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## Abstract

Drawing upon original research examining urban agriculture projects in Denver, Colorado, this article explores the "growing" metaphor used in community development circles, especially those involving food-growing schemes. The authors propose the following analytic distinction: above ground/below ground. The former refers to those capitals we count as community development scholars, whereas the latter speaks to the values shaping the capitals that community members feel ought to count. The article also brings together previously disparate literatures that have more in common than their respective track records suggest – the (above ground) community capitals and (below ground) diverse economies approaches. While explorative, this article aims to help others understand the complex processes involved in not only the generating of community capitals but in the practices and discourses that lead to them being valued by stakeholders. Keywords:



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