unproductive urban spaces by transforming them into productive garden spaces, disregarding any zoning laws or other authority that may prohibit that type of usage (Lamborn and Weinberg, 1999). Such sites can often be described as "temporary autonomous zones" (Trauger, 2014; Bey, 2003) because they offer communities and individuals spaces in which to produce and achieve food autonomy, even if these spaces may only be able to exist temporarily before government officials ultimately reclaim them. Unlike those participating in civil disobedience, people participating in radical collectivist food sovereignty do not necessarily aim to enact laws to support the ways in which they produce food.

Collective access to land directly contrasts the idea of individualized private property rights, upon which capitalism rests. For instance, in Brazil, the Movimento dos

Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra (MST) claimed food sovereignty and land by squatting on and farming "unproductive land" (Wolford, 2010). These actions and values of food sovereignty propose solutions to food insecurity that do not rely on and may oppose the liberal state. For instance, Trauger (2014) talks about "gift economies", an exchange of goods that occurs without the use of currency and constitutes a kind of decommodification of food, putting into action truly alternative economic systems (Nyeleni, 2007). These are just a few examples of the way people, collectively, in partial and contested ways, have opted out of the capitalization of agriculture and the commodification of food.

Like Nyeleni food sovereigntists, radical collectivists stress the importance of traditional forms of knowledge in food production and land use and access, and believe in sharing rather than owning or privatizing territory. They seek elimination of corporate control of resources and space and instead propose community control that would allow decentralized and democratized decision making at the local level, thus gaining local autonomy. Political sovereignty facilitates control of space, which food sovereignty requires. Policies that support autonomous food production cannot be applied without political conditions that allow for control of territory or space (Nyeleni, 2007).

As Holt-Gimenez and Shattuck (2011) suggest, food sovereignty efforts in the US are in danger of being co-opted by markets and individualism, much like what happened with AFNs. Alternatively, radical collectivist food sovereignty efforts could potentially pull less radical actors, and thus create a significant opportunity to change current food systems.

VI. Conclusion

This research project looks at how and why residents in Athens, GA keep urban livestock even though it is in violation of local ordinances; how city officials and residents view private yard space and normative use and regulation of these spaces, and how these activities and viewpoints relate to food sovereignty. Cope (2003) suggests that "[t]he successful creation of original academic work often begins by bringing existing literature and theory together with an empirical context or dataset in a way that has not been done before" (450). This thesis speaks to both of these approaches by empirically describing how urban dwellers in the US are keeping livestock and by connecting typologies of food sovereignty to activities and viewpoints of participants in Athens, GA.

The strengths of this study include providing empirical data for an understudied area of geography and aiding in unveiling ways in which food sovereignty discourses appear in the US. That said, it is not a study without limitations. As a site-specific qualitative research project studying events and people in one location, this research cannot represent a larger population. It can, however, *illustrate* events and viewpoints *relative* to broader theories of space, power, and food, and is in this way is somewhat generalizable "beyond the setting or informants studied" (Maxwell, 2013: 138). Additionally, the participants in this research endeavor were recruited in a self-selective manner, meaning that the data from this research only represents a self-selected fairly homogenous pool of participants.

The methods and methodologies discussed in this chapter allow this research to investigate relationships between urban livestock keepers' behaviors and beliefs and food sovereignty narratives. The analytical framework outlined above shapes the ability of scholars to describe food sovereignty, and highlights possible places where political action

is vulnerable. In the following chapter, I describe how and why some participants keep urban livestock to understand how normative urban landscapes constitute a borderland of struggle for food sovereignty.

CHAPTER 4

THE NORMATIVE LANDSCAPE OF URBAN LIVESTOCK KEEPING:

HOW, WHY, AND WHERE PEOPLE KEEP FOOD ANIMALS IN THE CITY

I. Introduction

Now that we've had [our chickens] taken away from us I've had more time to think about the big picture. And in the big picture, it is this kind of connection--there was this kind of craziness to everything agricultural being really far away and out of sight. And I have real concerns about the loss of cooking and things like that. That connection. So, I don't think we consciously, when we got the chickens, thought this was gonna enhance my connection with the world around me, but later when they were taken away we realized that's what it did. (Alice)

I've always loved animals, I enjoy them so much, and I also enjoy the ability to provide my own food. And I think over the years, especially since, you know, global issues, and also family, you know, and also I'm a gardner, and I happen to have this yard...but the whole thing is being able to provide, I know not all of my own food, but as much as I can, and also now that I have kids--for their benefit, too....I think people are seeing the error of their ways, and I think it's also like a nostalgia thing. And I think one, it may be a control thing. Two, maybe some people do it out of fear, I don't know. And three, it's a cute hobby or whatever. But, I mean, all of the people I know that have them [are keeping them for functional reasons]...I don't know anyone who has them because it's hip or cute. It's people who want to live that way, you know. (Kelly)

The above quotes exemplify some of the reasons participants in Athens choose to keep food animals, and show why participants consider food animals to be part of a way of life, fostering a deeper connection to nature and others in spite of local ordinances. Participants keep animals for a variety of reasons, but most are influenced to act by larger beliefs. In recent years, there has been an increase in the number of people in the US keeping "backyard" livestock (Blecha and Leitner, 2013: 1). However, very little empirical data exist on how people keep their urban food animals. How many and what kind of

animals do they keep? Are they enclosed or allowed to roam free? What motivates people to keep livestock? Empirical data can help answer these types of questions and paint a clearer picture of urban livestock keeping in the US.

Athens, GA is a particularly unique place to gather data on urban livestock keepers because of local zoning ordinances that prohibit the keeping of any food animals such as chickens, goats, and bees. Yet, many people decide to keep these animals in spite of the ordinance. In fact, some sport "Pro Chicken" bumper stickers in opposition to the ordinance and in support of their belief that people should be allowed to keep chickens in the city. Disregard of the ordinance begs the question why do some people choose to keep urban livestock even though it is prohibited? And how, if at all, does the ordinance affect the way they keep the animals?

This chapter addresses how and why people keep urban livestock in Athens. I first discuss and provide examples of how the participants I spoke with keep their animals, and what types of animals they keep. I then move to the general reasons why people started keeping food animals, followed by the reasons they choose to keep food animals despite the ordinance that prohibits their activities. Not only do these discussions add to knowledge about urban livestock keeping in the US but they also aid in understanding food movements and food sovereignty in the Global North, which I discuss in my second analysis chapter.

A. Research Participants

I conducted fifteen interviews with urban livestock keepers, four of which had two interviewees present[15] (Table 4.1). People that participated in an interview together either share livestock keeping duties or are married couples keeping livestock. Eleven of the livestock keepers are men and eight are women. Fourteen keep or kept chickens; three keep only bees; five keep chickens and bees; and two keep or kept chickens, goats and pigs. All of the urban livestock research participants white and middle to lower middle class (self-identified), own their home (with two exceptions), and live on less than an acre of land.

Figure 4.1[16]

Participants	Gender	Relationship if two interviewees	Type of Food Animals	Number of Animals
Sarah	Female	N/A	Chickens	2
Kelly	Female	N/A	Chickens	2
Walter and Donny	Male/Male	Share land and animals	Chickens, goats, pigs	7, 3, 2
Chris*	Male	N/A	Bees	4 hives
Riley	Female	N/A	Chickens	1 (at the time of the interview), 3-5 in past
Isaac and Heidi	Male/Female	Married with young children	Chickens	0 (at the time of interview), 4-6 in past

[15] A total of nineteen participants keep or recently kept urban livestock.
[16] The asterisk indicates participant received a citation or warning.

Participants	Gender	Relationship if two interviewees	Type of Food Animals	Number of Animals
Sam and Alice*	Male/Female	Married with older children	Chickens (Rooster in the past)	0 (at the time of interview), 4-6 in past
Alyssa	Female	N/A	Chickens	0 (at the time of interview), 2 in past
Will and Amy	Male/Female	Share land and animals	Chickens and bees	8 hens; 2 hives
Pete (Richard, not interviewed)	Male/Male	Share land and animals	Chickens	0 (at the time of interview), 4-8 in past
Katie	Female	N/A	Chickens	3
Savannah	Female	N/A	Bees	2 hives
Clare	Female	N/A	Chickens	11
Donna	Female	N/A	Chickens	0 (at the time of interview), 6 in past
Luke	Male	N/A	Bees	0 (at the time of interview), 1 hive in past

In general, these participants keep animals in a variety of ways, with some noticeable broader trends. (For a complete list of themes derived from the interviews see Appendix G.) All of the urban livestock keepers I spoke with allow their animals to free range to some degree and keep them in the backyard. Participants choose to keep food animals for easy access to fresh food and because they want more control of their food sources and systems. They decide to ignore the local ordinance that prohibits the keeping

of urban livestock[17] because they trust their neighbors not to turn them in to code enforcement, and they feel there is low risk involved with breaking the ordinance.

With one exception, all participants began keeping urban livestock sometime in the past eight years. Participants obtained their animals either by ordering them in the mail, purchasing or trading for them on Craigslist[18], or via a friend or neighbor. Some participants received their animals as babies, while others got them at an already productive age. Most participants keep/kept two-four hens; the smallest flock was a single chicken and the largest was eleven. No one kept a rooster at the time of the interview. Some of the chicken keepers, however, recounted accidentally getting a rooster in their batch of chicks, which most participants either relocated or slaughtered for meat. One participating couple (mentioned in chapter one), however, kept their rooster, which their neighbor ultimately shot and killed. The bee keepers kept between one and four hives. The participants who kept other animals kept two sows and two goats. All participants keep or kept their food animals in their backyard.

Of the participants with urban livestock, nine currently keep and seven recently kept urban livestock. Participants in the latter category either decided to slaughter their animals because they were no longer productive (with one exception of deciding to slaughter them because they no longer had time to care for the animals) or their animals were either killed off by predators (chickens) or died from disease (bees). Those who no longer kept urban livestock participants all expressed interest in returning to livestock keeping at some point in the near future.

[17] Local zoning ordinance, Athens Municipal Code, Section 9-2-1, disallows any agricultural activity on private property less than one acre and zoned residential.
[18] Craigslist is a website that allows users to search for a large array of items to buy and a forum for them to sell, giveaway, or trade things.

B. Summary of Results

Participants with urban livestock cited control of and access to food sources, an opportunity to reconnect with land and build skills, and a way to connect with neighbors as their primary reasons for wanting to keep food animals. When they had extra produce, which was not often, keepers shared with neighbors and friends. Most participants expressed the desire to be able to have more eggs or honey to share more frequently. For example, Savannah did not yet have enough honey from her bees to trade for other types of produce, but she said she hopes that when she does she can trade honey for eggs and "be a part of that economy but not have to deal with chickens every day" (Savannah). Most participants also saw their animals as a way to learn more about home based food production and have greater access to local free range eggs, the quality of which they felt they could control.

Urban livestock keepers admit they broke the ordinance by keeping food animals, and did so because they view the ordinance as silly, unenforceable, or outdated. Additionally, they trusted their neighbors not to complain to city code enforcers about their animals, and the knowledge that other residents in Athens have clandestine livestock gave them confidence to disregard the ordinance. Participants without livestock confirmed that they are not interested in making complaints about their neighborhood livestock keepers, and in fact believe that people should be allowed to keep these animals legally, with some restrictions[19]. Both participants with and without urban livestock think food animals in the city should be regulated in ways similar to the regulation of cats and dogs.

[19] All residents, for instance, agreed that larger food animals such as cows and pigs may not be appropriate in these residential neighborhoods with lots under an acre.

All participants would like to see yard spaces incorporate more bio-diversity and be less manicured with grasses. They believe people should be able to use their yard space in ways individuals would like to, as long as it is not harming other people or the environment. Elected officials mostly agree with this, although they emphasize regulation as important to protecting individuals and neighborhoods. Examining participants' reasons for keeping urban livestock and their thoughts on property regulation helps to unpack larger underlying themes, such as social relationships between people and acts of resistance and reworking the food system Analyzing participants' methods for keeping food animals and their reasons for doing so in spite of local ordinances also reveals whether, how, and to what extent these behaviors can be associated with food sovereignty.

II. Methods of Keeping Urban Livestock

All urban livestock keepers attempt to hide their animals, mostly by using their fenced backyards to house the animals. Code enforcement officers are not legally allowed to enter backyards without permission from the property owner, so backyards provide some shelter from street visibility and therefore reduce the risk of citation. Some urban livestock keepers do not have fenced backyards, but do live in low-trafficked areas, and let their animals roam free, often resulting in chickens wandering into the street or into neighbors' yards. Most participants keep the animals on their individual property for themselves and their family, although they do share extra produce with neighbors when available. A few keepers share land and cooperatively cared for animals on property that is not their own.

A. Hidden

The ordinance prohibiting livestock shapes animal husbandry patterns among the participants. All of the participants attempt to hide their animals in some way, mainly by keeping them in the backyard, fearing that otherwise their animals would attract the attention of code enforcement officers. Alyssa, a participant who kept two hens for a little over a year, and recently slaughtered them, explains her set up:

> [The chickens] were enclosed in fenced areas. And as opposed to having them in the front...we did kind of hide them a little bit, knowing that, you know, I've seen the patrols going by...I've seen them go by several times. I saw them today. So knowing that they do kind of stroll through our neighborhood we put them in the back (Alyssa).

Isaac, another participant who kept four hens, blames the threat of code enforcement for his chickens being kept behind his house: "Well, we did have them in the backyard, kind of because that was the only space that makes sense, but I don't think I would put chickens out in the front yard where it's really obvious for them to enforce" (Isaac). Chris, a participant bee keeper, actually received a warning from a Community Protection Division (CPD) officer after an anonymous person called in a complaint about his bees. Chris refused to get rid of the bees, citing Georgia State law O.C.G.A. 2-14-41.1 (2010), which states that all residents in Georgia are legally allowed to keep honeybees, and asserted his rights to residential beekeeping[20]. After receiving the warning, though, he did put camouflage netting over his hives in attempt to disguise them. When asked what he would have done upon receiving the warning if he hadn't known about the state law that protected him, he replied, "I would have moved [the bees] where nobody could have seen them" (Chris).

[20] City government and code enforcement divisions often interpret state laws such as this as not having legal jurisdiction because of vague language that implies the law is not to interfere with local zoning ordinances (personal communication with elected officials). In Chris's case, the sheriff, who was ultimately given a copy of the law by Chris, decided to adhere it and dropped the complaint about Chris's bees.

Alice, another resident who received a citation and a fine for keeping chickens, said, "If it was [legal to have chickens], I would have a much better coop because I wouldn't have to be hiding it, you know?" (Alice). Kelly currently keeps two hens in her backyard. Here, she expresses her concerns about code enforcement:

> I mean, when we had to have this porch put on last year, like, the planning department came out unannounced and I wasn't here, and fortunately [the chickens] were back [behind the house], and that's really been the only thing that's been concerning with the development back here like with these houses. And also new neighbors just moved in there, which makes me a little bit concerned. But I kind of, I'm hoping that since we were here first maybe they won't call on what we did since they're the new neighbors? (Kelly)

Will and Amy, neighbors who share eight chickens, do not live in a low traffic area and are concerned about getting in trouble for violating the ordinance. In attempt to hide their activities, Will says:

> I try to disguise it as much as possible...we put the coop behind the shed. We keep it in the backyard. We don't advertise it. We don't sell our eggs; we just give them away. We're not very loud about it...But yeah, we have people who just want to come and look. We have people who remember their grandmother having chickens who just want to come and throw some feed out there...And every time that I have given someone eggs they say that they didn't even know we had chickens over there. They say that they thought we got rid of them. They're so unobtrusive they don't even realize they're there (Will).

Will touches on a few issues with this statement. He and Amy do what they can to hide their chickens so as to lessen their chances of getting cited or warned, and they do a decent job of it considering many egg-receiving neighbors are unaware of the chickens' existence. Yet, upon discovering the chickens, instead of being disturbed, these neighbors say they are delighted, which is representative of themes of social relationships between neighbors, which I discuss later in this chapter. By keeping their animals in "hard to reach" spaces (Scott, 2009), urban livestock keepers hide their animals from code enforcement officers

and people they don't trust. In addition to geographical spaces, social relationships shape and affect the ways participants keep animals and use land.

A few urban livestock keepers resist normative ways of thinking about private land and individual ownership by sharing land, animals, and duties. Will and Amy are neighbors that share a flock of hens and two beehives. Although the hens reside on what is technically Will's property and the bees on Amy's, the two participants share their yard space as if it were co-owned and also share care-taking responsibilities and the eggs and honey. Sam and Alice used to keep bees on an empty lot next to their house since the lot was unused and suited their needs to give the bees some distance from their house and place them close to a water source. Isaac and Heidi keep bees on a friend's nearby property because their backyard is too shady and they want to pack their sunlit yard areas with vegetable plants rather than bees. Isaac says, "we have a neighbor who said we could keep bees on his property. I manage them. I just keep the hive on his property and he lets me keep them there. When I [harvest honey] I'll share some with them. Though, he's vegan! Nevermind" (Isaac).

B. Free Range

Most participants allow their animals to free range in some way. Bees, of course, cannot be contained and range within two miles of their hives. The participants with goats and pigs allow their animals room to roam in the yard, but within fenced areas so they cannot wander around the neighborhood. Some participants with chickens, however, let their animals range without any fencing whatsoever. These participants live on dead end streets or very low trafficked areas. Others let their hens roam free in fenced backyards,

while only two participants used a chicken tractor[21] to allow their birds to scratch around while still enclosed in a fairly small space. A few participants, like Sarah, let their chickens range completely free, night and day. Here, she explains her reasoning:

> Like those first chickens...I'd let them run in the yard and then I'd put them up in the pen when I was gonna be gone or something. And I'd come back home and they'd just be walking back and forth in front of the gate and just, Buuuuck buuuuck buuuuck. And they'd be like leaning themselves against the fence, and I'm like part of the reason I keep chickens and want these free range eggs is because I want to make sure that I'm not contributing to the misery of fellow creatures. And so I want the happiest chickens. And you know, people say, 'Well what if they can get killed by predators or a neighbor's dogs or whatever' And I'm like, you know, I'd rather they have a short happy life than a miserable one penned up in a pen not doing normal chickens things like scratching around under bushes and going after weird bugs and having this crazy varied diet...I doubt I would adhere to keeping my chickens penned now that I know what it's like to have free range chickens and how happy they are and how easy it is to care for them (Sarah).

Some participants, like Katie, let their hens free range night and day even though it's not ideal. Katie would like to "rein in" her chickens by fencing off a certain part of her yard for them. She says, "I kinda wish we had done that from the beginning. Now that they have known this certain life I don't want to take that away from them...once they've known this freedom of life you don't want to take that away." Katie expresses more concern about fencing in her hens for their safety but she also would like them to lay in an easily accessible spot to make finding and gathering eggs an easier task for her and her family. Other keepers let their animals roam free during the day but shut them up at night in

[21] Chicken tractors are fairly small enclosed mobile units that can be moved every so often to give chickens fresh grass to scratch without letting the animals roam completely free.

coops[22] to protect them from predators and to encourage them to lay in one spot so eggs are easy to find. "We had a marked off area that they could just run around in. I guess we closed them up at night so that they would lay in one spot so that we could have the eggs" (Isaac).

The diet of most free range chickens consists of invertebrates and vegetation[23], but urban livestock keepers supplement this diet with conventional feed. A fifty pound bag of conventional feed costs about $10, and will last longer if it is used only as a dietary supplement, as do most urban livestock keepers in this study. Non-GMO organic feed has a much higher premium and is harder to find in local stores, and for these reasons most keepers here do not use it. Allowing animals to free range increases the quality of the food products and reduces the cost of keeping them, thereby somewhat decommodifying the food that they produce. While urban livestock keepers purchase supplemental feed from conventional sources, they are able to do so sparsely because of the methods in which they raise their food animals.

III. Reasons for Keeping Urban Livestock

Most participants see their animals as providing access to affordable and high quality food that is inexpensive and easy to access. They also see their animals as a way to reconnect to land and nature and learn crucial survival skills of how to produce food both individually and collectively. Participants are aware that these activities with livestock are

[22] The coops urban livestock keepers in this study use are made of inexpensive recycled materials rather than expensive furnished woods and other costly materials as some urban livestock keepers in other US cities do (Blecha and Leitner, 2014).
[23] The diet of goats consists mainly of vegetation with very little supplemental processed feed. Pigs mostly eat table scraps.

in violation of the local ordinance, but they risk punishment from the city government because they trust their neighbors not to complain about their animals. They also admit they think the ordinance is silly, outdated, and unenforceable, and associate violating it with low risk or penalty. Participants think that everyone should have the right to keep food animals-that everyone has a morally universal right to produce food in this way (Patel, 2009). They understand that even though they are willing and able to violate the ordinance, others might not have that ability. A new ordinance, crafted in a certain way, could expand rights to allow everyone to participate in livestock production.

A. Decommodified and Decentralized Food

Because their animals roam freely and forage for the majority of their diet, some urban livestock keepers believe their home-produced animal products are cheaper than products of a similar quality that would have to be purchased. Sarah's thoughts exemplify this reasoning:

> I often eat an egg a day. And it's cheap. You can whip up a frittata for dinner and pick some arugula from the backyard and [you've got a] free meal!...Which is way cheaper than buying a dozen eggs every two weeks. Especially if you're insisting on organic local eggs. Organic local eggs cost about $6 a dozen. And they're hard to come by!...So if you're really committed to eating locally, your only choice is to get some chickens, really (Sarah).

Heidi and her family are planning on getting their next flock of chickens soon and have talked about keeping a goat for access to goat milk, as well as for prescriptive grazing

purposes[24]. In her opinion, the actual cost of home produced eggs may be cheaper than local organic eggs. Here, she explains her main reasons for keeping food animals:

> I just think it makes a lot of sense to have that connection to what you're eating or raising or, I mean, I feel like in other countries it's just normal, you know, if you want some eggs you get some chickens. Or if you want milk you get a cow...but all of that stuff like growing food and all of it feels like it can be really glorified but really I just feel like it's normal. It just makes a lot of sense to do it yourself (Heidi).

Heidi adds that one of her sons is allergic to pasteurized cow milk, and she has a difficult time accessing raw milk[25]or goat milk, to which she claims her son is not allergic. She says, "We used to have a source for raw cow milk, but not any more. We can't get any [raw milk]", and continues to say it is for this reason her family would consider keeping a goat. Heidi adds, "I would rather not support [large scale conventional agricultural industry] but I also feel like it's tough because we don't make a lot of money" (Heidi). Participants like Heidi and Isaac see keeping their own food animals as a way to access cheaper higher quality decommodified and decentralized food.

Alyssa believes her hens provide cheaper access to eggs of a certain quality that would otherwise be prohibitively expensive. While this was the main impetus for keeping chickens, she also cites control over her food system as a major reason for keeping urban livestock:

> I guess it's like more control over where things come from. And not being scared of the industrialization of it all. Or not having to go through that whole system. Breaking it down so that there's no middle man. And no big industry behind it. And knowing and seeing exactly where it comes from (Alyssa).

[24] Prescriptive grazing is the descriptive term of the use of animals such as goats and sheep to manage landscapes, usually overridden with invasive species like kudzu and privet.
[25] The sale of raw milk is illegal in the state of GA (Almy, 2013).

Urban livestock keepers express distrust of large corporate food industries but also frustration at the high cost and scarcity of products like eggs and raw milk sourced from small local and organic farms. Participants rework and resist (Katz, 2004) normative food systems and ways of obtaining food by keeping urban livestock to redistribute food sources they can somewhat control.

B. Reconnecting nature and culture

In addition to attempting to have greater control of food sources, urban livestock keepers participate in resilience, which Katz (2004) defines as attempts to "recover and reconnect to landscapes wherein their knowledge remained relevant" (245) and actions to solidify their community and enter into "reciprocal relations" (246), through a desire to reconnect to animals and increase their ability to be self-sufficient and individual and collective levels. Alyssa decided to slaughter her two aging hens and reflects on the process as a learning experience:

> I guess learning about life and death basically. How to butcher an animal properly. Learning how to properly process it. Cause we're all so disconnected from that aspect of eating meat. That was interesting. That was my first animal to kill. And just knowing what happens to it when it dies (Alyssa).

Kelly's distrust of the future of the world led her to want to be able to provide food for her family. She reflects on current political events, such as North Korea's threats of nuclear weapons, the US government's support of large corporations like Monsanto, and the economic recession as reasons that drove her to research more about living off the land. Here, she explains why she decided to keep chickens:

> I feel like we're digging our hole deeper and deeper, like so many other things...Everything we have access to right now-it's not

> sustainable...I want to know how to live where I am...I don't know anybody who has [chickens] cause it's hip or cute. It's people who want to live that way, you know. It's a money saver for sure. But for me I guess it's a sustainability thing. Like, I know I can't do a ton. I can only grow what's in season. I could have like a whole hydroponic situation under my house, but that's a world I don't know. And I don't have the means to do it. But it's to be able to provide as much as you can for yourself (Kelly).

People with urban livestock see their animals as a way to claim *some* independence from the corporate food system by building resilience through (re)connecting to land and animals and reworking access to food. In resisting the corporate food system and dominant market economies, they feel they increase their self-sufficiency at both individual and collective levels.

C. Resilience through Community

Participants value their relationships with neighbors and community members, and advocate for lifestyles that grow and strengthen these social relationships and interactions. For instance, Sarah sees having chickens as a way to re-connect to the land, which she says is "something that's really, really lost in our modern society", is distrustful of the future of society and its dependence on the corporate food system, and views engagement with her surrounding community as a path to resilience. Here, she explains why people should learn how to live off the land:

> Just [being allowed to] take care of yourself in a sustainable manner. As people did 100 years ago when they moved into these neighborhoods...It's gonna be completely necessary. The shit is gonna go down. Whether it's like next year or 10 years from now or in 30 years from now, the shit is gonna go down. There is a crazy right wing aspect to that, you know, these people think there's gonna be some kind of instant collapse where they have to have their guns and their canned foods and everything. I really believe it's just a matter of learning the basic skills that people have been using to survive for a

> millennia. And learning to work together in a community. Not having your stupid compound, you know, and isolating yourself from your community, but really MAKING a community. And learning to work together and understanding how to rely on each other! (Sarah)

Alice also sees urban livestock as a way to build knowledge, skills, and communal resilience:

> I'm not insecure about my ability to take care of the family. It doesn't give me everything. I go to the store. I buy plenty of stuff at the market. But I know that if I had to, I could figure it out, you know. I like that if I had to, I'd at least be one step closer to figuring it out even if I didn't have all the pieces. And also when you start to garden and have chickens you start to know other people who have them. And so you develop a new network with other people that are also capable and so if you need something you know you probably know someone who has it or can help you with it. And so it's a different kind of network of knowing people (Alice).

Walter and Donny, the two participants with goats and pigs, explain why they started hosting large pig or goat roasts, in which they invite friends and neighbors to partake in a collective feast centered around an animal they had raised and slaughtered[26]:

> A lot of it was related to food and so with the end game of feeding a lot of people and enjoying the company that was, you know, a reason not to do it, but the process leading up to it were weekly pig out pot luck series where everyone would come over for a potluck and they'd bring that week's table scraps from their house so we'd feed the pigs with everyone's table scraps, which was really cool (Walter).

Donny adds, "We always used it sort of as a community gathering point. We've used it to bring people together" (Donny). Amy, who shares eight chickens with her neighbor Will, says that "eggs were a huge draw [to getting chickens]. Absolutely. And then definitely a fun new activity. A new experience. And, uh, it was something we could do together. So maybe in a way [it had]nothing to do with chickens" (Amy).

[26] Invitees are also given the option to participate in the slaughtering of the animal prior to eating it.

By keeping food animals and thus engaging with neighbors through social interaction and sharing food, participants attempt to build resilience by mutual interdependence rather than independence. Participants often enter into reciprocal relations (Katz, 2004) by trading food products, skills, or knowledge, and using gift economies (Trauger, 2014), in which they simply give these things to neighbors without expecting something in return. Perhaps Van der Ploeg's (2009) argument that new peasants resist the oppressive food "Empire" through developing and maintaining skills to cultivate land either individually or collectively can help situate these urban livestock keepers' activities. Many keepers use their food animals as a way to reconnect to the land and maintain survival type skills that allow them to feel some ability to be self-sufficient. Even though most are doing this at the individual level, many see their activities as a way to strengthen their community's ability to self-sustain. Katz's (2004) idea of resilience relates to how community members, both with and without livestock, see the presence of food animals as a way to strengthen their community. Participants say they build skills and knowledge through their animals, which they share and/or receive with/from neighbors or other livestock keepers. As discussed, many participants are very distrustful and uncertain of the future. They build skills, knowledge, and relationships to feel more secure and obtain a sense of agency, and in this way build resilience.

D. Trust in Neighbors

Every participant is aware of the illegality of their livestock keeping activities, but they decide to keep food animals anyway because they trust their neighbors and neighborhood to accept their activities and the animals. One of Riley's free range hens,

Robert, liked to range away from her home onto other people's properties, but Riley never received a code violation warning. She believes this is because of her neighborhood:

> To the [neighboring non-profit]'s credit they would sometimes leave little notes in our mailbox like "Robert's pecking around our front yard. You might wanna come get her" kinda thing. It was just a weird kind of neighborhood thing. But they didn't ever turn her in or anything (Riley).

Urban livestock keepers' perceptions of their neighborhoods as open-minded encourage their illicit activities. Will and Amy's experience in Beeville exemplifies this: "Everybody was very encouraging [about getting chickens]. And maybe it's just this neighborhood because this neighborhood is, you know, a really hip neighborhood in that they're very open to everything" (Will). During my interview with Will and Amy, a neighbor strolled by with her child and spotted the chickens in Will and Amy's backyards. From the porch where we were seated, we could hear her point out the chickens to her young child and exclaim how fun it was to see them. She then yelled to Will, "We love your chickens!", to which he replied, "Thank you!" Will then turned to me and said, "There you go", as if this was a typical interaction proving the neighborhood's encouragement.

Isaac thinks his neighborhood, Chicken City, is the most open-minded in Athens. "I think that [this neighborhood] is better because it's not a historic district. So people can do whatever they want to. I think there's a sensibility of freedom that pervades [this neighborhood]" (Isaac). His wife, Heidi, adds that they specifically chose to move into this neighborhood because "we...figured that people here would not mind if we had chickens or gardened in the front yard. You know, it's nice to know that they appreciate difference versus like, I feel like some places would be mad that you have chickens in town or you're vegetable gardening in the front yard" (Heidi).

Kelly, who also lives in Chicken City, says:

> I wouldn't have [chickens] if I didn't live in the neighborhood. ....This neighborhood, I mean, I hope we die here. Everybody's just respectful of what everybody does for the most part...I think that everybody is like minded. I think they're like minded or they want to reserve the right to do what they want in their yard. And [we] also [decided to get chickens] cause there were already chickens [in this neighborhood](Kelly).

Riley describes Chicken City as:

> interesting because there are so many independent minded people, not necessarily like, sometimes in a rebellious way, but sometimes it's just independent. They're not trying to break the law, they're not intentionally breaking the law. But there are a lot of people who'd be like, 'Oh, I want chickens. Therefore I'm going to have them'. Not, you know, even though it's illegal. And then we do have a city commissioner that lives on our street that knows all of this is going on but just kinda, you know, turns a blind eye...he's not gonna tattletale on anybody (Riley).

All of the non-urban livestock participants I spoke with are supportive of their neighbor's livestock keeping activities, and believe all people should legally be allowed to keep food animals, especially chickens and bees. Chicken City residents Patrick and Lisa do not have livestock themselves but they are open to the idea of getting chickens and maybe sharing them with their across-the-street neighbors. As for the illegality of livestock, they believe the ordinance is "silly" and, though they wish the ordinance would allow for livestock, they themselves would not be bothered by keeping some hens "under the radar" (Lisa) because they don't think their neighborhood "is a neighborhood of whistle blowers in that regard" (Patrick). Patrick and Lisa love seeing chickens, and even roosters, in their neighborhood.

Courtney, an older Chicken City resident without animals, was not aware that a local ordinance prohibits livestock keeping and gardening. Upon learning this during our interview, Courtney exclaimed,

> That's just a bunch of bullshit. I can't believe it. That is so much crap I can't believe it...If livestock is bothering anybody then regulate that one person. Jesus Christ. I mean, I can't believe the city is doing something so god damn stupid, especially over here! People would rather be arrested than listen to that kind of, that's a law that's asking to be broken! I mean it's ridiculous (Courtney).

She continues to say that she loves the fact that people in her neighborhood keep chickens and bees, and that she even saves her egg cartons for a couple of the neighbors with chickens. When asked why she thinks her neighborhood has so many urban livestock keepers, she says "I think [this neighborhood] is different...People are artistic and creative and self-sustaining and they're gardeners. I think [we're] just different. We're not like everybody else" (Courtney).

Steffi, who also lives in Chicken City, in close proximity to three different households with chickens, says that she doesn't need to keep her own livestock at the moment because her neighbors share their eggs and other garden produce. She thinks the anti-livestock ordinance is not "good government" and it "should be ignored" (Steffi). In her opinion, ordinances should not allow a full blown chicken factory next door to her, but it should allow people to keep livestock on a small-scale, similar to how people can keep a "reasonable" number of dogs or cats (Steffi).

Michelle and Steve live near Steffi and the three households with chickens. They do not keep food animals themselves because they already have three dogs, not a lot of backyard space, and because the illegality of it makes them slightly nervous, although they do entertain the idea of getting chickens and possibly a pygmy goat. As neighbors to urban

food animals, they do not feel there are any drawbacks to living near chickens. Steve says, "A lot of people may say the noise [is a drawback], but I think I hear [neighbor's] chicken squawking [right now], but you know, it's way less intrusive than a car alarm" (Steve). Michelle adds, "We're responsible for the barking dogs, so we can't say too much! It's all about living in a community. There are things that are bad and things that are good. So a little bit of noise is not a big deal" (Michelle).

Hilltracks resident, Karen, lives in close proximity to Sarah, a keeper that lets her hens roam completely free. Karen doesn't know that the hens belong to Sarah, but she sees them running around her street and is not bothered by their presence other than worrying they might get run over by a car. Although Karen doesn't ever receive eggs from these hens, she appreciates the sounds they add to the neighborhood. She says, "Whenever I hear a chicken, which isn't very often, it's nice...I like there to be a lot of life in my living area...And the chickens add to that sort of soundscape. I like it" (Karen). Karen has lots of friends in other parts of Athens that keep chickens for the eggs and to be "more self-sufficient"(Karen). Karen, who describes herself as an environmentalist, is very much in favor of people keeping small-scale urban livestock because she sees it as a step in the right direction towards smaller communities that are more connected to the earth.

Participants' emphasis on the trust they have in their neighbors, but not necessarily in residents of other neighborhoods, suggests that neighborhoods might have differing normative landscapes (Cresswell, 1999), and perhaps urban livestock keepers in certain neighborhoods disrupt the normative landscapes more than those in neighborhoods that might be more accepting of agriculture and livestock. Food animals may be more excluded and seen as out of place in some places while they are included and accepted in others. Of

course, not all residents in these neighborhoods accept urban livestock, as some of the keepers have received complaint-based warnings and citations. While livestock is "in place" in certain neighborhoods, or at least not as "out of place" as in others, urban food animals and their keepers are still fairly transgressive, and view their acceptability as varying from neighborhood to neighborhood.

E. Type of Property

The type of property that participants have access to also affects how animals are kept, and sometimes enables chicken keepers to feel more secure in allowing their hens to roam. Pete, who lives in Chicken City, kept chickens in spite of the ordinance because he trusts his neighbors not to complain. When asked how the ordinance would affect him if it changed to allow for urban livestock keeping, Pete said:

> It probably would not really affect me one way or another. I mean, just cause of my location. But should I move then yes it would affect me...Cause I'm at the end of a dead end street where there's nobody around. But should I live in Cobham that'd be a different story entirely...the houses are a lot closer and people might not agree with you doing it (Pete).

Although Sarah, who lives in Hilltracks, lets her two hens range completely free, allowing them to cross the street and be visible to neighbors, she's not worried about receiving any complaints:

> My neighbors were the ones who gave me the chickens. And I know that a lot of, I mean, quite frankly those enforcing zoning laws or whatever have a lot better things to do than hunt down chickens...My neighbors are all for it. The little old lady across the street used to come over and let them out of the pen and they'd follow her to her yard so she could hang out with them! I pretty much knew that nobody was gonna turn me in, and I really believe that the ordinance is STUPID (Sarah).

Sarah also cites the insulation of her property as a reason for not worrying about code enforcement: "I have a big lot and I also live on a dead end street...and because I live on a dead end street there's little chance of getting busted or whatever" (Sarah).

As Scott (2009) argues, people under oppressive state rule opt to live in "hard to reach" spaces where they can live by their own rules and adapt lifestyles that resist and evade state power. Similarly, some urban livestock keepers use their insulated "hard to reach" properties and adapt their livestock keeping methods to avoid detection from the city. In most cases, participants' low trafficked hidden properties serve as an impetus for keeping livestock, or at least as a secure buffer from code enforcement's patrol. All participants with livestock adjust the ways they keep their animals, confining them to the backyard, for instance, to evade unwanted attention.

IV. Urban Livestock as Boundary Objects

In keeping urban livestock, participants resist normative human-animal relationships in the city and undermine dominant notions of insider/outsider animals and acceptable companion animals. While they are motivated to keep livestock for a source of food, participants also care for their animals, often times as if the animals were pets. Many participants name their animals, interact with them on a daily basis, and grow attached to them, even if they eventually slaughter the animals. Participants, however, remain cognizant that the animals' main purpose is to serve as food sources and not pets.

A. Human-Animal Relationships

In expressing mixed thoughts on whether they consider their animals to be purely pets or purely livestock, those with urban livestock challenge definitions of pets and livestock. Most think of them as something in between--as pets that produce food, or livestock that have names and provide entertainment. Amy is surprised at the strong emotions she feels for her hens:

> Something I didn't expect was the idea that they turned into pets for me. I never would have guessed that I would go into the backyard and be happy to see Patterson or Miss America. That never crossed my mind that I would have an emotional attachment to the chickens...I would probably vote for giving them away to somebody who [won't slaughter them once they quit laying eggs]. That would be traumatic for me. Even though I know it happens. If I was going to have a chicken dinner I'd rather it be someone else's chicken (Will and Amy).

Katie also thinks of her chickens as pets more than livestock: "They come when you call them. They follow us to their food. They'll come and look in the window when they need something. I mean, they just seem like pets. The kids even named them".

Even keepers that consider their animals to be more livestock have some emotional attachment to them. Isaac thought of his hens more as livestock, but admits that he had a relationship with them: "I definitely saw them as livestock, but I did, as [Heidi] said, I connected with them, as well. And we had names for all of our chickens"[27]. Clare, who slaughtered three young birds because they were roosters, expresses similar feelings about her eleven hens: "[The chickens] are definitely livestock in our family. They don't let you pick them up. They're not, you know, they're not handled unless I really, really need to get a hold of somebody for some reason. But they are fun, you know, to come down here and

[27] Isaac ultimately slaughtered his hens when he and his wife became parents and found they no longer had time to care for the animals.

watch them". In urban human-animal borderlands (Wolch and Emel, 1998), these urban livestock keepers contest dominant human-animal relations by broadening the definition of companion animal. They see chickens in particular as animals for both food and companionship, making an animal that is widely seen as only appropriate outside the city and urban homes appropriate in urban landscapes.

A number of participants have either slaughtered their animals themselves or had them slaughtered by someone else. The impetus for slaughtering the animals was either for meat or because the animals were no longer productive, or because participants didn't want to get caught by enforcement. Walter and Donny keep chickens, goats, and pigs, and enjoy keeping goats and pigs in particular so that they can have goat or pig roasts. Walter says, "We've done several [animal slaughtering] in Athens in backyards". Donny adds, "We think the most humane way to do it is with a gun straight to the head". Walter and Donny slaughtered their first two pigs after receiving a warning from a code enforcement officer. The officer came to their house via an anonymous complaint, issued them a warning, and demanded the removal of the pigs happen within two weeks. The officer returned in two weeks to ensure the pigs' removal and by that time Walter and Donny had slaughtered, roasted, and eaten the pigs. Alyssa and her husband slaughtered two hens after keeping them for a few years. She explains why:

> We did it right after we found out our house was for sale. And we knew there would be traffic coming through. And they had started, well it was winter time, but they weren't laying that much anymore either. And we figured they were getting kind of old. So those two factors allowed us to get rid of them....We were renters so we knew that the [rental] company would be coming by and we didn't want them to fine us or call anybody [code enforcement] on us. And we knew they were illegal so we didn't want any problems with that (Alyssa).

Some keepers ordered chicks online, or got them through a friend, and accidentally ended up with roosters. To avoid raising the roosters, many participants slaughtered them. Clare and her husband slaughtered three young roosters "cause they hadn't started crowing yet, but they were getting roostery and mean, like giving you the eyeball...So my husband got on YouTube one Sunday morning and looked at a couple of videos. And he was like, I will kill them and you butcher them. And I was like fine. Let's just do it and get it over with. So we did it" (Clare). Slaughtering animals is a way for keepers to practice resilience and develop skills and reconnect to the land and agricultural practices.

Participants' feelings of discomfort of keeping roosters relates to boundary animals in urban borderlands (Wolch and Emel, 1998). Even though some participants, with and without livestock, have pleasantly co-existed with roosters, most participants are not as ready to accept roosters, as they are hens, into the normative urban landscape. As Philo and Wilbert (2000) and Wolch and Emel (1998) discuss, certain food animals are more "outsider" than others. Like Blecha and Leitner's (2013) participants, the participants of this study accept hens into urban landscapes, but the majority still see other food animals, such as roosters, pigs, or cows, as out of place and unwelcome in urban settings.

B. Acceptable Animals in Urban Landscapes

While the keepers I spoke with consider chickens and bees to be acceptable food animals in the city, they do not think other animals are as acceptable. Most participants are not enthusiastic about the keeping of larger food animals, such as pigs and cows, because they see these animals as out of place in the city and think it would be cruel to both neighbors and the animals to keep them on urban lots. Most participants keeping chickens

and/or bees are interested in having goats to eat the invasive species on their property, but they are scared to actually have the goats on their property because they fear goats are too obvious and would therefore upset neighbors and code enforcement. They fear that bringing goats into the mix would ultimately get them in trouble for having chickens, and they would rather have no goats and be able to keep their chickens.

Participants, both with and without livestock, favor an ordinance that allows food animals with some restrictions. For instance, the majority of participants, city officials included, state that they understand the need to outlaw roosters because they are loud and people "wouldn't want to wake up to a rooster every morning" (Michelle)[28]. Most participants also want regulation to ensure the scale of permitted livestock remains small and does not escalate into large-scale factory style operations. Luke's thoughts exemplify this, "[Private yard space] is not really something I think the government needs to regulate more of. [I believe the government's role] is where if someone tried to buy [the lot next door] for a chicken plant--it's not zoned for that. And that makes sense. Over there it's been zoned for that and it's kind of far away" (Luke). Michelle claims the reasons people might not want to live near chickens is due to "the noise and the cleanliness". She adds that "those are all things that can be regulated with density restrictions" and agrees "that there should be some restrictions" because she doesn't "want to live next door to a poultry plant" (Michelle). Savannah adds that without some regulation, people may decide to keep ten goats in a small backyard, which would be cruel to the animals and the environment.

The type of semi-restricted pro-livestock enforcement that most participants envision is similar to current complaint driven enforcement of pets like cats and dogs. For

[28] A few participants are willing to allow roosters and do not necessarily see them as a negative addition to urban landscapes.

instance, when asked to what scale she thinks urban livestock should be regulated, Steffi responds, "well, just in terms of quantity. And frankly I think dogs should be regulated in terms of quantity because...if my neighbor has 15 dogs barking up a storm, I would hear that in my house" (Steffi). She adds:

> You should not be allowed to knock down my historic home and put up a McDonald's without regard to my neighbors. But certainly what goes on in my home, as long as it's legal, is not anybody's business. And if I want bunnies in my backyard versus bunnies in my house that's not really anybody's business. As long as I take care of my bunnies (Steffi).

Lisa's thoughts also exemplify this type of enforcement comparison. She says that the city should regulate livestock "just like you're not allowed to have over a certain number of dogs or cats or something. I think that numbers should be regulated" (Lisa). She and Patrick then give an example of a man they know who kept a horse in a very tiny lot that "was not healthy for that horse" (Patrick). Patrick then adds, "You can't expect everyone to appropriately self-regulate" (Patrick), which, he says, is why there needs to be some official regulations. Heidi also wants the option to turn to the city government for help if her neighbor's animals bother her:

> I'm way more troubled by dogs than I am by anybody's chickens. I mean, if a dog is barking all night, I don't know if there are laws against that or not. I don't know if I would support those laws or not. I'd personally rather talk to my neighbor, but I guess if they didn't do anything about it then I might call the police in secret (Heidi).

Participants welcome hens and bees as urban companion animals similar to their acceptance of dogs and cats. While some participants may see the benefit of having other food animals such as roosters, goats, or pigs, most are not ready to receive these animals as openly as smaller food animals. One beekeeper's exclamation, "We might look a little weird walking a goat!" (Savannah), reveals the sense that larger food animals have not yet

permeated urban normative landscapes in the same way chickens and bees have. The "outsider" animals (Wolch and Emel: 93) actually have less of an outside status in the neighborhoods of my study site, but are still illegal, and therefore unacceptable, on a larger level. Urban livestock keepers, and people who accept the presence of these animals, are changing normative boundaries of which types of animals are acceptable in urban spaces. Neighborhood residents may have some power to define their normative landscapes and shape their human-animal relationships, but they must concede to the city government the ultimate legal power to define and control these landscapes and borderlands. The city government, therefore, also has the power to decide how people can and cannot produce/consume food. In undermining normative human-animal relationships and normative urban landscapes, participants also claim autonomy, however temporarily, minuscule, or covertly, of their space and from dominant food systems and market.

V. Conclusion

Analyzing participants' motivations for and methods used in keeping food animals in Athens aids in building an understanding of urban livestock and urban livestock keepers in the US. This analysis chapter provides useful baseline empirical data on an understudied and largely invisible phenomena and positions livestock as key boundary objects in a struggle for control in the food system. The participants of this study are similar to those studied by Blecha and Leitner (2013) in that they think differently about urban lifestyles and human-animal relationships, challenge the exclusion of certain agricultural animals in urban settings, are interested in obtaining knowledge and skills of how to live off the land, and generally oppose the corporate food system and dominant economies and urban

systems. They use livestock animals as boundary objects to change normative urban landscapes and claim autonomy, at least temporarily, from corporate food systems and city government through trust in their neighbors and access to hard to reach spaces to hide their animals and produce food. This analysis highlights the need for political and territorial control in order to move towards a food sovereignty that decommodifies and decentralizes food systems.

Agriculture and agricultural animals, once pushed out of the city because of modernization and capitalization of agriculture and urban space, are now reappearing in cities with residents engaging in these practices as a way to push back against modernity and capitalism. In addition to being unaccepted in urban areas, agricultural activities became *criminalized* in an effort to transform producers into consumers and minimize and control agricultural livelihoods. Analyzing the behaviors and beliefs of the participants in this study suggests that their figured worlds, which include distrust of corporatization, development, and modernization, lead them to seek out and keep food animals in order to build skills, knowledge, and mutual interdependence in producing food and becoming self-sufficient. They resist and rework these dominant systems through their animals, and do so even though they are aware of the illegality of their actions. Participants use their private property to circumvent the ordinance, and recognize that keeping urban livestock, and thus producing such food, is much harder for those without access to private yard spaces.

Alternative food networks, such as farmers markets and stores specializing in certified organic produce, arose out of perceived failures of modern conventional agriculture in an attempt to provide access to healthy, safe, and nutritious food. Urban livestock, home-based food production, and food sovereignty arose from the failure of

alternative food networks to produce healthy, safe, and *affordable* food for middle-lower class people who distrust or dislike the corporate food regime. Small-scale urban livestock gives people more options for how to produce or access food, and in this way mobilizes them to be able to opt out, even just partially, of modernism, capitalism, and dominant markets. It also gives them *some* control over the means of production and the quality and safety of their food supply. Food sovereignty supports efforts to grant everyone the universal right to control and define their food system in ways that provide access to decommodified and decentralized food. It aims to return control to small-scale producers and dismantle consolidated corporate and privatized power. Producing their own food via animals also decommodifies part of their food system in a way that may be fairly small and partial, but perhaps significant in some way. In the following chapter, I add to ways of thinking about urban livestock keepers' significance in the US by using a typologies of political action for food sovereignty analytical framework to examine their views and actions. The next chapter uses research data to analyze themes of and tensions between food movements and urban livestock keepers.

CHAPTER 5

CONTROL OF SPACE, RIGHTS, AND FOOD

I. Introduction

"Sure, I like fine things. Sure, I like my bananas, and I guess we could probably grow oranges here now. I like my mangoes. I like wine from Italy. But I just think that day in and day out everybody's gotta change. Everything has to. We [have to] start taking care of our farmers. Screw Monsanto! Screw how our government and Monsanto have screwed our farmers and screwed our soil...It's just a vicious, vicious cycle. ***And all I can do is take care of my space***" (Kelly)

Kelly's above quote represents how many participants' figured worlds (Gee, 1999) are comprised of beliefs and behaviors, in which beliefs influence behavior, and which often result in instances where people adopt one political position while simultaneously practicing another (Holt-Gimenez and Shattuck, 2011). Here, Kelly reveals her vehement distrust of agro-corporations like Monsanto, and positions them and the US government as creating problematic and unjust conditions for everyone. Yet, her figured world leaves her feeling powerless to impact positive change at any level other than in her own individual space. In other words, she wishes to enact radical changes at a broader political level, but her actions take place at a much different and more individualized scale.

This chapter expands on the previous chapter's analysis by exploring participants' figured worlds, by analyzing a variety of themes that relate to food sovereignty narratives, including private property and urban space, regulations, individual and collective rights, and hunger. This chapter begins by explaining and identifying three typologies of political action for food sovereignty, which I base on current literature and political actions

affiliated with food sovereignty in the US. The chapter then moves to connect these typologies of political action to the behaviors and beliefs of participants in this study, in order to answer the question of how participants' activities and values relate to food sovereignty, if at all. As discussed at greater length in chapters two and three, food sovereignty remains an emerging discourse, particularly in the Global North, and, as I discuss further in this chapter, incorporates a range of narratives and political actions, including an ideology of political autonomy and a desire for social transformation, which often clash with modern laws and normative landscapes. These laws, in turn, affect the behaviors of those engaging with food sovereignty discourses and values. In addressing questions about food sovereignty, this chapter also answers the question of how research participants view private property and how they think it should be regulated by the city. A brief discussion on libertarian, civil disobedient, and radical collectivist food sovereignties directs the subsequent sections that analyze participants' thoughts and actions on issues related to food sovereignty. I then discuss about the tensions and contradictions between these three typologies as exemplified by participants' beliefs and behaviors.

Most participants in this study fall under the larger umbrella of food sovereignty, rather than AFNs, because of the nature of their activities, which are not legally permitted, and because of their attempts to access decommodified and decentralized food, such as exchanging animal food products in non-commodified ways. Additionally, participants with livestock engage in broader discourses of food sovereignty through their values and beliefs. For instance, as the previous analysis chapter shows, most are motivated by a desire for more control of their food system, better access to decommodified and decentralized food, and an opportunity to reconnect to the land and build survival skills. As this chapter shows,

participants distrust and dislike corporations and the privatization of the public sector, and say they value both individual and collective rights, with an emphasis on the collective. Within these discourses, however, participants' values and actions both exemplify and complicate the typologies of political action in food sovereignty that I have identified. For instance, some admit they place a degree of value on private property as an entity and individualism, but they simultaneously reveal their contempt for corporations and privatization.

The vast majority of participants demonstrate actions that trend towards incorporating civil disobedience or libertarianism because they own private property with the ability to hide animals in a backyard space. Most act in what could be termed civil disobedient ways because they disregard the ordinance but do wish, to an extent, that their actions were legal. They view the ordinance as wrong and as an attempt by the city to deny them, and others, a right to food. They see the ordinance as denying everyone their universal right to produce and control their food (Patel, 2009), particularly those without proper space to hide their activities. Most participants also value the expansion of both collective and individual rights. A few participants reflect beliefs and behaviors that are more radical collectivist in nature because they either share land, duties, and animals or they keep animals on property that is not their own, and many display a distrust and dislike of capitalism, corporatization, and privatization. These beliefs and behaviors, or figured worlds, work in tandem in shaping the ways participants keep animals and engage with modes of political action towards what I consider to be food sovereignty in Athens. Together they illustrate a detailed and nuanced understanding of food sovereignty in the US.

II. Typologies of Political Action for Food Sovereignty

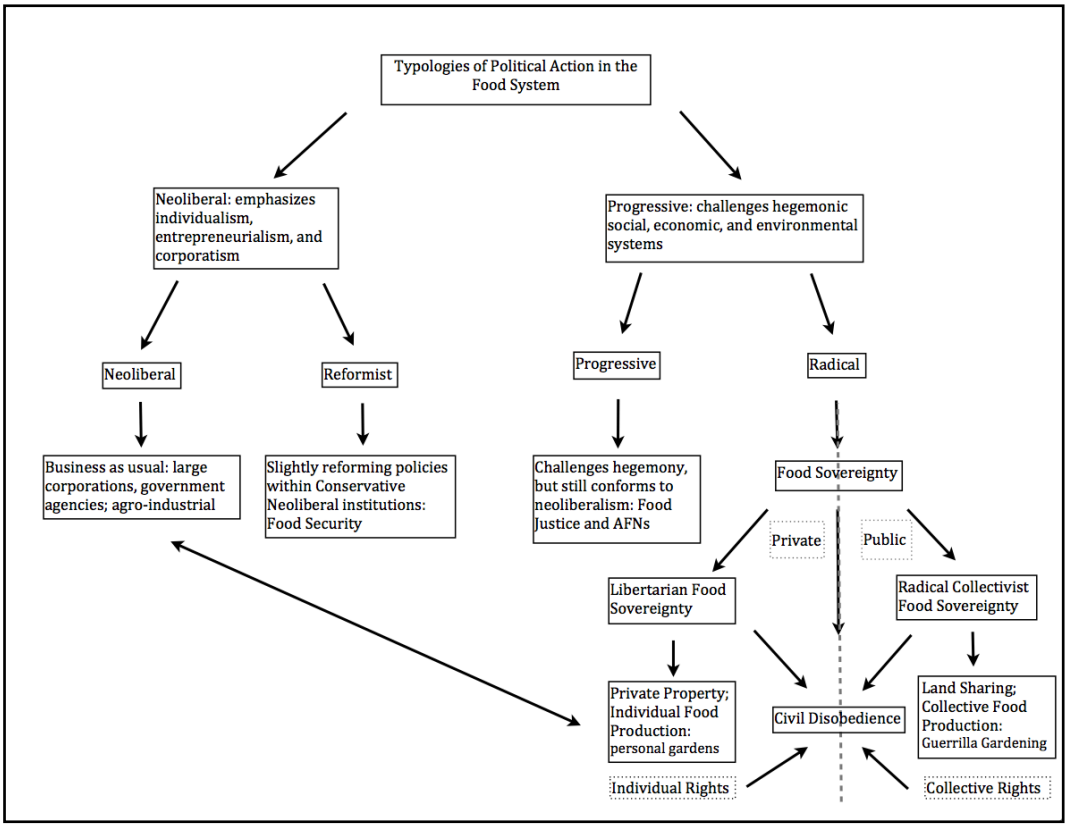
I position food sovereignty as a radical response to the political, social, and economic failures of alternative food networks (AFNs). While food sovereignty and AFNs are both considered progressive food movements that challenge dominant social, economic, and environmental systems, according to Holt-Gimenez and Shattuck (2011) food sovereignty works to politically and economically reconfigure and dismantle the current food system. Building on Holt-Gimenez and Shattuck's (2011) categories of food system participants, this thesis identifies three new subsets of "Radical" food sovereignty: Libertarian, Civil Disobedient, and Radical Collectivist[29] (Figure 5.1).

The essence and main distinctions of the three food sovereignty subsets are as follows: *Libertarian food sovereignty* occurs on private property and invests in individual food production. Libertarian food sovereigntists value privatization, individualism, and view any government involvement as a hindrance, especially in unregulated markets, the deregulation of which contributes to individual gain. *Civil Disobedient food sovereignty* happens on either private or public property, and breaks laws or ordinances, with a desire to change them in the interests of expanding individual and collective rights. *Radical Collectivist food sovereignty* utilizes unused public land or shared properties for food production and acts in a reactionary and subversive way to contest and replace capitalist methods of distribution. Radical collectivist food sovereigntists value collectivism, and act in the interest of a moral universal right to access safe and nutritious food. This thesis uses

[29] Again, I use the term "Radical" to mean accessing food outside of the law and/or in ways that attempt to work outside of dominant food systems, and in this sense libertarians can be radical as they engage with radical individualism and often disregard laws and ordinances to produce food. Radical is not to be confused with "Radical Collectivist", which is a subset of Radical. For further detail in this area, see chapters two and three.

these three subsets of political action in food sovereignty to examine urban livestock keepers' viewpoints and activities to better understand their motivations for control of space and food production

Figure 5.1



A. Property

As the previous chapter determines, most participants keep urban livestock and produce food on their individual private property. A few participants, however, keep animals on property that is not their own or share animals and land. These participants' use of property possibly signals an engagement with radical collectivist food sovereignty. Yet, as I discuss below, participants that use private property to produce food do not share values of libertarianism, and in fact, I suggest that the local anti-livestock ordinance binds

these participants to using property in a private and individual way and thus restrains them from using land more collectively.

Access to property influences the ways participants are able keep animals. All urban livestock keepers with whom I spoke have properties with the capacity to hide animals, either by keeping them in the backyard or living on dead end streets with low traffic. Alice, who got cited and ultimately paid a fine for keeping chickens in her backyard, talks about how some keepers might be at lower risk than others:

> The penalty is not so severe [for keeping chickens]. You just have to get rid of your birds. So you're taking on a pretty small risk [by breaking the ordinance]. You know it's a small fine if you don't get rid of the birds. So it's not risky enough to get a change probably. Unless you depend on the birds [financially], and to be honest, the people that probably have the least means to manage a fine would probably be turned in and caught more than people who have all kinds of means to manage a fine. The people that have the means [to pay the fine], they also have means to hide their chickens more cleverly or can be more discrete and subtle. People with less means don't have those powers. They don't have the ability to hide them and be discrete...so you know, if you have education and means then you're more likely to get away with it (Alice).

Access to private yard space with a large enough backyard or area not easily visible from the street creates a less risky situation for someone keeping livestock in the city. As the previous analysis chapter notes, most participants with livestock have access to this type of property, which allows them to feel more secure in keeping illegal animals on a small scale. Most participants, with some exceptions, keep their animals on individual private property. The illegality of urban livestock necessitates hidden livestock activities and thus confines people to producing mostly individualized food. Legalizing food animals more widely might give people an opportunity to participate in collective food production and land use without the risk of citation.

The majority of participants would like to see less regulation of private property and yards because they desire an expansion of individual and collective rights, not because they subscribe to strong libertarian values associated with private property rights. For instance, participants believe individuals and neighborhoods are enriched and diversified by using their yards for productive purposes. They feel people should be able to use their private yards however they would like, as long as their uses do not create noxious scents or pernicious conditions for the environment. In fact, some participants would like *more* regulation of homes to scale-back development and protect the environment, and the vast majority would like to see large corporations and development companies heavily regulated.

Participants both with and without urban livestock agree that the city should lessen its regulation of yard space as long as people's activities aren't harming others or the environment[30]. Some participants call for the regulation of scale appropriate homes, as they do not wish to see historic homes replaced by "McMansions" (Sarah). While participants want the ability to use their yard space as they please, and do not mind others doing the same, most still view certain things as out of place in urban landscapes, such as loud noises and bad smells. Like other participants, Isaac isn't bothered by visual aspects of a yard, but he says that he would be bothered by something that "smelled really bad or was really loud" (Isaac). Steve adds to this:

> It's things that actually infringe on our ability to sleep, like that's what [grates] on us. I mean, that abandoned house next door kind of irritates us, but it's not that big of a deal. If we cared a whole lot about that kind of thing we'd live somewhere where that couldn't happen (Steve).

[30] While residents participants desire less regulation of yard space, they also want more regulation of large corporations and environmental standards.

While participants do want less regulation of yard space in certain regards, most desire more regulation of large corporations and projects that are harmful to the environment. Sarah, for instance, says, "There are still people that want to live in these huge acres with their big giant house with their huge carbon footprint, and maybe we should enforce stricter regulations on them as far as using solar power. And greener building standards...It's about a sustainable future for everybody. Using efficiently what you already have" (Sarah). She refers to herself as "pro-regulation", but believes that regulation is sometimes "a little misplaced". She continues her explanation:

> We have too much of it in some places where it's not necessary and not enough of it in other places where we need it. And it seems like the places where we have too much of it are places that tend to affect the little guy--persons who are just trying to scrape by and grow their own food or, you know, have their own eggs. And the places where you don't have it tend to benefit the big guy where you have the big corporations coming in and just razing swaths of land to build massive unsustainable structures. That's the way I look at it. Money talks. People with the money and the power seem to get what they want and the little guy seems to get squeezed (Sarah).

Like other participants, Sarah articulates an interesting perspective on who, or what, should be regulated by government. While participants do not necessarily encourage regulation of private property, they do *not* believe that all regulations are bad. Instead of wanting to do away with regulations, as libertarians might, they feel regulations should target those with consolidated power, such as corporations and developers. Additionally, they recognize that perhaps they lack a strong voice in deciding on who gets regulated and in what way. Karen's thoughts expand on this idea of misplaced regulation. She says:

> I tend to be pretty pro-regulation of businesses and of corporations and things. But often those lines are pretty blurry between private property and business. I don't think that people should be able to do whatever they want to on their property because we live in a

> community with other people, and if you're affecting other people negatively then that's something that we have to work out. Not necessarily in like a litigious sort of governmenty way as we do now, but, you know, I don't think that people have the right to do stuff that hurts others...I guess I feel like it's very complicated. I'm not libertarian. I don't feel like there should be less rules. But I do feel like the rules are being made by the wrong people or in favor of the wrong folks in order to favor the wrong folks (Karen).

Will's thoughts further exemplify participants' discussions on regulations. He says, "I do think some sort of regulation is necessary. Do people go overboard with regulation? Sure. But I don't think it should be a free for all...There are good things about rules. And it's good to test them, too. I don't think they should be set in stone" (Will). Participants value regulation but feel it is often used in the wrong way to benefit those in power and harm those who lack it. In expressing these beliefs, participants articulate that capitalism and corporations remain largely unregulated at the expense of people's welfare.

Out of environmental concerns and a desire to increase neighborly interaction, the majority of participants both with and without animals want to see more yards that incorporate diverse native plants and food gardens and that have less grass and manicured lawns. Chris's thoughts on the matter exemplify this consensus: "I'd like [people in Athens] to get rid of monoculture...ANYTHING besides grasses". When asked if he preferred this for visual reasons, he responds, "No! It's for the environment!"(Chris). Savannah expands on this idea: "I think we have way too much grass. And it doesn't grow well here. So it's silly that we are maintaining and putting pesticides on it to create something that's not natural. So I would love to see a lot more diversity in landscapes"(Savannah). Patrick adds that he "would like to see a decrease in people who have manicured lawns" because he thinks "it's a poor use of resources" (Patrick).

Participants would also like to see more productive yards, which they describe as yards used for food production, children's play areas, or anything that encourages spending time outside and interaction with neighbors and community members. Isaac says:

> I would like to see all of [the yard] used intentionally. That includes space to play...I think it should be like something that's engaging and gets people who live there out into their landscape to be a part of it. Because otherwise they don't want to be a part of their landscape then they might as well live in an apartment...I think it's important for us to connect with living creatures. Be they human or non-human. The garden definitely encourages engagement between us and our neighbors. We start talking when we're out in it (Isaac).

Sarah talks at length about the problematic future of society's structures and land use. She thinks transportation "is going to be a HUGE issue" and adds that "zoning [will also be a problem] if you have vast swaths of land where you're not allowed to set up a store or grow food. We're going to have to integrate our land uses a lot more" (Sarah). She adds,

> I'm a big proponent of the porch and the needing a private space and public space and getting to know your neighbors. And I feel like so much of what we do these days is confined to be inside of our of our homes where people drive right up to the back door of their garage and there's no waving to your neighbor from the front porch. There's no getting to know your neighbors. People I know who live in suburban neighborhoods, they have no idea who their next door neighbors are (Sarah).

Similarly to Blecha and Leitner's (2013) urban chicken keepers, these participants in Athens "see their practices as welcome alternatives to the individualism and associated isolation, consumerism, and stressful pace of everyday urban life in the contemporary capitalist city" (13). They see urban agricultural activities as a way to (re)connect to the land, nature, animals, and neighbors. As I discuss towards the end of this chapter, participants see this is as a reprieve from and contention with capitalism and the corporatization of society. In these ways, participants do not profess libertarian beliefs,

even though they keep livestock on private property. Although participants do not actually have the right to do whatever they want on their property, hence the illegality of their actions, they use their private property as an advantageous means to hide their illegal food production methods from the city[31] and to defend what they see as a right to produce food. By necessarily wielding their property in this manner to avoid detection, livestock keepers are somewhat restricted to producing food individually versus collectively.

B. Individual vs. Collective Rights

All participants value both collective and individual rights, mostly with an emphasis on the collective, indicating they share characteristics with participants of civil disobedient food sovereignty, which uses illegal actions to expand rights to food for themselves, but also others in the name of a morally universal right to food. Some participants, like Isaac, think collective and individual rights go hand in hand and cannot be separate: "I don't think you can really value collective rights without honoring the individuals involved as part of the collective. And I also don't think you can break everything down into individuals" (Isaac). Will's thoughts also exemplify participants' thoughts on rights:

> I value individual rights. I think we should have them. But I mean, I also look for societal advancement and I think that while the individual can advance society it's the community then that pushes things. I would rather benefit the whole than benefit the person. I don't think the person is as special as the group (Will).

Alyssa values individual rights more because she wants people to "be able to do something [they] want to do. Without having a regulation blocking you from making those choices". She adds, however, "when you get into water and land [rights issues] it does change to

[31] Recall from earlier discussions that code enforcement officers are prohibited from entering private yard space without permission from the owner.

collective" (Alyssa). Sarah says that she values collective rights because she is "a big believer in empathy" and has "a huge problem with corporate culture that overrides those rights of the whole" (Sarah). Like other urban livestock keepers, Chris is outraged that the US government supports corporations like Monsanto, which he perceives as diminishing individual and collective rights. Referring to Monsanto's seed patenting, he exclaims, "Monsanto owns life! They *own* life now. Unbelievable" (Chris). Kelly wants to use her individual space to provide for the collective. She explains, "[Neighbor] and I have talked about lining the street with blueberry bushes so that people can have [a source of] food" (Kelly). When asked why she wants to do this, she says, "Just feeding people. I think that everybody should have the right to have good food and it not be expensive" (Kelly). Participants see corporations, centralized power, and sometimes government policies as inhibiting not just individual rights, but a collective and universal right to food that they believe *everyone* should enjoy.

Like other participants, city commissioner, Sidney, values a mix between individual and collective rights, and sees the US's individualistic propensities as injurious for the collective. He explains, "Here in the United States, there's this long cultural trend of individualism that has kept some sort of more collective opportunities from developing" (Sidney). When asked to give an example, he says, "Driving. I mean, there's a classic American [phenomena]. I'm gonna be in my own vehicle, in my own lane, listening to my own music. And it's led to poor urban planning that has a [harmful] social and environmental [affect] on the collective" (Sidney).

Understanding how individualism hurts the collective is progressive from AFNs, which often work through individualistic means. Patel (2009) argues that individual and

collective rights must be expanded to progress towards and achieve food sovereignty. His emphasis on individual and collective rights is representative of food sovereignty narratives that value the collective as a whole and collective rights to resources such as land, seeds, and water, but also respect and advocate for the rights of individuals. Additionally, these types of food sovereignty narratives often attempt to advance rights through civil disobedience and in ways that work within current legal structures.

C. Unjust Ordinance

The participants in this study understand keeping livestock is against a local ordinance, but they choose to disregard the ordinance because they feel it is unenforceable, silly, and should be changed because it is wrong and unjust. Participants do not believe their practices harm anyone nor do they feel there is high risk involved with breaking the ordinance. While participants are willing to undergo some risk to have access to food animals, many wish to see an updated ordinance to allow for urban livestock so that everyone could keep urban livestock and eliminate any risk of penalty in keeping their animals. Participants want to increase both individual and collective rights by changing laws rather than completely doing away with the law. In this way, participants echo principles associated with civil disobedient food sovereignty discourses.

Most urban livestock keepers in this study defy the ordinance prohibiting their activities because they know of other residents in Athens with livestock who have not gotten into trouble. Alyssa says:

> We knew that we were gonna be breaking the law. But our neighbors directly behind us had chickens. And so the neighborhood already had them and they were really quiet and we were like, apparently the

> neighbors don't care cause they've already tested it so it made it easier for us to do it (Alyssa).

Katie says she and her family got chickens because they knew other people nearby who gardened and kept chickens, and adds that "it kinda helped that there were pro-chicken bumper stickers" (Katie). Amy's reasoning for getting chickens is similar: "The fact that there is a local movement to have chickens in backyards [made me feel it was ok to get chickens]. And that the people that I know about...a lot of people have chickens and nobody says anything about them despite them being technically illegal" (Amy).

Most participants, with and without livestock, do not agree with the current ordinance, which they view as silly, outdated, and unenforceable. Savannah, who keeps bees, says she feels "like the law is sort of this distant thing that I wouldn't necessarily care that much about...maybe it's just the libertarian streak in me...Like, they're not doing anybody any harm. I'm not profiting from them. I'm not advertising that they're there". Walter and Donny resist state regulation and capitalization in radical ways. Donny says, "We'll [keep pigs and goats and have roasts] regardless of what the man says...I think there's a little bit of stick-it-to-the-man-iness".

Pete likens the ordinance to a law that no one really pays attention to: "[keeping chickens is] kind of like jay walking. It's illegal, yeah, but no one really cares". Will views the ordinance in a similar fashion. Here, he explains:

> I, on the 4th of July, I shoot off fireworks every year that I buy from North Carolina. I have fished without a fishing license before. I have, we all have, had beer before we were 21. I'm not saying any of those are justifying the reasons behind it, but I didn't feel like this decision was gonna impact anybody else in such a manner that it was going to be dangerous or hazardous. So yeah. I broke the law (Will).

Most participants, even though they view the ordinance as silly, do wish their activities with livestock was legal. Sarah explains her thoughts:

> It IS illegal. And I do kind of live in fear. Especially since I'm so politically active, and I'm current on so many other issues, it's kind of hypocritical, you know. I'm always standing up for people to follow ordinances in on aspect, yet I'm living this life where I'm breaking this ordinance. Then again, I feel this ordinance is not just and is antithetical to the historic nature of the neighborhood (Sarah).

Kelly is also unnerved by the illegality of her chickens. She says, "I'm not looking to break the law, but I think it's silly, you know. We're just taking our chances. I think it's an archaic law" (Kelly).

Chris adamantly opposes the ordinance and the Athens-Clarke County government, which he refers to as "the nanny state". He says of the ordinance:

> It's unenforceable. Every home owner in this county should go to jail. Or get rid of the ordinance. So I think every home owner, I think we should get about 10,000 of them all walk over to the jail at one time and say, yes, we demand this be done. Or I want you to arrest us because we are breaking the law! (Chris)

Amy would like to see the ordinance changed to support urban livestock. She explains, "So many people break the law and do things that actually harm other people. What's this doing? Just seems, I mean, who am I to say what should be legal and illegal, be the defining voice on that, but it's just ridiculous to not be allowed to" (Amy).

Participants that violate the ordinance with an understanding that they may be penalized for their decision to keep illegal livestock also share characteristics with radical collectivist guerrilla gardeners. They transform urban spaces into places of food production, regardless of any zoning laws or other authorities that prohibit such usage even though they know they may lose access or control over the space (Lamborn and Weinberg, 1999). Urban livestock keepers' yards thus become like "temporary autonomous

zones" (Trauger, 2014; Bey, 2003) in which individuals and communities provide and achieve food autonomy with the acknowledgment that these spaces may eventually be reclaimed by a governmental authority.

The participants in this research would like to see local ordinances changed to support urban livestock, but instead of actively protesting or lobbying for a change[32], most simply circumvent the law to obtain some control over their food (Delind and Howard, 2008). Livestock friendly neighbors and hidden yard areas make for a low risk opportunity for residents to engage with food production and gain more control of their food system. Participants with livestock act out of a desire to have more control of their food, a perceived low risk of being penalized, and the belief that the local ordinance is unenforceable and outdated, keep food animals in spite of its illegality.

D. Corporations, Capitalism, and Hunger

Many participants express frustration at their inability to affect change, like benefiting the collective instead of the individual, at a larger scale and point to the government's support of large corporations and capitalism as the root of social problems such as hunger. The views of these participants suggest radical collectivist traits, which identify the state and its policies as enduringly problematic. For instance, Isaac says he doesn't "trust capitalism to give [him] necessarily an environment that [he wants] to live in" because he believes that capitalism encourages people to "make the most money" and therefore not care about "the quality of life for anybody", which he thinks is a "poor way to

[32] The "Pro-Chicken" group in Athens in some ways advocates for a change in the ordinance, but it has recently been rather quiet. Active group members are relatively few, and they do not host regular meetings to discuss strategies for zoning changes. Members say it is hard to gain momentum because many residents with chickens are scared to come forward and out themselves.

design a society" (Isaac). When asked why he thinks people are hungry, Isaac responds, "Power. Consolidation of power and wealth at the expense of human welfare" (Isaac). His wife Heidi adds, "I feel like countries have been kept back [because of] so much corruption". She becomes overwhelmed with these concepts and trails off before finishing her thoughts, "We're so entrenched in a corrupt system that it's hard for me to think of ideals" (Heidi). Kelly gives a similar answer to why she thinks people lack access to food:

> Money. Money. I mean, it's so sad...I think in so many different ways, the way we outsource everything and import everything we're shooting ourselves in the feet. I don't know why you would do that to your own people. I'm a poor business woman and I think that's why I feel this way is because I don't understand the feeling of money is more important that your own people, you know? I think it's just backwards and unfortunately it seems to be politically based here (Kelly).

Sarah also thinks social problems like hunger stem from capitalism and corporations:

> I mean, I trace [all social problems] back to the corporatization of our culture...I feel like a massive undertaking of every fiber of our being by corporate culture has a lot to do with hunger problems and malnutrition problems and obesity problems and diabetes and health that we have in our culture...I mean, I really think that the concentration of power and development in the hands of these huge corporations whose sole purpose is to make these few individuals as rich as you can possibly imagine. It's destroying our planet on a lot of different levels. It's not just a climate change issue, but it's a break down of society's general knowledge on how to live and how to take care of themselves (Sarah).

Will admits that capitalism does not support most individuals or the collective. He says, "[Food distribution] is definitely about profit maximization" which he thinks causes hunger because "capitalism has a way of not necessarily looking out for someone's best interests". Will does not necessarily believe that dominant markets and economies can't change to include better options, though. He adds:

> The system can make whatever you want. You just have to ask for it. If you want local food it's gonna take a while to get there from a very centralized and industrial system but if you wanted more local you could have it more local. That's a possibility...I think you just have to want it and ask for it. But people that own these means of production don't want to give that up (Will).

Pete does not see capitalism as the entity causing social and economic disparity. He says, "There will always be wealthy people whether it's capitalist or not. There will be the privileged and those without privilege" (Pete).

Many participants think implementing or changing larger government policies could combat hunger and malnutrition. Alyssa, a small-scale organic farmer, thinks people are hungry because people "have kind of lost the ability to farm and grow in the United States, even though there are tons of farmers. They only know how to grow corn or soybeans and they've lost the ability to grow a diversity of crops" (Alyssa). She blames policies that support the subsidization of agro-mono-culture for this loss of knowledge and skill. She continues to say that she thinks hunger stems from:

> a lack of producing diversity for people and living in a system that creates more food for energy than it does food for consumption. And it being more industrialized and not very localized so that food is always leaving where it's grown and going elsewhere. Leaving the people that live there to find food from somewhere else. And the poor folks aren't going to get what they need because they can't afford it (Alyssa).

Alyssa believes a solution to this problem is to have "localized food procurement so that each individual community could take care of its own". She also thinks that being able to use food stamps at farmer's markets is "a really great step for poorer people or people in my income range. But that's [only] one small step" (Alyssa).

To end hunger and better the food system, Isaac says we must "end government subsidies or otherwise make them more fair for local producers but also to foreign

countries because the United States leverages its commodity crops against other countries in very unethical ways" (Isaac). He also says that to combat hunger "somehow it has to not be profitable for people to exploit other people's hunger" and we must end "all the bullshit of people getting wealthy off of other people's misery". Walter also believes that hunger comes from the current food system and is "exacerbated by where our government spends its money. It's where the subsidies go" (Walter). Walter and Donny, who agree that a "poor distribution of wealth" (Walter) adds to a lack of food access, think there are possible ways to increase food access, but blame government for not supporting them:

> There's all sorts of ideas out there but it's a lot of bureaucracy and red tape to keep it from happening [like mobile chicken slaughterhouses or prescribed grazing]. I guess a lot of people are happy with the status quo cause somebody's profiting from it. But what can we do? I think we can keep roasting goats and keep hunting pigs. Voting with your dollar, I hear is important I guess, or not voting by not spending (Donny).

Katie points out that "change has to be organic to be real change. It has to come from within and from the ground up in order to actually [change]. It can't be top down authoritative" (Katie). Similarly, Steffi is skeptical of the government to effect positive change. She says, "I think a lot of people are into making money over nourishing people. It's all about money...So yeah, I don't know if there's any way out of it. Anarchy! Revolution!" (Steffi).

The participants in this research say they reject economic policies that they think support and protect corporations and economic markets rather than communities and individual citizens. Like radical collectivist food sovereigntists, they reimagine ways of participating in dominant food economies and resist commodification, corporatization, and profit maximization. Participants incorporate these beliefs into their livestock keeping practices as they work to obtain food and participate in economies outside of dominant

authorities and economic and political structures. They see their animals as an avenue to sidestep, rework, and resist these dominant models and as a means to obtain *some degree*, however small, of control and autonomy. Yet, even with their strong political views that resist individualism and commodification at a larger level, participants *mostly* act in individual ways by caring for privately owned animals and space to produce food mainly for themselves and their families. Many participants voice frustration at feeling powerless to successfully enact change at a larger level and defer to doing what they can to make a difference, which is to say act at an individual level by wielding their property to produce food, even if their actions are made illegal by the city.

III. Politics of Urban Livestock: the view from the city

Ultimately, the city commission and mayor stipulate the legal ways in which citizens can use their property. As discussed earlier, the current mayor of Athens is opposed to legalizing food animals in the city, particularly chickens. Other commissioners support the mayor on this issue, but some are irritated by the mayor and commission's unwillingness to talk about the issue[33]. City officials thus often shape normative landscapes through policies that reflect their personal biases or ideologies.

[33] Two current city commissioners and one former commissioner were interviewed. My research led me to the two current commissioners, who are openly in support of a new ordinance to legalize livestock, especially chickens and goats for prescriptive grazing. The former commissioner is much more hesitant on this issue and represents a more conservative and anti-livestock approach, which other current commissioners (not interviewed for this study) share.

Every city official I spoke with confirms that the livestock ordinance is indeed largely complaint based[34] and that changing it is a low priority for the mayor and commission. Sally, a former commissioner, says:

> We did consider the possibility of allowing some urban livestock, specifically chickens, but that was maybe three or four years ago, but we, as a group, decided not to consider it at the time. Largely because there were just other things that had much more pressing priority in terms of budget setting, and we didn't want to take the time (Sally).

The underlying issue, however, is the fact that Mayor Nancy Denson is opposed to legalizing urban chickens. Each city official points to Mayor Denson's personal dislike of chickens as the main reason for keeping a pro-chicken ordinance off the agenda. Some city officials roll their eyes when they talk about the mayor's "health condition", or allergy, that she blames on her childhood interactions with chickens in factory farm style chicken houses. One commissioner I spoke with, Candace, is a big proponent of a pro-livestock ordinance, but is continuously shot down by other commissioners whenever she initiates discussion of a potential new ordinance. She says other commissioners tell her "don't go there" and try to discourage her from talking about livestock, especially chickens. The mayor even told her that if she wanted chickens then she would "just have to move outside of the city" (Candace). Candace expresses frustration at her colleagues' attitudes and the consequential inability to place a pro-livestock ordinance on the agenda.

Sidney is a current city commissioner who is savvy to the fact that there are many residents in Athens keeping illegal livestock. He is another pro-livestock ordinance commissioner, but, like Candace, has been unable to gain enough support to revisit the ordinance. He has been trying to place a new ordinance in support of chickens on the

[34] Although code enforcement is largely complaint driven, the Community Protection Division code enforcement officers can and do issue warnings if they see illegal livestock while on patrol.

agenda since 2008. He says that residents call him every so often to ask the status of such an ordinance, and he has to tell them it's not something on the commission's agenda right now. He argues that a pro-livestock ordinance is not likely until there is a new mayor or enough commissioners in support of livestock to override the current mayor's decision to ignore the issue. Sidney adds that he is disappointed by the current situation "because there are a lot of people who, where nobody would ever know, had chickens, and they're doing a fine job taking care of them. And they're well hidden and they're on third of an acre lots" (Sidney).

While some elected officials share similar views to the residents in this study, and maintain that urban livestock should be legalized with restriction, they are somewhat more in favor of zoning regulations because they see it as protecting neighborhoods and people. Sidney, a pro-chicken city commissioner, talks about why he thinks urban livestock should come with restrictions:

> I would never want to be too laissez-faire about what's allowed and what's not. For example, its not unusual in some Texas towns for there to be no ordinance regarding poultry at all. So chickens can just roam the streets. And I recognize that when you create an urban environment, you have to have different kinds of boundaries that you have in a rural setting. And the way that might impact livestock, you know, is the number of animals, or the kind of enclosures required, or frequency of cleaning the space, all those kind of things that, you know, that you don't care about when you and your neighbor each have 400 acres that when you and your neighbor each have a quarter acre, you know, might come into play. But I think that even give that there are appropriate contexts for animals in urban environments. (Sidney)

Most city officials in this study, and state official Bert, agree that code enforcement of animals and land use should only be complaint or nuisance based. Bert, who once argued with a code enforcement officer for not being allowed to have a goat eat kudzu on his

property and who thinks drunk frat boys are more of a nuisance than urban chickens, expands on this:

> If there's a complaint and the pursuit of happiness is not available by everybody, then you gotta change it. But if somebody's pursuing some happiness and it's not affecting anybody maybe the city needs to back off a little bit. And I firmly believe in that. It's this little libertarian popping up, too, right?...And you don't want to put, obviously, a gas station right next door to me. I would hate that....I think the nuisance abatement is extremely important function of our government. It's a protection of individual's rights. But for our government to explain what you can and cannot do when there is no protection necessary is where we have the problems which I think we're at right now...I don't think it needs to be heavily regulated. I think you just need to say look, this is a stupid law. Let's get rid of it (Bert).

City commissioner Candace believes that yard space should be less regulated, too, and that property owners should use their property as they would like as long as they are respectful of other's property. To her, one of the hardest decisions as commissioner is dictating what people can and can't do with their property (Candace).

Former city commissioner Sally skeptically accepts the presence of food animals in the city, but retains a divided urban-rural viewpoint:

> You know, I haven't ever lived around urban livestock. So I really don't know how much of a nuisance it would be. To my mind, you know, a well taken care of set of backyard chickens certainly wouldn't be any more of a nuisance than the feral cats that are all up in my neighborhood...I guess my gut feeling is it would be fine as long as there were rules that required the owners to have a safe place for the chickens to go at night, for example. Um, so as long as it were well crafted. I would say that I myself probably would not take advantage of that law because I really like having the farmers out on the green belt who are providing those kinds of things for us (Sally).

Sally does not see the city as the most appropriate place for agriculture, a view which influences the way she uses her political power to shape normative landscapes in Athens. To her, urban areas are better served as places for development rather than food

production. Her view of the world dichotomizes useable urban green space and urban agriculture:

> A lot of traditional agriculture in cities takes up a lot of land that really could be better used for housing, commercial areas, or public green space. So I think that's another issue that has to be carefully thought about, you know, if you're gonna craft an ordinance that encourages urban agriculture, you've gotta see that as a trade off for your desire to have a dense walkable area with lots of public green space. The farm couldn't be that (Sally).

Sally recognizes that "zoning codes should evolve to reflect community values", but admits she would feel "really unprotected" if she "lived in a world without any sort of zoning that says you can't put that gas station up next to the house or the neighborhood playground or something like that" (Sally). She says that while the city government uses zoning "to protect the look of an area" (Sally), the government should also try to accommodate a variety of "things in an urban landscape" so that it's not "the cookie cutter thing that you imagine out in the suburbs" (Sally). Of all elected official participants, Sally has the most conservative and tentative views on placing livestock in the urban landscape. Other city commissioners not interviewed in this study are also guided in their political agenda by thoughts similar to Sally. Their ideologies and worldviews, or figured worlds, can influence what political agendas they do and don't push. The Mayor and Commission, often guided by personal biases and thoughts, control use of space and determine by law what is acceptable in urban normative landscapes.

IV. Urban Livestock and Political Action for Food Sovereignty

While the recognition of these three typologies of political action in food sovereignty is important for a better understanding of food sovereignty, the boundaries between them

are fluid rather than static. As Patel (2009) claims, food sovereignty is a "big tent" that contains multiple and varying narratives that stem from different geographies "determined by specific histories and contours of resistance" (668). Holt-Gimenez and Shattuck (2011) add that actors in food movements are often hard to categorize, and can inhabit one or multiple categories, because "they adopt politically distinct positions on different issues - or adopt one position while practicing another" (132).

The variety of food sovereignty narratives and the difficulty of categorizing them is exemplified in this study; participants with urban livestock do not easily fit into each of typologies of political action for food sovereignty identified in this project as participants articulate narratives and act in ways that cross the typologies of political action. While most people keep urban livestock in private and individual ways, they mostly do not share values associated with libertarianism. They identify themselves as progressive, care about the collective, dislike privatization, corporatization, and capitalism, and often support government aid and intervention. They leverage their rights to private property to enable participation in arguably more radical or disobedient activities.

Perhaps if the act of keeping food animals was legal, these participants would no longer have to confine their animals to being hidden, and would engage in more collective sharing of animals, food products, and space and therefore trend towards radical collectivist food sovereignty. The majority of participants were enthused by the idea of producing more food collectively. When asked if they would be willing to or interested in sharing and trading food more with neighbors, the vast majority answered yes. A majority of those with livestock on private property also hold radical collectivist views by opposing capitalism and calling for an expansion of rights to benefit individuals and the collective. In

effect, the ordinance, not personal values or motivations, is perhaps what pushes participants toward valuing and using their individual rights in this way.

Disobeying the ordinance, in the desire to change it to expand rights for themselves and others suggests a broader notion of rights than one would expect with the ideals of alternative food networks/markets. If keeping food animals was legal, participants may not be either self-interested or civilly disobedient, and they could both believe in and act toward a more radical and progressive food sovereignty. Holt-Gimenez and Shattuck (2011) suggest that Radical food actors and movements are in danger of being swayed and co-opted by the market, much like Progressives and AFNs, which both began as alternative and somewhat radical but ultimately failed when they reverted to conventional economies and food distribution methods. Holt-Gimenez and Shattuck (2011) say that if Radical food movements, like food sovereignty, are usurped by engagements with liberal markets and market reformists then the current food regime will remain, but if progressives trend toward radicalism then the food regime and governments and institutions that support it could be truly challenged. Likewise, if those who are between radical collectivism and civil disobedience within food sovereignty lean towards radicalization then the movement could make a greater and perhaps more effective push to dismantle monopoly power and underlying political inequalities. Intra-class alliances are also imperative, here, and, as Holt-Gimenez and Shattuck (2011) say, if such alliances are made and class interests converge they might contribute "significantly to the construction of a different food regime" (131).

V. Conclusion

Participants' engagement with urban food animals reflects and expands their values and beliefs about world systems. Similarly to Blecha and Leitner's (2013) findings on chicken keepers, these urban livestock keepers "problematize and actively question the value of hegemonic food, economic, and ecological urban systems" (3) and put "into practice an alternative vision about how things ought to be" (7). They also value "the pleasures of building relationships with neighbors and of companionship with animals" (13) and see their practices as welcome alternatives to the individualism and associated isolation, consumerism, and stressful pace of everyday urban life in the contemporary capitalist city" (13). Urban livestock keepers, and their neighbors, comment on problematic conditions of capitalism and policies supportive of corporations, large-scale development, and the current food system, which they see as encroaching on the rights of individuals and collectives. Urban livestock keepers are willing to keep food animals and risk penalty from Athens-Clarke County code enforcement officers because of these beliefs and values, because of their trust that their neighbors share beliefs, if not behaviors, in their figured worlds and because of the protections granted to them through private property rights. Without private space, participants would be less likely to engage in prohibited behaviors like keeping urban livestock.

While all participants *do* participate in varying degrees in some type of food sovereignty discourse, the boundaries between these types of food sovereignties are permeable and therefore allow participants to transcend the three typologies, libertarian, civil disobedient, and radical collectivist, identified in this chapter. In keeping prohibited livestock, all participants claim some autonomy, however small or temporary, and act to

control space to access food and redefine normative urban landscapes, built by dominant ideologies and policies. Although a majority follow, to some degree, what could be thought of as either libertarian or civil disobedient food sovereignty by keeping food animals on their private property and valuing individual rights, most are motivated to keep these animals by beliefs that tend to echo radical collectivist food sovereignty narratives. If residents hide their animals in private spaces out of fear of government citation, perhaps the local law constrains urban livestock keepers to more individualized and privatized methods of food production that might otherwise exist as a more collective production. The individualism, privatization, and modernization of agriculture through capitalism, which led to and coincided with divided rural/urban landscapes, is largely encouraged and favored by governments and elected officials. The city commission and mayor have the power to legally define land uses, and therefore likely have the power to control not just space, but to determine who has the right (or not) to produce food. Such political and economic forces undermine and threaten the success of food sovereignty. In addition to recapping this thesis' major contributions and findings, I use the following and last chapter to address this thought further and suggest possible future research endeavors to advance and illuminate understandings of the relationships between urban livestock, zoning ordinances, and food sovereignty in the US.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

I. Introduction

As discussed throughout this thesis, food sovereignty aims to increase political autonomy and thereby obtain more democratic control of food sources and systems by undermining and resisting dominant political, social, and economic models and structures. According to the Nyeleni documents (2007), achieving political autonomy, and therefore food sovereignty, necessitates control of space/territory, with the ability to use it to produce food. Urban livestock and issues of territory and rights that surround it provide a good and interesting example and place for discussion of food sovereignty discourses and possible impediments to achieving food autonomy.

Scholars have called for more research to investigate human-animal relationships and food sovereignty. Circumstances in Athens, GA create a unique opportunity to look deeply at issues of rights of space and food and contested human-animal relationships. Many residents in Athens keep small-scale livestock, such as chickens, goats, and bees, in spite of local ordinances that prohibit such activity and land use, suggesting a relationship to food sovereignty principles. In addition to showcasing issues around food, land, and rights, this situation also poses an opportunity to examine social relationships that affect and are affected by zoning ordinances and animals. The following three questions guide this research endeavor:

1) Why and how do residents keep urban livestock even though it is often in violation of zoning ordinances? How are residents affected by the zoning ordinance, if at all?

2) How do city officials and residents view private yard spaces? Who or what defines normative uses of these spaces? How do community members and city officials think private yards and urban livestock should be regulated? At what scale?

3) How do these activities and viewpoints relate to food sovereignty? Are residents participating in food sovereignty by keeping urban livestock? How do these activities and participants shape the meaning of food sovereignty?

Qualitative methods and methodologies are best for answering these questions and allow this research to thoroughly examine events occurring in one place, and ultimately add to a broader understanding of these issues. In conjunction with the use of qualitative methods and narrative and discourse analyses, theories of animal geographies, place, resistance, resilience, and alternative food and food sovereignty aid in contextualizing and expanding this research.

This research makes two major contributions by (1) describing an understudied and largely intentionally invisible phenomena and providing empirical data on *how* people keep food animals in urban space, and by (2) situating urban livestock keepers in relation to the actions and values of food sovereignty to gain a deeper understanding of both food sovereignty and keepers of urban livestock. The keeping of urban livestock is a growing global occurrence and a significantly understudied area, particularly in the US, that lacks academic description, analysis, and interpretation. Scholars from multiple disciplines call for more research on the spaces of human-animal relationships (Carolan, 2011; Blecha and Leitner, 2013; Schindler, 2012; Butler, 2011; Philo and Wilbert, 2000; Wolch and Emel, 1998), and urban agriculture (Pothukuchi and Kaufman, 1999; Heynen, Kurtz, and Trauger,

2012; Schindler, 2012; Bryld, 2003). This research answers that call by furthering an understanding of human-animal relationships in urban settings and with particular attention to urban food production. This project also deepens an understanding of food sovereignty by situating these activities, motivations, and relationships in typologies of political action for food sovereignty.

An investigation of these issues in Athens, GA reveals that even though food animals are prohibited and seen as out of place in the city, many people readily accept the presence of these animals, particularly chickens, in their neighborhoods. Through their animals, urban livestock keepers push the boundaries of normative urban landscapes and reimagine definitions of companion and agricultural animals. Their yards become human-animal borderlands (Wolch and Emel, 1999) where they test and change the acceptability of certain outsider animals, such as chickens, goats, and bees, in the city. While some elected officials are on board to legally accept the presence of these animals and enact a livestock-friendly ordinance, the majority of city officials are not prepared to even enter into a debate about proposing an ordinance to legalize urban livestock in Athens.

Participants also use urban livestock to build resilience from, rework, and ultimately resist the current global food regime. Food animals allow participants to reconnect with land/nature, build skills and knowledge, and enter into reciprocal relationships through interacting with both their animals and neighbors. With these relationships, urban livestock keepers learn more about food production and how to use their land to rework food access. Their methods of keeping animals, such as allowing the animals to free range, provide them easier and more affordable access to high quality nutritious food, which they often share with neighbors. Urban livestock changes social relationships between people,

animals, and space, and also changes normative notions of space in cities through using private property in subversive ways. Because of the illegality of their practices, urban livestock keepers turn their property into hard to reach spaces to protect themselves from city code enforcement divisions. While this use of property enables urban livestock keepers to engage with food sovereignty, it also could be seen as a possible threat to achieving food sovereignty. Private property is associated with more of a conventional or neoliberal rather than radical way of claiming autonomy, and thus slightly endangers food sovereignty efforts that might otherwise be more radical in collective approaches to that same autonomy (Holt-Gimenez and Shattuck, 2011).

Ultimately, participants use their animals, relationships with neighbors, and property to disengage from the global food system in small, but potentially significant ways, especially if they are possibly able to expand rights to food and land. In its origins, food sovereignty as envisioned by Nyeleni, in the context of liberal democracy, is conditioned by laws that privilege private property over collective access to land. Liberal democracies and markets commodify exchanges of food and support the modernatization and capitalization of agriculture, and, in turn, control food production and distribution. Food sovereignty aims to dismantle these structures and expand collective rights to the means of production and also collective rights to food. Food sovereignty works, where alternative food networks (AFNs) fail, to facilitate the right to control food systems for everyone, and to produce, distribute, and access nutritious food produced using sustainable methods in decommodified and decentralized ways. Food sovereigntists recognize political and economic forces that leave access to safe and nutritious food only for those willing and/or able to pay for it as unjust and amoral. I position food sovereignty

as a radical progression from AFNs (e.g., farmers markets, industrial organic agriculture) because, in its origins, it acts *outside* of liberal markets and is often in conflict with the state and laws. However, achieving food sovereignty in the US is imperiled by policies that support private property and markets, and so it risks a fate similar to AFNs[35].

As a relatively recent concept growing in popularity among food scholars in the US, meanings and definitions of food sovereignty are not without debate. Patel (2009) describes food sovereignty as a "big tent", under which many disparate groups converge upon core principles. Food sovereignty can look different in different situations and to different groups but retains some consistent aspects (668). He adds that one consistent refrain is that "to demand a space of food sovereignty is to demand specific arrangements to govern territory and space" (668). Control of space is central in progressing food sovereignty efforts.

Nyeleni's Declaration for Food Sovereignty (2007) emphasizes that political sovereignty is needed in addition to Patel's call for territorial sovereignty, and thus food sovereignty "*puts the aspirations and needs of those who produce, distribute and consume food at the heart of food systems and policies* rather than the demands of markets and corporations" (Nyeleni's Declaration for Food Sovereignty, 2007, emphasis added). According to Nyeleni's Declaration for Food Sovereignty (2007), food sovereigntists oppose the "domination of our food and food producing systems by corporations that place profits before people, health and the environment" and demand "the rights of consumers to control their food and nutrition". Food sovereignty thus requires that (small-scale)

[35] Recall from previous chapters that AFNs, such as farmers markets and organic certification, began as alternatives to the conventional food system, but rather quickly became co-opted by entrepreneurialism, privatization, and market economies, and instead came to work within current political, social, and economic systems rather than against them.

producers/consumers have the ability to define and shape relative policies to ensure they support the welfare of people and the environment.

Holt-Gimenez and Shattuck (2011) add to an understanding of food movements by identifying four trends or categories of political actors in food movements: (1) Neoliberals, represented in food enterprises, and which support corporations, unregulated markets, and privatization; (2) Reformists, which are found in food security efforts, and support market-led reform and certification of niche markets such as organic and local; (3) Progressives, found in food justice programs, and believe in alternative food networks, Community Food Security, local and organic agriculture, and regulated markets; (4) Radicals, which participate in food sovereignty discourses and demand the right to democratically control their food system, and the right to collective access to land, water, and seeds, and aim to dismantle corporations and monopolies of power. The authors add that these categories are not solid but fluid, and many actors are hard to tie to just one category because they often "adopt politically distinct positions on different issues - or adopt one position while practicing another" (132).

This project expands definitions of food sovereignty in that it positions food sovereignty as a progressive transition from alternative food networks, as it largely remains outside of capitalism and market economies where alternative food networks become heavily involved and thus ultimately fail. In developing more nuanced definitions of food sovereignty, this project identifies three typologies of food sovereignty related to collective and individual rights and private property. These three typologies of political action (libertarian, civil disobedient, radical collectivist) are all radical as opposed to progressive because they often take illegal paths to produce food and act outside of

conventional food systems. Recalling earlier debates in chapter three, home-based food production is the unlikely place where libertarianism (right wing) and radical collectivism (left wing) meet. While these two camps can hold very different views on the role of the government, the place of the market, and the value of individual and collective rights, they agree that people should be given more control of how they produce and distribute food. Not all libertarians or radicals participate in "Radical" food sovereignty, but those that do see the current food regime and regulations as problematic, even if for different reasons, and often produce food using methods that conflict with laws.

Urban livestock keeping activities in Athens, GA provide insight into both food sovereignty practices and the way we understand it in the context of liberal democracies. As discussed throughout this thesis, and reviewed below, many of the methods and motivations employed by participants in this study echo food sovereignty principles. Most participants keep livestock out of a desire to access nutritious food in decommodified and decentralized ways. This, in their view, offers them more control of their food sources, the quality of the food, and the systems that produce it. This desire, combined with strong social relationships between neighbors, pushes participants to keep food animals even if it means they must break the law. Participants' behaviors are affected both by their larger beliefs, or figured worlds, and the law that prohibits their activities. In the following sections, I further discuss participants' methods and motivations for keeping livestock, their broader political-economic values, and how they implicate characteristics and typologies of food sovereignty.

II. Methods and Motivations for Urban Livestock Keeping

As evidenced in chapter four, participants keep food animals on a small scale[36], with the majority attempting to hide their animals from code enforcement officers by keeping the animals in "hard to reach" spaces, such as backyards, that are protected by private property rights. Code enforcement officers are precluded from entering a private backyard without permission from the owner and, moreover, cannot administer official warnings about livestock unless they see or hear the animals from the street[37]. Some participants with chickens see their dead end or low trafficked side street as distant from code enforcement officers and therefore let their hens free range without any fencing whatsoever. Participants use these "hard to reach" spaces to evade state power and opt into lifestyles that include agricultural activities such as keeping food animals (Scott, 2009). A few participants even chose to live where they do because they strongly believe "no one in [this neighborhood] would care" if they kept small-scale livestock (Isaac and Heidi). Other participants say that if they didn't have access to a "hard to reach" space, such as a backyard, dead end street, or insulated neighborhood, they would be less likely to keep prohibited animals.

All participants allow their animals to free range to certain degree, which helps both to cut costs of supplemental feed and increase the nutritional value of animal products (i.e. eggs). The largest investment of keeping animals is the initial building of a coop, or shelter. Yet, when participants with chickens do provide a coop for the animals (some do not), they do not invest a large amount of money in building it because they use recycled or cheap

[36] The majority of residents keep chickens and bees. Although, a couple have kept goats and pigs. Those with chickens usually keep around three to five hens.
[37] Alternatively, complaining neighbors can invite code enforcement officers into their yard in order to see into a neighboring yard.

materials and objects already in their yards. In this way, keeping food animals gives participants more control of and access to affordable decommodified and what they believe are highly nutritious food sources. Participants in this research began keeping food animals out of a desire for better access to decommodified and decentralized food and as a way to reconnect with nature. All participants with livestock express disappointment in conventional agro-food industries and most are discouraged by the lack of available and affordable high quality locally raised pastured eggs and other food products. They see keeping their own animals as a way to increase access for themselves and others to these types of foods, and thereby rework and resist dominant food systems. Here, the failure of AFNs is clear: the high price and scarcity of quality products, such as pasture-raised eggs[38], leave many people without a way to obtain such food products. In keeping their own food animals, livestock keepers rework the food system by producing their own nutritious food products in a more affordable and accessible way. Additionally, they see learning how to raise food animals as a way to build knowledge and skills and therefore resilience (Katz, 2004) in the form of interdependent self-sufficiency.

Most participants keep the animals on their individual private property, and keep only enough animals to provide a consistent food source for their own family, although they often share with neighbors. While many participants express appreciation of private property, they do not share other values associated with libertarianism, such as individualism or privatization. A few participants radicalize normative notions of private property by sharing both land and animals or keeping animals on property that is not their own. In claiming rights to property for food production, participants seek autonomy over

[38] Pastured eggs are priced around $6 a dozen at local farmers markets, and producers often quickly sell out of these products.

land and food. The criminalization of their activities, however, ultimately disempowers them and instead allocates rights to the city to determine normative uses of urban space. This power structure also privileges, to a certain degree, those with the ability to use private property to hide their activities, and thus leaves people without access to "hard to reach" spaces no option to keep food animals hidden. If the ordinance was to support urban food animals, food production options would increase for all residents, and many may even be more inclined to share land and animals, or at the very least increase the number of animals they keep in order to share food with neighbors more often. The current ordinance makes it much harder to share land or openly produce food via livestock, and thus threatens to co-opt more radical food sovereignty efforts by confining it to individual production on private property.

The majority of participants adopt viewpoints similar to radical collectivists in that they deeply oppose corporatization, privatization, and liberal markets, and want to expand the right to produce and access food to everyone. Many of these same participants' behavior, however, contradict their more radical beliefs. Most produce food individually rather than collectively, and have figured worlds that leave them feeling they can't change larger problematic conditions and instead believe all they can do is take care of themselves and their individual space. Although participants mostly act at the individual level, by keeping livestock in the city they perhaps significantly resist and rework (Katz, 2004) normative landscapes of human-animal relationships (Wolch and Emel, 1998) and dominant trends of social relationships between people (Plotkin, 1987).

Participants use their animals not just for food, but for ways to (re)connect to land, animals, and humans. By spending more time outside because of the animals, and by

sharing food products and exchanging knowledge and skills, participants expand their social networks and build resilience through community (Katz, 2004). Participants disregard the ordinance that prohibits their animals because they perceive the significance of their activities to be more important than obeying the law. They perceive the risk of being caught to be low, especially because they trust their neighbors not to complain.

They know warnings and citations related to the ordinance are mostly complaint based, (an enforcement policy confirmed by city officials) and are confident in their relationship with their neighbors, and in their neighborhood's acceptance of urban food animals. They are also willing to (temporarily) relocate or slaughter their animals in the event they receive a warning from code enforcement officials. Interviews with neighbors of urban livestock keepers show that neighbors not only accept the presence of urban livestock but support it. Participants both with and without food animals view the ordinance that prohibits such animals as outdated, unenforceable, and silly.

All participants would like to see a new ordinance that sanctions urban livestock so that everyone could participate in this variety of food production, particularly people who do not have the ability (i.e. large enough yard) to hide animals. Most participants with livestock maintain a plan to get rid of their animals if they receive a warning. This "plan B" usually consists of either slaughtering and eating the animals or relocating them temporarily. In this way, participants transform their yards into temporary autonomous zones (Trauger, 2014; Bey, 2003), as they are aware that local authorities may eventually reclaim this space and control over its usage.

Participants demonstrate a mix of engagement with libertarian, civil disobedient, and radical collectivist food sovereignties in their methods and motivations for keeping

livestock. Their private property advantages them to produce food while evading detection from the city, although some blur private property systems by sharing land or using land that is not theirs. Participants temporarily claim full autonomy of these spaces, but they remain aware that their activities are illegal and are prepared for when the city may ultimately reclaim them.

The majority of participants wish livestock and urban food production were legalized and better supported by city laws and policies so that everyone, with or without access to "hard to reach" spaces, could participate in these forms of food production and distribution. As it is currently, the ordinance prohibiting such activities stunts efforts to move towards collectivist food sovereignty. It privileges those with the ability to hide their activities, and discriminates against those who do not. As Holt-Gimenez and Shattuck (2011) point out, it is often not possible to categorize food system actors because they adopt contrasting beliefs and behaviors and transcend multiple typologies of food action. Participants' methods and motivations for keeping prohibited livestock vary mostly between civil disobedient and radical collectivist, with some libertarian tendencies. As discussed below, participants' values and beliefs vary between typologies, as well, and perhaps in some instances are in contrast to their behaviors.

III. Values and Beliefs of Urban Livestock Keepers

An examination of participants' political beliefs provides a better understanding of the extent and ways participants relate to and engage with food sovereignty narratives. As the three typologies of political action in food sovereignty are divided into libertarian, civil disobedient, and radical collectivist, they focus on values of private property, individual

and collective rights, and the role of corporations, privatization, and the market. Looking at participants' beliefs in this areas then establishes a more thorough comprehension of how participants relate to food sovereignty, and with what sorts of discourses.

A. Property

Participants both with and without livestock think private property should be less regulated by the city, and people should be allowed to use their yard space however they would like, as long as the uses do not harm others or the environment. Participants are not anti-regulation of private space, as they see the importance of certain rules, and some even think yards should be regulated more to better protect the natural environment. All participants would like to see yards with less grass and more diversity in the form of vegetable gardens, small-scale livestock, and native plants that require fewer resources in terms of energy, water, chemicals and fertilizer. They believe yards should be productive spaces where residents engage with their surroundings by interacting with nature and neighbors. In talking about property regulations, participants express the belief that private properties and individuals are generally too heavily regulated and that, instead, regulation policies should focus on ensuring that large corporations and developers adhere to stricter regulations, especially pertaining to environmental protections. While some participants openly admit they place some value in the individualism private property allows, they also wish to see people use their property to interact with one another and build stronger communal relationships through interdependence.

Some participants, who value the role of private property, use their individual space to provide for others by giving away extra produce, or encouraging passerby to pick flowers or blueberries from their front yard.

B. Rights

Most participants say they highly value collective rights, particularly in terms of access to land, water, and seeds, but they are not ready to completely relinquish individual rights. Instead, they call for an expansion of both individual and collective rights as they think both are integral to a progressive society. Participants enjoy having private property and desire more rights to choose how to use that property, but they do not agree with using property in ways that could potentially harm the collective, such as producing loud noises or foul smells or maintaining a yard by using harsh chemicals and synthetic fertilizers. They would like everyone to have the right to produce food either on individual, collective, or unused public property, and express frustration at the lack of city policies that support of such initiatives. Many participants point to large agribusinesses like Monsanto, and other large-scale corporations and developers, as acting in ways that prohibit both individuals and collectives from enjoying rights to clean water, nutritious food, and seeds. Some participants further blame the US government and global market-based policies for supporting the corporatization, capitalization, and privatization of resources that they believe should be readily available to all individuals and collectives.

C. Corporations, Capitalism and Hunger

Participants largely exhibit anti-corporate, anti-capitalist, and anti-neoliberal attitudes as they disagree with the support large corporations receive from government and economic policies, and blame such entities for social problems like hunger, malnutrition, obesity, and poverty. While some participants are quieter and less radical than others in their views in this area, they are also skeptical of and frustrated with state policies that privilege agribusiness. Some participants are more outwardly vocal about their disgust of corporate entities and capitalized policies, and accuse this consolidation of power and wealth of knowingly and shamelessly disregarding the needs of citizens. Many participants see such policies and corporations as concerned more with profit rather than working to increase the quality of life and accessibility to affordable nutritious food and sustainable resources for everyone. They blame these corporate bodies and economic policies for shaping, controlling, and commodifying food distribution and production in ways that maximize profit for corporations, without concern for other humans, animals, or the environment. Participants become so overwhelmed by the multitude of power and infiltration with which they associate entities like corporations and capitalism, that they feel impotent in their ability to affect real change at any level other than their individual actions.

IV. Typologies of Political Action for Food Sovereignty

The activities and viewpoints of participants in this study certainly engage with aspects of broader food sovereignty discourses as participants use hard to reach spaces and temporary autonomous zones to rework access to food production and create space

outside of economic markets for accessible and affordable decentralized and decommodified food. Without necessary political autonomy to shape legal paths to producing food, participants mostly act in ways that allow their activities to occur in secrecy, without detection from the city government. This research further examines relationships between behaviors and beliefs of participants regarding food sovereignty by identifying ways in which political action for food sovereignty is taken along a political spectrum. Libertarian, civil disobedient, and radical collectivist represent political activism for food sovereignty as it is practiced in the US.

These typologies build on Holt-Gimenez and Shattuck's (2011) categorization of political actors in food systems and movements by narrowing an understanding of food sovereignty discourses in liberal democracies in the Global North. The three typologies identified here are derived from existing food sovereignty literature and the narratives with which food sovereignty spokespersons engage. Participants in this study cross all typologies, and often employ contrasting and contradicting beliefs and behaviors, which shows the necessity of respecting a fluidity between categories. Acknowledging these areas of contrast not only aids in developing a greater understanding of food sovereignty trends in the US, but it allows for a better understanding of ways in which food sovereignty efforts need to be supported in order to survive and maintain the original principles of food sovereignty.

Participants engage somewhat with discourses and behaviors associated with libertarian food sovereignty. The vast majority of participants use their private property to resist the state and produce food, and many admit they enjoy and value the entity of private property. However, this is their only tie to libertarian food sovereignty as they do

not share other characteristics associated with libertarianism. Participants do not heavily value individualism over collectivism, nor do they think privatization benefits the public good or welfare of humans. In fact, most see privatization as a plague on both individuals and collectives. Additionally, participants do not always use their private property for individual purposes as some use it to grow food that they often share with others, and a few even share their land.

Participants with livestock affiliate in some ways with civil disobedient food sovereignty as they disregard local ordinances seen as outdated, silly, and unfair, and instead act outside of local authorities in order to produce food in ways they feel are more socially, politically, and economically just. At the same time, participants would like their actions to be legalized to diminish their fear of being caught and to allow others who may not have access to private yard space with the ability to hide prohibited animals the opportunity to participate in such food production. In this way, participants want to work within current political systems to effect change, and do not have complete disregard of the law as radical collectivists might. Additionally, participants aim to work with the state to expand rights for both individuals *and* collectives in order to progress society and address problematic social issues, such as hunger. The pro-chicken campaign, in particular, acts as social movement built on civil disobedient acts to change the way of thinking about chickens and their relationship to humans and urban space.

Radical collectivist food sovereignty discourses also appear in participants' figured worlds expressed through their beliefs and behaviors. A few participants challenge private property rights by sharing land or using vacant properties that don't belong to them to produce food. Many participants also demonstrate radical collectivist characteristics by

voicing strong opinions against corporations, privatization, and capitalism. They forcefully oppose these entities, and blame them for social and economic inequalities, such as hunger and poverty. Some do not see the state as a solution to fix such injustices because they see the state as inherently part of the problem. For some participants, these broader thoughts that encompass passionate distrust of government policies in support of capitalism, liberal markets, and privatization influence their illicit food production. Many participants express deep frustration at not being able to effect social, political, or economic change at a larger scale, and thus feel the best they can do is take care of their individual space, community, and "corner of the world" (Sarah). At the same time, most participants with these viewpoints would like to see urban livestock legalized in Athens. Even if small-scale urban food animals won't change large-scale political-economic structures, participants see having the right to produce food via livestock as a way to obtain *some* agency or to build *some* mutual-interdependence, and thus offers a degree of ability to resist dominant models and systems.

While this thesis establishes three typologies of political action within food sovereignty, it also demonstrates that these three subsets have fluid rather than concrete boundaries and best offer *a way* of thinking about rather than a model with which to categorize engagement with food sovereignty in the US. Using this framework to examine and think through participants' beliefs and behaviors makes clear the importance of both territorial *and* political control for achieving food sovereignty. While participants exhibit various political tendencies within food sovereignty efforts, the ordinance that prohibits their activities requires them to all act in the same way: in order to avoid detection, they must use private property to hide their practices. Individuals acting on the right

(libertarian) and left (radical collectivist) converge on civil disobedience, indicating that the city retains control of space and acceptable methods of food production. Perhaps people that voice radical collectivist beliefs are held back from demonstrating more radical collectivist actions because the ordinance restrains and confines the ways in which they can behave. If the state continues to use the same strategies to define and shape food production efforts, what would otherwise be a radical collectivist approach to food sovereignty might instead trend towards something much less progressive.

V. Future Research and Contributions

While this thesis further contributes to the meanings, definitions, and descriptions of urban livestock and food sovereignty in the US, the demographics of participants in this study limit the generalizability of the findings. All of the participants are white and are a mix of lower and middle class, and through the pro-chicken campaign are the ones driving efforts to legalize urban food animals. While this thesis is limited in that it examines a self-selected pool of participants, demographic facts about the participants suggest two important things: (1) the legality of urban food animals is gaining attention largely because middle class white people are leading efforts, but also (2) this group's desire to legalize food animals is in the greater interest of decentralizing and reworking the food system for *everyone*, not just other middle class whites. The city, however, has the ultimate power to decide who can legally partake in what types of food production. Language used to craft ordinances can inherently exclude groups of people from acting within the confines of the law.

For example, an ordinance could be passed into law that supported urban livestock but also restricted it in such a way that poorer citizens and/or recent immigrants could not legally adhere to the stipulations[39]. Such major points offer opportunities for further research on race, class, and food sovereignty. For instance, further research could illuminate relationships between Latino immigrants, chickens, food, and laws. Is it common, as it is widely assumed, for Latino immigrants to keep chickens for food? Is the perception that Latino immigrants keep chickens hidden behind the reluctance to legalize these animals? Is the use of justifications on the basis of "disease", and "quality of life", coded racist language used to prevent the legalization of food animals? Additionally, the role of roosters comes into question: are roosters often excluded from legalization because of racialized and/or classist perceptions? Is this a larger effort to consolidate race-based alliances against food production in the city, as a way to subvert a class-based movement for food sovereignty? Questions like these provide crucial starting points for more race-focused research on urban food production and power.

Current elected officials, often influenced by personal biases (according to primary sources), control and define ways in which residents can and cannot use land, and are not concerned with legalizing urban food animals even though many residents responsibly keep these animals anyway, often with the political support of their surrounding neighbors. With upcoming commission and mayoral elections, the political tide in Athens may change to host a commission with enough support to facilitate the legalization of residential urban livestock, or possibly even see a newly elected mayor who does not oppose food animals in the city. If the opportunity to legalize urban livestock in Athens does arise, this thesis has

[39] Examples of such an ordinance could include restrictions on slaughtering animals, minimum lot sizes, property setback rules, etc.

the potential to guide the construction of a new ordinance to support, and legalize, the ways in which Athens' residents already keep urban food animals. Such an ordinance would allow up to fifteen or twenty hens dependent on the size of the lot (restricting through density rather than numbers), no roosters, one to two goats, and not necessarily require residents to keep their animals penned at all times. Most importantly, the ordinance would remain complaint-driven, and, in fact, forbid code enforcement officers from issuing warnings while on patrol.

Those who worry that the presence of urban food animals would bring odious smells, loud noises, and disease should know that no one I spoke with that kept livestock have ever received complaints about smells from their animals, and the set-ups that I saw during interviews were very clean and free of harmful fumes. This may be partially due to the fact that residents let their animals free range and therefore spread their manure over a wider range instead of a concentrated area. These animals are actually fairly quiet, and make less obtrusive noise than some dogs or lawn care equipment. When animals are given fresh air, sunshine, and space to move around, they are less likely to contract injurious diseases, and, if they somehow do, the disease would be much easier to control in a small backyard flock than, say, a large-scale industrial factory farm where disease constantly breeds and spreads. Also, if food animals were legalized keepers would likely be much more willing to seek out help if their animals became ill. If illegal animals were to become sick, keepers might not risk exposure of their criminal activities by seeking professional advice on how to properly manage diseased animals. In addition to legalizing urban livestock, perhaps it makes sense to provide educational and livestock management resources that make it easy for keepers to learn about and/or obtain animal care.

On a final note, those who keep urban food animals will not save the world by eradicating hunger and poverty and solving environmental degradation. Their actions and motivations do, however, resonate with larger-scale movements to build a platform upon which to discuss the issues of inequality and injustice in the access to food. Participants are not naive in their ventures as they understand larger political-economic change from the bottom and the top needs to occur in order to solve problematic social conditions and progress society as a whole. Urban livestock keepers, many of which are exasperated and overwhelmed by looming insurmountable global and social blights, simply see their actions as something they can control and do right now to better their world and perhaps the world of those around them.

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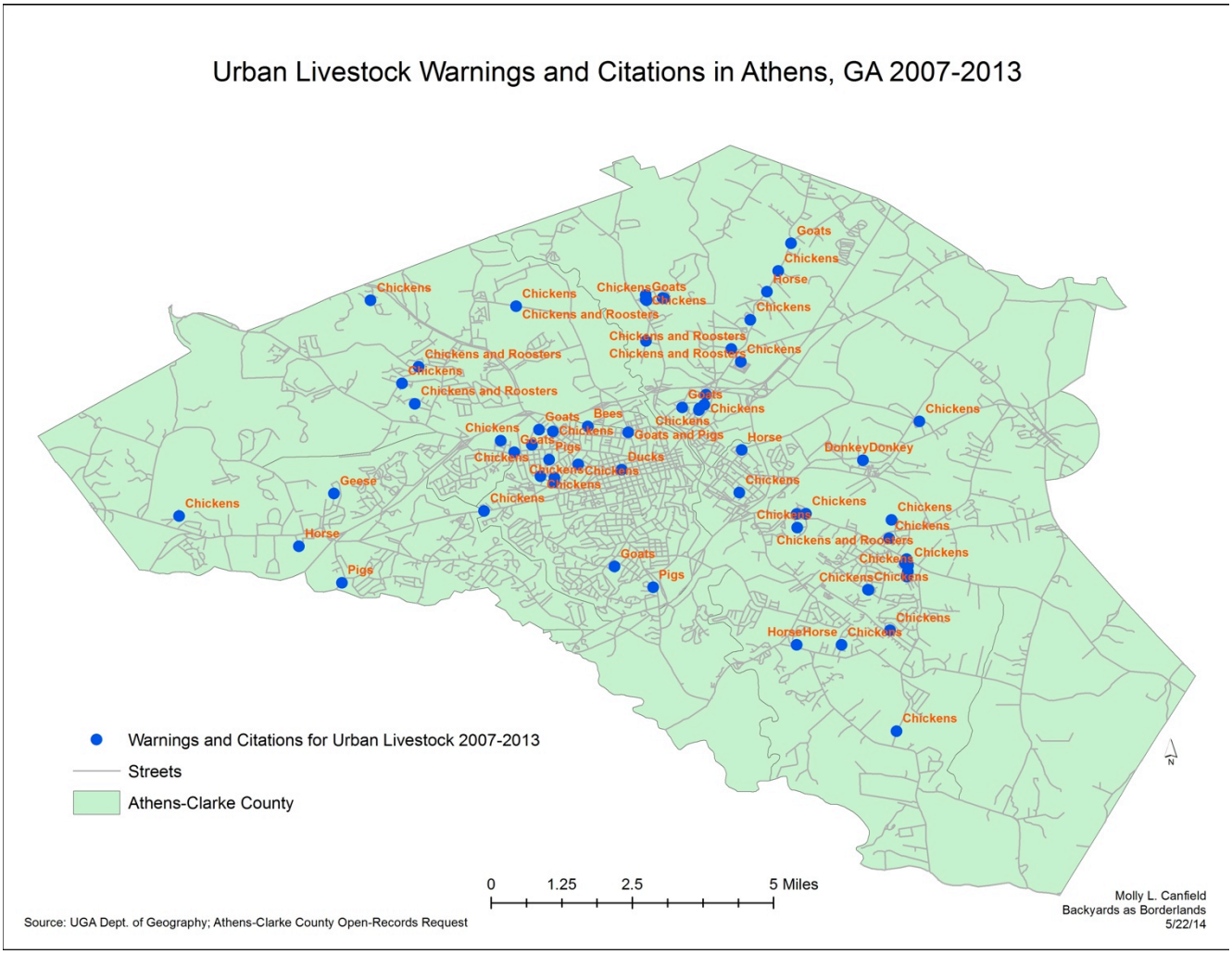
APPENDICES

Appendix A (Map of Citations and Warnings issued for Urban Livestock)



Appendix B (List of Participants)

Name	How they came to participate	Category	Type of Animals, if applicable
Riley	Snowball	Recently kept UL	Chickens and bees
Isaac and Heidi	Snowball	Recently kept UL	Chickens and bees
Luke	Flyer	Recently kept UL	Bees
Alyssa	Snowball	Recently kept UL	Chickens
Donna	Snowball	Recently kept UL	Chickens
Richard and Pete	Snowball	Recently kept UL	Chickens
*Sam and Alice	Snowball	Recently kept UL/Activists	Chickens
Kelly	Snowball	Currently keeps UL	Chickens
Walter and Donny	Snowball	Currently keep UL	Chickens, goats, sheep, pigs
Sarah	Snowball	Currently keeps UL	Chickens
*Chris	Snowball	Currently keeps UL	Bees
Savannah	Snowball	Currently keeps UL	Bees
Clare	Snowball	Currently keeps UL	Chickens
Will and Amy	Snowball	Currently keep UL	Chickens
Katie	Snowball	Currently keeps UL	Chickens
Karen	Flyer	Never kept UL	NA
Lisa and Patrick	Snowball	Never kept UL	NA
Steffi	Flyer	Never kept UL	NA
Courtney	Flyer	Never kept UL	NA
Kyle	Flyer	Never kept UL	NA
Allen	Flyer	Never kept UL	NA
Turner		City Planner	NA
Sidney		City Commissioner	NA
Bert		State Representative	NA
Sally		Ex City Commissioner	NA
Candace		City Commissioner	NA

* Indicates participant received a citation for keeping urban livestock

Appendix C (Interview Questions)

<u>Currently keeping livestock/have kept livestock in the past</u>
How and Why
Why and how do residents keep urban livestock even though it is often in violation of zoning ordinances in Athens? Do some residents abstain from keeping livestock because of these ordinances?
Production, Distribution, and Regulation Questions

Currently keeping urban livestock or have kept it in the past
Production:
1. Tell me how and why you started keeping urban livestock.
a. How long have you kept urban livestock?/How long did you keep UL?
2. What types of livestock do you currently keep, or have you kept?
a. How many food animals do you keep/have you kept?
b. Do you consider your animals to be pets or livestock?
3. Where do you keep, or have you kept, your food animals?
4. Who is/was the primary caretaker of your livestock?
5. How much time is/was spent caring for your animals?
a. What do/did you do with them if you go out of town?
b. Have you ever dealt with a sick food animal?
c. What do/did you feed your animals?
6. How much money do you think you spend/spent on keeping your animals?
7. Are you glad that you keep/kept livestock?

For those who no longer keep livestock:
1. Why did you stop keeping livestock?
2. What did you do with your animals when you decided you no longer wanted them?
3. Would you consider keeping livestock in the future? Why or why not?

Distribution:
1. What do/did you do with your livestock products? (Eggs, Meat, Honey, etc.)
2. How much of your dietary intake is/was comprised of products from your livestock?
3. Do/did you ever sell or give your products to people outside of your household?
4. Do you ever receive livestock products from other livestock keepers in Athens?
5. What do you feel the benefits are of keeping your own food animals? What are the drawbacks?

Regulation:
1. Do/did you feel you come up against any barriers to keeping urban livestock in Athens?
2. What do/did you see as the most significant obstacles to keeping urban livestock?
a. Describe the most problematic things about keeping livestock
3. Are you familiar with zoning ordinances in Athens?
a. How do you feel about the zoning ordinances disallowing the keeping or urban livestock in most residential areas in Athens?
4. How do/did your neighbors feel about you keeping livestock?

5. If zoning ordinances in Athens supported urban livestock, would that change the way you keep/kept urban livestock?
6. Do you think urban livestock should be regulated by the city? At what scale?
7. Why do you think people are keeping urban livestock even though it is prohibited? Why do you think they are willing to violate the code?

Food Sovereignty

How do these activities and viewpoints relate to food sovereignty? Are residents participating in food sovereignty by keeping urban livestock?

How do these activities and participants change the essence and meaning of food sovereignty, if at all?

Land and Food Questions

Land:

1. Do you rent or own your land?
2. Tell me how you would like to see your land used.

a. What do you think a front yard and/or backyard should look like in Athens?

3. When deciding how to use your land space, do you take into account possible reactions from your neighbors or the city?

a. Do you think private space like your backyard should be regulated? Why or why not and to what scale?

4. Do you care what your neighbors do with their yards?
5. Tell me your thoughts on private property.

Food:

1. How much of your dietary intake is/was provided by your livestock?
2. Where do you get the rest of your food that you can't/couldn't get from your livestock?

a. Why do you get the rest of your food this way?
b. What factors go into your decision of where to get your food?

3. If you could, would you participate in a communal food system where you produce a type of good to share with community members and in return receive goods from community members?

a. What would it take for you to participate in this type of food system?

4. What would be your ideal way of obtaining all of your food?
5. Do you value individual or collective rights more?
6. Why do you think people are hungry?
7. What do you think some solutions are?

Appendix D (Interview Questions)

Urban Livestock Activists
Regulation and Activity Questions

1. Tell me how you define your activities and participation relating to urban livestock.
a. Is the presence of urban livestock and urban food production in Athens important to you? Why or why not?
2. Do you consider yourself to be affiliated with an organization or campaign relating to urban livestock?
a. If yes, what is your role?
b. If no, why not?
1. Do you consider yourself to be a food activist? Why or why not?
2. Do you keep livestock? Why or why not?
3. Tell me your thoughts on the current zoning ordinance that does not permit livestock in residential areas in Athens.
a. Do you wish to see this ordinance changed? If yes, how so? If no, why not?
b. What would you like a new ordinance to look like?
1. How do you think urban livestock should be regulated?
2. Tell me your thoughts on private property. How do you think private property should be regulated?
3. Why do you think residents in Athens keep livestock even though it goes against the ordinance?
4. Why do you think pro-livestock campaigns are happening now?
5. Do you think city officials will implement a new policy to support urban food production?
6. Tell me how you'd like to see your land used. How would you like other people to use their yard space?

Food Questions
1. Where do you get your food? Why do you get your food in this way?
2. Do you feel you have a choice in how you obtain your food?
3. What would be your ideal way of obtaining food?
4. Do you think individual rights are more or less important than collective rights? Probe: In a general sense? With respect to food, land, seed, water? Why?
5. Why do you think people are hungry/poor?
6. What do you think are the solutions to hunger and poverty?

Appendix E (Interview Questions)

Residents who have not kept urban livestock

Production/Distribution Questions:

1. Tell me why you do not keep urban livestock.
a. Have you ever considered keeping urban livestock? Why or why not?
b. If the zoning ordinances permitted livestock would you be more inclined to keep it?
1. How do you feel about other people in your neighborhood keeping urban livestock?
   a. Do you think there are benefits to keeping livestock? Drawbacks?
1. Do you personally know anyone in Athens that keeps livestock?
2. Have you ever received livestock products (eggs, meat, milk, honey) from a neighbor or community member?

Regulation/Space:

1. How do you feel about the zoning ordinances disallowing the keeping of urban livestock in most residential areas in Athens?
1. Do you think the keeping of urban livestock should be regulated by the city? At what scale?
2. Why do you think people are choosing to keep urban livestock and violate the code?
3. Tell me your thoughts on private property. Do you think it should be regulated by the city?
4. Tell me how you'd like to see your land used. How would you like other people to use their yard space?

Food System Questions

6. Where do you get your food? Why do you get your food in this way?
7. Do you feel you have a choice in how you obtain your food?
1. What would be your ideal way of obtaining food?
2. If you could would you participate in a communal food system?
9. Do you think individual rights are more or less important than collective rights? Probe: In a general sense? With respect to food, land, seed, water? Why?
10. Why do you think people are hungry/poor?
11. What do you think are the solutions to hunger and poverty?

Appendix F (Interview Questions)

City Officials

Production/Regulation Questions:

1. Define your role in the city government and how it affects the people of Athens.
2. Tell me about some times in your job you have come across issues with urban livestock.
3. How do you feel about residents in Athens keeping urban livestock (chickens, bees, and goats)?
4. Do you think some residents keep urban livestock even though it is against the local zoning ordinances? Why or why not?
5. Would you ever consider keeping urban livestock?

a. Why or why not?

1. Why do you think the current zoning ordinance renders gardens and livestock illegal on most residential plots in Athens?
2. To your knowledge, how is this ordinance currently enforced?
3. Do you think the ordinance will eventually change to allow the keeping of urban livestock?

a. If so, how do you think future ordinances would regulate livestock?
b. If the ordinance does change to allow for regulated keeping of urban livestock, do you think residents would follow the new regulations?

1. Do you think residents want to see a new ordinance in place that would legalize the keeping of urban livestock?
2. What do you think the benefits and drawbacks would be of enacting such an ordinance?
3. Tell me your thoughts on private property.

Food System Questions:

1. Do you think the zoning ordinance in its current form inhibits people's control of their food system? (Does it prohibit people from growing their own food?)
2. Where do you get your food? Why do you get your food in this way?
3. Do you feel you have a choice in how you obtain your food?
4. What would be your ideal way of obtaining food?
5. Do you think individual rights are more or less important than collective rights? Probe: In a general sense? With respect to food, land, seed, water? Why?
6. Why do you think people are hungry/poor?
7. What do you think are the solutions to hunger and poverty?

Appendix G (Themes/Codes)

Urban Livestock Keepers

Why
Access to cheap good quality nutritious eggs
Love animals
Bring farm back to city/Love combination of urban living and living off land
Connection to food source/knowing where your food comes from/control of food
Landscaping (goats)
Reconnecting with nature
Learning survival skills and providing your own food
Improving/building community
Self-sufficiency
For kids (education about animals and food)
Using fertilizer for garden
Hobby/Fun activity
Activism--educating others about where food comes from
Protection
Adding to diversity and health of environment
Personal Health
Increases quality of life
Pollination
Seeing other people with UL--not gross or hard to keep
Anti-industrial agriculture industries
Better for environment
Empowering
Having produce to trade with
Seemed easy
Knew others that did it
To help with allergies (honey)
Protection (bees)
Making world change at local level
Localized food economy
Increased soil state
Source of protein you can "grow"

Why do it even thought it's prohibited
Neighbors don't mind, won't turn you in
Neighbors already have/had UL
Ordinance not strictly enforced/complaint driven
Ordinance is stupid
Ordinance is anti-thetical to historic nature of Athens
Sense of seclusion/Live in low traffic areas (e.g. dead end street)
Don't care that it's against the law
Small risk
People are allowed to have other animals as pets
Pro-chicken movement in Athens
Keeping UL doesn't harm anyone
Trust neighbors/think neighbors are open-minded
Ok to get rid of chickens if cited
Law is distant/unenforceable
Live in independent minded neighborhood
Commissioners don't care

Why not keep goats, pigs, (larger food animals)
Don't want to risk losing chickens
Goats/pigs are more obvious
Goats/pigs are less like "city animals"
Not enough yard space

How
Keeping animals on someone else's property
Hidden
Not close to the house
Backyard
Making sure they are cared for
Small scale
Some sort of enclosed space of recycled materials, but mostly free range during day
Free range in fenced in area
Free range with no fenced in area
Feed them compost
Buy conventional feed
Grow/make your own feed
Give products away to neighbors when there is extra (not often)
Research how to care for animals/take a class
Learn by trial and error how to care for animals

No rooster
Pets with benefits
Only for eggs, not meat
Give eggs to friends and neighbors
Share responsibilities with neighbors
Supplemental feed
Feed chickens table scraps
When out of town, neighbor checks in
Have to find eggs
Started less than 4 years ago
Try to keep them out of other yards
Woman is primary caretaker
Man is primary caretaker
Don't put chickens up at night
Slaughtered older hens and/or roosters
In a chicken tractor
No extra produce to share
Have plan b in case code enforcement comes
Don't spend a lot of money on materials for coop
Use recycled materials for coop
Problems with predators
Learned from friends
Live on a dead end street/low trafficked area
Sell products (honey)
Scared of CPD and new neighbors
Got issued a warning or citation

<u>How urban livestock keepers got the animals</u>
Craigslist
Ordered through mail
Bought them locally
From a friend or neighbor
Started with adult animals
Started with baby animals
Checked with neighbors before getting animals
Did not check with neighbors

Private Space Regulation
Scale appropriate homes (No McMansions)
Regulate for environmental sustainability
Less regulation on what you should/shouldn't be able to do with your yard
More regulation on corporations, developers, and people with consolidated wealth
Some regulation is good
People should do what they want as long as it doesn't harm others
Respect neighbors
Work things out with neighbor before involving city
Ordinances keep neighborhoods from looking "poor"
Anti-historic district
Neighbors don't need permission to do things with their yard
Clarke County is nanny state
Protect environment
Pro-historic district
Community is more important than regulation
Regulate noise more than aesthetics

Livestock Regulation
Small-scale livestock should be allowed (No commercial chicken houses in residential urban areas)
Some regulation (e.g., number of animals per sq foot)
Regulations should only be complaint driven (like regulations for cats and dogs)
No roosters
Make sure animals are safe

What a yard should look like
Native plants
No grass or monoculture
Functional land/use it to live off of (Vegetable gardens, chickens, etc)
Food gardens in the front yard
More diversity
Encourage community/interaction with neighbors
Front yard ornamental
Back yard more functional
Others should keep yard however they like
Don't neglect yard space
Smaller living space is good for environment
Fewer fences

More food production
Less "traditional" laws
Less pesticides and irrigation
Less impermeable surfaces
More natural plants/landscapes
Use yard to encourage spending time outside
Less suburbs

Alternative Food/Food Sovereignty
Local/Organic is important
Imported foods are important (coffee, chocolate, etc.)
Weary of industrial ag, but still participate in it
Not hungry or struggling to be fed
Have food choices
Prioritize local/organic
Participate in CSAs
Concerned about environmental impacts of big ag and distribution
Want better distribution system/decentralization
Convenience often drives food choices
Like keeping dollars locally/supporting local business
Personal health concerns
Don't want to get *everything* locally
Anti-hormones/antibiotics/HFCS
Care about food laborers
Fair trade/direct trade
Pro-Raw Milk
Anti-big box
Trust local food

Food Sovereignty
We need to decentralize the food system
We need to have more equitable wealth distribution
We need to have more equitable power distribution (wealthy people have all the power)
Value collective rights
Individual rights and collective rights are equally important
Government and corporations are corrupt
We need to end government subsidies of large farms
Anti-Monsanto
Capitalism aids in making people hungry/anti-corporation

Everyone should have the right to affordable "good" food
Interested and willing to participate in communal food system
Localized food economy
Value collective rights
Economic/social structures, government, trade policies are what cause hunger/poverty
Anti-GMO/seed patenting
Want more diversity in government
Power is unequally concentrated in few people
Inequality in food system/economic system
Revolution is needed to actually fix things
Anti-corporation
Anti-subsidies
Food Justice Programs (WWG) help but are baby steps/band-aids
Not everyone has a choice in what they eat, but they should--right to good food
Anti-capitalism
Government/system is corrupt
Anti-monoculture

*Some themes overlap. For example, one of the reasons people state for keeping urban livestock is that they want to be closer to their food source. This is also a value associated with food sovereignty.

City Officials

<u>Why they think people keep urban lviestock in Athens</u>
They love animals
Like eggs
People want to be closer to food source
Local Food Movement
Libertarian Values (can do what they want with their property)
Sustainability Practice
Fertilizer
Other people have chickens and don't get in trouble
Looking for rural experience in urban setting
Connection to land
Personal health
Community self-sufficiency

<u>Yard Space Regulation</u>
Pro-community gardens

Local municipalities trump state law
Regulation is good
No commercial next to residential
Regulation should reflect community values
Unenforceable laws are not good
Neighbors can often work things out first
No roosters
Limit number of animals somehow
Permit required for animals
Less regulation of private space
Different boundaries in rural areas than urban ones
Ordinance should stay complaint driven
Pro-Right to Grow Act
Anti-Right to Grow Act
Zoning is made by few in power

<u>What a yard should look like</u>
Urban agriculture takes away from public green space
Protect the look of the area through zoning
Variety is good
No cookie cutter suburbs
Maybe people should move to country to keep chickens
Respect neighbors—people should keep their yard however they want as long as they don't harm others
Gardens are ok in front yard

Participants without urban livestock

<u>Why not keep urban livestock</u>
Live on busy street
Don't want to have to put up fence
Don't want to change lifestyle
Don't want predators
Too much work
Neighbors already do and share
Because of ordinance and can't hide them well on property

<u>How they *would* keep urban livestock</u>
Free range
Hidden
Be willing to get rid of them
No goat, no pig
No rooster
Maybe goats
In backyard

Why would they want to keep urban livestock
Like animals
Fresh eggs that are cheaper, taste better, and more nutritious
Eat unwanted insects
Fertilizer
Trust neighbors
Think law is silly
Anti-big agriculture industries
More connection to food
Add to natural soundscape
Community self-sufficiency
Scared of future
Making world change @ local level
Better for environment
Control invasive species (goats)
Fun Activity
Way to compost table scraps

Yard Space Regulation
Numbers of urban livestock animals should be limited somehow
Some regulation of private space is good
Working things out with neighbors first
All enforcement should be complaint driven
More regulation of corporations
Less regulation of yards
People should do what they want with their yards as long as it doesn't harm others or the environment
Respect other's property
Depends on the neighborhood
Community is more important than regulation
Regulate noise more than aesthetics

What a yard should look like
Food garden in front yard is ok
Smaller houses
Less manicured lawns
More natural sounds
No Republicans
More diversity
Anti-historic district
Pro-historic district
More agriculture
Less suburbs

Alternative Food/Food Sovereignty
Anti-corporation
Resist modernity
Angry about US treatment of other countries
Pro-collective rights
Pro-individual rights
Point to government as both problem and solution
Localize food economy
Acknowledge many people don't have choice of food production/consumption and they should
Anti-consolidated wealth
Suspicious of government
Anti-GMO
Revolution is necessary to make change
Pro-Food Justice programs
Inequality is pervasive

Appendix H (List of Interviewees)

Participants	Gender	Relationship if two interviewees	Type of Food Animals	Number of Animals
Sarah	Female	N/A	Chickens	2
Kelly	Female	N/A	Chickens	2
Walter and Donny	Male/Male	Share land and animals	Chickens, goats, pigs	7, 3, 2
Chris*	Male	N/A	Bees	4 hives
Riley	Female	N/A	Chickens	1 (at the time of the interview), 3-5 in past
Isaac and Heidi	Male/Female	Married with young children	Chickens	0 (at the time of interview), 4-6 in past
Sam and Alice*	Male/Female	Married with older children	Chickens (Rooster in the past)	0 (at the time of interview), 4-6 in past
Alyssa	Female	N/A	Chickens	0 (at the time of interview), 2 in past
Will and Amy	Male/Female	Share land and animals	Chickens and bees	8 hens; 2 hives

Participants	Gender	Relationship if two interviewees	Type of Food Animals	Number of Animals
Pete (Richard, not interviewed)	Male/Male	Share land and animals	Chickens	0 (at the time of interview), 4-8 in past
Katie	Female	N/A	Chickens	3
Savannah	Female	N/A	Bees	2 hives
Clare	Female	N/A	Chickens	11
Donna	Female	N/A	Chickens	0 (at the time of interview), 6 in past
Luke	Male	N/A	Bees	0 (at the time of interview), 1 hive in past

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

Figure 2.1 (Holt-Gimenez and Shattuck's (2011) table of food movement categories)

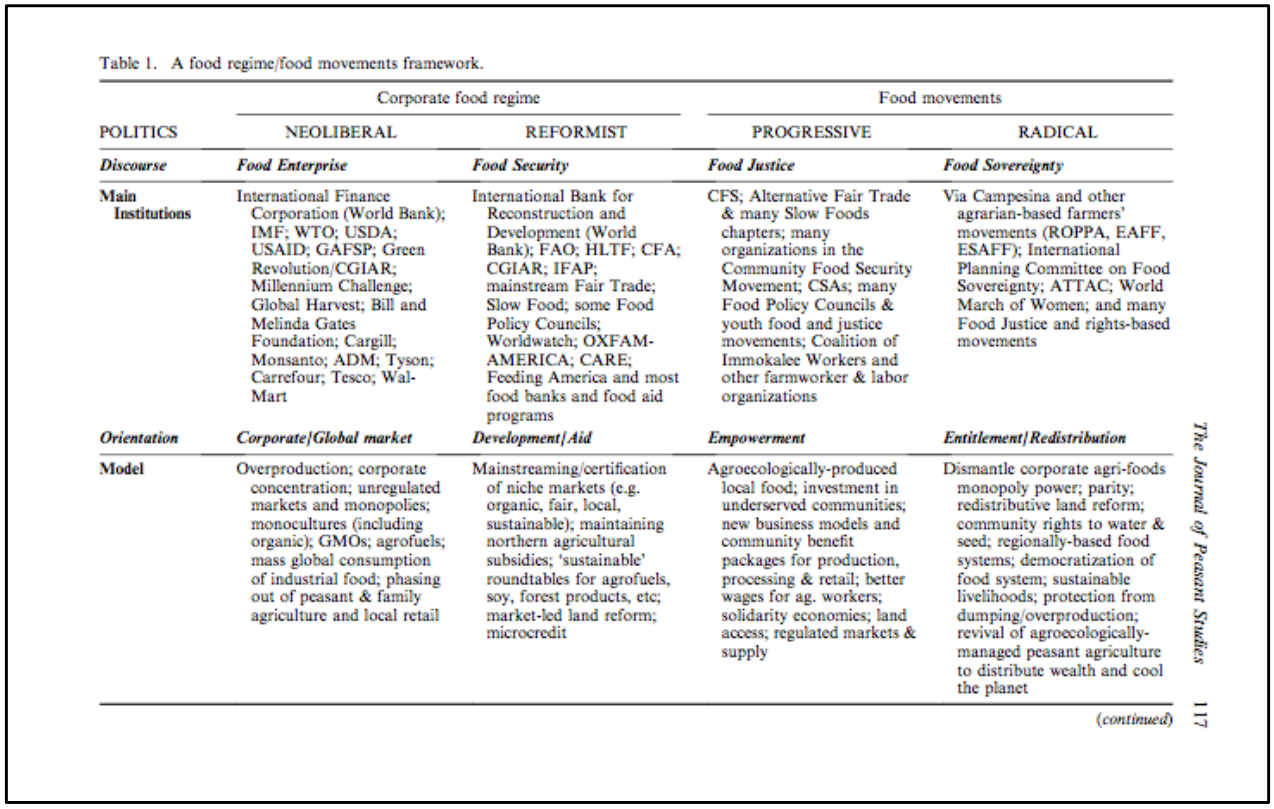


Table 1. A food regime/food movements framework.

	Corporate food regime		Food movements	
POLITICS	NEOLIBERAL	REFORMIST	PROGRESSIVE	RADICAL
Discourse	***Food Enterprise***	***Food Security***	***Food Justice***	***Food Sovereignty***
Main Institutions	International Finance Corporation (World Bank); IMF; WTO; USDA; USAID; GAFSP; Green Revolution/CGIAR; Millennium Challenge; Global Harvest; Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation; Cargill; Monsanto; ADM; Tyson; Carrefour; Tesco; Wal-Mart	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank); FAO; HLTF; CFA; CGIAR; IFAP; mainstream Fair Trade; Slow Food; some Food Policy Councils; Worldwatch; OXFAM-AMERICA; CARE; Feeding America and most food banks and food aid programs	CFS; Alternative Fair Trade & many Slow Foods chapters; many organizations in the Community Food Security Movement; CSAs; many Food Policy Councils & youth food and justice movements; Coalition of Immokalee Workers and other farmworker & labor organizations	Via Campesina and other agrarian-based farmers' movements (ROPPA, EAFF, ESAFF); International Planning Committee on Food Sovereignty; ATTAC; World March of Women; and many Food Justice and rights-based movements
Orientation	***Corporate/Global market***	***Development/Aid***	***Empowerment***	***Entitlement/Redistribution***
Model	Overproduction; corporate concentration; unregulated markets and monopolies; monocultures (including organic); GMOs; agrofuels; mass global consumption of industrial food; phasing out of peasant & family agriculture and local retail	Mainstreaming/certification of niche markets (e.g. organic, fair, local, sustainable); maintaining northern agricultural subsidies; 'sustainable' roundtables for agrofuels, soy, forest products, etc; market-led land reform; microcredit	Agroecologically-produced local food; investment in underserved communities; new business models and community benefit packages for production, processing & retail; better wages for ag. workers; solidarity economies; land access; regulated markets & supply	Dismantle corporate agri-foods monopoly power; parity; redistributive land reform; community rights to water & seed; regionally-based food systems; democratization of food system; sustainable livelihoods; protection from dumping/overproduction; revival of agroecologically-managed peasant agriculture to distribute wealth and cool the planet

(*continued*)

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Figure 3.2 and 5.1 (Typologies of Political Action for Food Sovereignty)

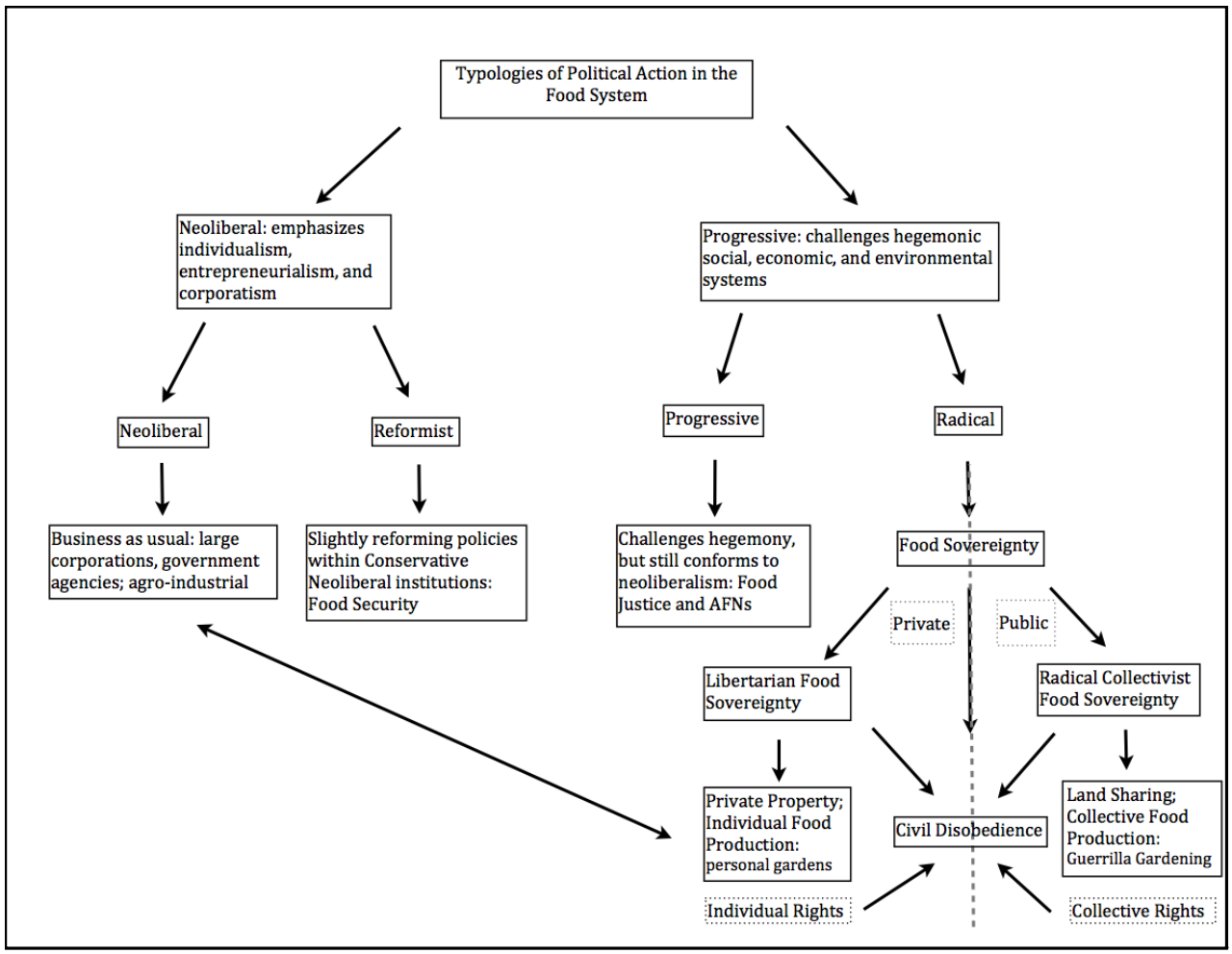

Table 3.1 (List of participants)

Name	How they came to participate	Category	Type of Animals, if applicable
Riley	Snowball	Recently kept UL	Chickens and bees
Isaac and Heidi	Snowball	Recently kept UL	Chickens and bees
Luke	Flyer	Recently kept UL	Bees
Alyssa	Snowball	Recently kept UL	Chickens
Donna	Snowball	Recently kept UL	Chickens
Richard and Pete	Snowball	Recently kept UL	Chickens
*Sam and Alice	Snowball	Recently kept UL/ Activists	Chickens
Kelly	Snowball	Currently keeps UL	Chickens
Walter and Donny	Snowball	Currently keep UL	Chickens, goats, sheep, pigs
Sarah	Snowball	Currently keeps UL	Chickens
*Chris	Snowball	Currently keeps UL	Bees
Savannah	Snowball	Currently keeps UL	Bees
Clare	Snowball	Currently keeps UL	Chickens
Will and Amy	Snowball	Currently keep UL	Chickens
Katie	Snowball	Currently keeps UL	Chickens
Karen	Flyer	Never kept UL	NA
Lisa and Patrick	Snowball	Never kept UL	NA
Steffi	Flyer	Never kept UL	NA
Courtney	Flyer	Never kept UL	NA
Kyle	Flyer	Never kept UL	NA
Allen	Flyer	Never kept UL	NA
Turner		City Planner	NA
Sidney		City Commissioner	NA
Bert		State Representative	NA
Sally		Ex City Commissioner	NA
Candace		City Commissioner	NA

*** The asterisk indicates the interviewee received a warning or citation.**

Table 4.1 (List of participants with urban livestock)

Participants	Gender	Relationship if two interviewees	Type of Food Animals	Number of Animals
Sarah	Female	N/A	Chickens	2
Kelly	Female	N/A	Chickens	2
Walter and Donny	Male/Male	Share land and animals	Chickens, goats, pigs	7, 3, 2
Chris*	Male	N/A	Bees	4 hives
Riley	Female	N/A	Chickens	1 (at the time of the interview), 3-5 in past
Isaac and Heidi	Male/Female	Married with young children	Chickens	0 (at the time of interview), 4-6 in past
Sam and Alice*	Male/Female	Married with older children	Chickens (Rooster in the past)	0 (at the time of interview), 4-6 in past
Alyssa	Female	N/A	Chickens	0 (at the time of interview), 2 in past
Will and Amy	Male/Female	Share land and animals	Chickens and bees	8 hens; 2 hives
Pete (Richard, not interviewed)	Male/Male	Share land and animals	Chickens	0 (at the time of interview), 4-8 in past
Katie	Female	N/A	Chickens	3
Savannah	Female	N/A	Bees	2 hives
Clare	Female	N/A	Chickens	11
Donna	Female	N/A	Chickens	0 (at the time of interview), 6 in past
Luke	Male	N/A	Bees	0 (at the time of interview), 1 hive in past

*** The asterisk indicates the interviewee received a warning or citation.**