Research to inform the development of an operational and governance plan for a community farm

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This project was conducted under the mentorship of Okanagan Fruit Tree Project Society. staff. The opinions and recommendations in this report and any errors are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of Okanagan Fruit Tree Project Society or the University of British Columbia.

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CONTENTS

Sustainability Scholars Disclaimer / Acknowledgements **2**

CONTENTS **3**

GLOSSARY OF TERMS **5**

INTRODUCTION **8**

METHODOLOGY **10**

OBSERVATION SUMMARIES **13**

- MULTIFUNCTIONAL LAND USES 13
- GOVERNANCE 14
- SHARED PLACE-BASED VALUES 15
- INCLUDING MINORITY COMMUNITIES 16
- INCLUDING CONSUMERS 16
- FINANCES 17
- LAND REFORM 19
- FOOD SOVEREIGNTY 19
- ECOLOGICAL CARE 20

CONCLUSION **21**

BIBLIOGRAPHY **22**

- ARTICLES : JOURNAL, SCHOLARLY & REVIEW 22
- ELECTRONIC SOURCES : GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS & REPORTS 23
- ELECTRONIC SOURCES : WEBSITES & ONLINE RESOURCES 24

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Agricultural Land Reserve (ALR)
The Agricultural Land Reserve is a provincial zone of around 4.6 million hectares in which agriculture is recognized as the priority use. Farming is encouraged and non-agricultural uses are restricted. (Provincial Agricultural Land Commission, 2014)

Alternative Food Network
In response to growing consumer concerns surrounding the conventional food system, along with farmer concerns related to market access, networks of food system stakeholders have developed alternative methods of food production and supply that have focused on direct markets (such as farmers markets and CSA's) and farm-to school programs, often referred to as alternative food networks (AFNs). (LeBlanc et al., 2014)

Charity - Registered
Registered charities are charitable organizations, public foundations, or private foundations that are created and resident in Canada. They must use their resources for charitable activities and have charitable purposes that fall into one or more of the following categories: the relief of poverty, the advancement of education, the advancement of religion, and other purposes that benefit the community.
(Government of Canada)

Civic Agriculture
Civic agriculture enterprises embed production and consumption activities within communities, whereas conventional agricultural production and consumption happens at a larger scale and lacks the community ties inherent to civic agriculture. They generally integrate site-specific practices for the production of a wide variety of products. (LeBlanc et al., 2014)

Conservation Covenant
In British Columbia, a voluntary, written agreement between a landowner and the Crown, a Crown corporation or agency, a municipality, a regional district, the South Coast British Columbia Transportation Authority, a local trust committee under the what cannot be done (e.g. subdivision, cutting down a stand of trees), or positive of the land are bound by the covenant. Covenants are intended to last forever. A covenant can cover all or just a portion of the landowner's property.
(The Land Conservancy of British Columbia, 2010)

Community Capacity
The relationship between human, organizational, and social capitals that allows a community to solve problems and improve. (Meenar, 2015)

Community service cooperative
In BC law, community service coops have a similar status to that of nonprofit societies. Like a nonprofit, community service coops could be eligible for charitable status, and require the inclusion of non-alterable clauses in their rules to ensure they operate on a nonprofit basis, or to provide some kind of community service, whether this be health, social, educational or other. (BC Coop)

Foodlands
The concept of “foodlands” is used in BC to broaden the cultural scope beyond agriculture to include Indigenous harvesting and cultivation in the neighbouring forests, fields and waterways. This term recognizes the interconnected relationship between the health of food grown on agricultural lands and the health of the neighbouring Indigenous ecosystems.
(Provincial Health Services Authority, 2016)

Food Hub
Food hubs serve as an intermediary between many market actors in the aggregation and distribution of local or regionally produced food, with a civic agriculture mission.
(LeBlanc et al., 2014)

Food self-sufficiency
Food self-sufficiency in the context of this evidence review refers to a state in which BC’s food supply is stable and resilient to external pressures such as supply chains as well as economic and climatic changes. (Provincial Health Services Authority, 2016)

Food sovereignty
The right of peoples, communities, and countries to define their own agricultural, labour, fishing, food, and land policies which are ecologically, socially, economically, and culturally appropriate to their unique circumstances. It includes the true right to food and to produce food, which means that all people have the right to safe, nutritious, and culturally appropriate food and to food-producing resources and the ability to sustain themselves and their societies. (Gorsuch & Scott, 2010)
More specifically, Indigenous food sovereignty can be based on four principles: the necessity of maintaining Indigenous relationships with land; the ongoing work of Indigenous peoples in shaping healthy and culturally appropriate food systems; the daily maintenance of Indigenous food systems by Indigenous peoples; and the need for Indigenous influence over policies at all jurisdictional levels. (Kepkiewicz & Dale, 2019)

Household food insecurity

Using the work of Davis and Tarasuk (1994), Health Canada defines household food insecurity as "the inability to acquire or consume an adequate diet quality or a sufficient quantity of food in socially acceptable ways or the uncertainty that one will be able to do so", which is most often the result of inadequate income. (Provincial Health Services Authority, 2016)
Further reading : http://www.bccdc.ca/our-services/programs/food-security#Reports--&--resources

Nonprofit
Non-profit organizations are associations, clubs, or societies that are not necessarily charities and are organized and operated exclusively for social welfare, civic improvement, pleasure, recreation, or any other purpose except profit. (Government of Canada)

Social Enterprise
Social enterprises are revenue-generating businesses with a twist. Whether operated by a non-profit organization or by a for-profit company, a social enterprise has two goals: to achieve social, cultural, community economic and/or environmental outcomes; and, to earn revenue. Although many social enterprises look, feel, and even operate like traditional businesses. But looking more deeply, one discovers the defining characteristics of the social enterprise: mission is at the centre of business, with income generation playing an important supporting role.
One test for a non-profit or charity that believes it is operating a social enterprise is asking 'what are you selling?' It could be that you are operating with an entrepreneurial mindset within your organization, but if you are not selling a good or service into the marketplace, you aren't running a business: you may be running a social program, but not a social enterprise.
(BC Centre for Social Enterprise, 2021)

Trust
Trusts are created by settlers (an individual along with their lawyer) who decide how to transfer parts or all of their assets to trustees. These trustees hold on to the assets for the beneficiaries of the trust. The rules of a trust depend on the terms on which it was built. They can be used for a variety of applications. (Investopedia)

Trust - Land
Land Trusts are non-profit, charitable organizations committed to the long- term protection of natural and/or cultural heritage of lands. A land trust may own land itself, or it may enter into conservation covenants with property owners to protect or restore natural or heritage features on the owner's land. (The Land Trust Alliance, 2018)

Social Economy
The social economy includes those organizations which are animated by the principle of reciprocity for the pursuit of mutual economic or social goals, often through social control of capital. This definition would include all co-operatives and credit unions, nonprofit and volunteer

organisations, charities and foundations, service associations, community enterprises, and social enterprises that use market mechanisms to pursue explicit social objectives. (B.C.-Alberta Social Economy Research Alliance)

INTRODUCTION

Farmer concerns related to land and market access, growing consumer concerns around the conventional food system, increasing household food insecurity, and an increased interest in eating local food have resulted in networks of food system stakeholders developing alternative methods of food production and supply. Currently, these networks have primarily focussed on direct markets (farmers markets, CSA programs, etc.), often referred to as alternative food networks (Matson & Thayer, 2013) (LeBlanc et al., 2014). The BC Provincial Health Service Authority outlines how the way(s) food is produced, processed, distributed, priced and marketed all impact food choices, and that the removal of systemic barriers to healthy eating is critical in achieving food security in BC. Currently, food security is a key public health priority in the province (Provincial Health Services Authority, 2010).

Community farms, as “a hybrid model of land reform that encompasses public, non-market based, and community based forms of land access” (Wittman, Dennis, Pritchard, 2017, p. 307) are one of the ways that alternative food networks and community food security are being implemented in the Canadian context. In British Columbia specifically, there is an active interest in community farms, with multiple engines driving research, networking and implementation; these include agricultural land trusts that seek to protect local food production, community organizations seeking multi-functional public space for education around food production, as well as groups of farmers finding community support in both established and contemporary ways (Wittman, 2009). Another major engine is Farm Folk City Folk (FFCF), a food and agriculture charitable nonprofit founded in 1993, and their Community Farms Program (CFP). A ‘community farm’ is defined by the CFP as “A multi-functional farm where the land is held ‘in trust’ for community rather than owned privately. A community group or co-operative governs the land use agreements, and agricultural uses of the land are shared by a community of farmers. The primary focus of a community farm is local food production using sustainable agricultural practices” (Farm Folk City Folk, n.d.).

A 2009 study by FFCF, The Land Conservancy of BC, and Hannah Wittman of Simon Fraser University emphasizes that “there is no concrete 'model' for community farms which can be replicated. In each case, a combination of diverse people, land, and resources [come] together to build a unique enterprise. Community farms research and practice should focus on further exploration of these diverse models of agricultural cooperation to evaluate how each model works in diverse situations” (p. 15).

The purpose of this study is to explore the potential roles of and opportunities for nonprofits (and other social enterprises) operating community farms in the Canadian context. While taking into account the 'working' definition of community farms outlined by FFCF et al., the definition that is used in this paper was more broad - community farms that self-defined as such but did not prioritize food production as their primary aim or were not privately owned were included, in order to interrogate the various ways that nonprofits are engaging with community farms today.

This study was conducted for the use of the Okanagan Fruit Tree Project (OFTP) to inform the development of a community farm in Kelowna, BC. The OFTP is a food security organization operating in the Central and South Okanagan since 2012. The organization has primarily run a produce rescue program, where volunteers go to orchards, farms, and backyards to harvest fruits and vegetables that would otherwise go to waste. This produce is then donated to over 90 schools and social service organizations in the Okanagan. In 2019, the OFTP took over the operations of another local organization whose programming was community farming. Food grown on community farm plots, located on private land and accessed with short-term land lease agreements, is also donated to social service agencies in the community. More recently, the OFTP joined in on a community project to start a community farm on 36 acres of farmland in Kelowna, BC. Since 2017, the OFTP has been collaborating with other community members to establish a community farm on this property. In 2020, the OFTP was informed by the property owner that they may become the charity in which they donate their land. Thus, the OFTP has embarked on understanding community farms and farming from a charity perspective, to inform the development of a land use plan, governance structure, and programming.

METHODOLOGY

This study included a scan for relevant literature, as well as a series of community farm case studies. The initial review of literature focused on nonprofit involvement with community farms, in databases CAB Direct, Agricola, and Web of Science. This initial probe was eventually expanded to include search terms for the overall food system, and to include Google Scholar as a database, as there was limited applicable literature. As also noted by Meenar (2015), there is ample past and ongoing research on community farms, but limited literature on their relationship with nonprofits, or on nonprofits who administer food security related projects. Literature that focussed on the North American context was prioritized in both reviews.

A sample of 50 case studies was developed from a web scan of self-declared community farms across Canada, and cross referenced a compilation of BC based community farms by Wittman, Dennis and Pritchard in 2017. These farms were loosely grouped in terms of their location (on a spectrum of rural to urban), whether they had nonprofit involvement, and how they addressed the community (whether through community programs, farm leases, BIPOC-focussed engagement, etc.). Nine in-depth case studies were then intentionally selected to predominantly include

community farms in sub / peri-urban settings, that had nonprofit governance or engagement, and captured a range of ways of addressing the community. These nine case studies form the basis of the observations section of this report. A series of semi-structured interviews via Zoom and phone call were conducted between November 2020 and January 2021 with representatives from the nine community farms, with follow up questions conducted over email during the same period. The interviews predominantly focussed on the representative's role or engagement with the farm; the governance structure, funding sources and plans for succession; the use(s) of the community farm land, and how these uses are operated; general challenges they face; as well as their recommendations for a nascent community farm.

Seven of the nine case study farms are located in the Lower Mainland / Vancouver Island Coast regions of British Columbia, with two outside of the province in Toronto, Ontario and near Dawson City, Yukon. The majority of farms selected are sub/peri-urban, with three in more rural locations and one that is in an urban neighbourhood. Here, 'urban' is defined as an area of high population density, where the forms of livelihood and industry are diverse, and not bound to predominantly agricultural uses, whereas 'rural' areas primarily rely on agricultural production. 'Peri-urban' areas are located on the outskirts of urban areas, but are substantially used for agricultural production (World Vision, n.d.). We are defining 'suburban' as within but on the outskirts of an urban area. The case studies defined as such here are located within largely residential communities.

	RURAL	PERI-URBAN	SUB-URBAN	URBAN
A	O			
B	O			
C	O			
D			O	
E			O	
F				O
G			O	
H		O		
I			O	

Map / Table 1 - Case study community farm locations.

Initial observation strategies applied to the case studies were based on Wittman, Dennis and Pritchard's farmland access typologies from 2017 research that included assessing community farms as a mode of community-based land access. Their goal was to produce a typology of the diverse ways that alternative land access is happening in British Columbia, with these typologies emerging from their analysis of alternative land access initiatives within a sample of 55 BC based community farms. The four categories that they outline are land ownership, governance, use and access (Table 2a).

Beginning with this framework as a means of observing initial similarities and differences between the governance and operations of the case studies, subcategories emerged to allow for a more fine-grained classification / observation. These alterations are specific to the nine case studies and the intents of this paper, and are not meant as an alternative typology to the 2017 classifications. Under governance, sub-categories emerged to include who governs, how they make decisions, as well as their sources of funding. Land use classifications were expanded, as many of the case study community farms were impossible to define by a sole objective, and are highly multivalent in their intentions for the land. Also, subcategories were added to land access to include access to land uses other than farming / food production (Table 2b).

Land Ownership	Land Governance	Land Use	Land Access
Formal or legal property rights; land title or customary land rights.	Entity or institutional structure through which farming activities are organized and managed.	Primary objective achieved through implementation of alternative land access model.	Tenure relations shaping how land is made available for farming.
• Land trust • Land cooperative • Public land • Non-profit society • Individual/Private	• Formal co-operative • Informal co-operative • Non-profit society • University institution • Individual enterprise • Multiple independent farm enterprises on shared land	• Commercial farm operation • Social and community services • Intentional community	• Short-term lease • Long-term lease • Informal/memorandum of understanding (MOU) • Program participants (e.g. apprentices, practicum students, community volunteers, incubator farm participants, etc.) • Cropshare • Hired operator • Individual or Group ownership

Table 2a - Typology of alternative farmland access models in BC, from (Wittman, Dennis, Pritchard, 2017).

Land Ownership	Land Governance			
Formal or legal property rights; land title or customary land rights.	ENTITY OR INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE through which farming activities are managed.	DECISION MAKING BODY	FUNDING	–
• Land trust • Land cooperative • Public land • First Nation land • Non-profit society • Individual/Private	• Co-operative • Non-profit society • Hired farm manager • Other	• Volunteer board • Individual • Project teams / groups • Community members • Hired farm manager / paid coordinator • First Nation	• Grants • Sales • Donations • Rentals / Leases • Agri-tourism (Education) • Events	
Land Use	**Land Access**			
PRIMARY OBJECTIVE(S) achieved through implementation of alternative land access model.	FOOD PRODUCTION Tenure relations shaping how land is made available for food production.	ECOLOGICAL CARE	COMMUNITY ACCESS	INNOVATION / RESEARCH / PARTNERSHIPS
• Food Production • Ecological Care • Community Services • Innovation / Partnerships / Research	• Market farm • Program farm • Allotment • Food forest	• Land conservation • Revitalization / restoration activities • Special projects / partnerships	• Public park • Education • Interdisciplinary projects • Rental spaces • Events	–

Table 2b - Typology of community farms developed for the use of nine case studies.

OBSERVATION SUMMARIES

Observations from the case studies and information from relevant literature have been grouped into themes below. These themes are around land uses, governance and cooperation, place-based values, including minority communities and consumers, finances, land reform, Indigenous food sovereignty and ecological care. Although this is not the entirety of the findings, as interviews and information specific to each case study are only available in the internal report, these themes form the basis of the major considerations gleaned for the Okanagan Fruit Tree Project.

MULTIFUNCTIONAL LAND USES

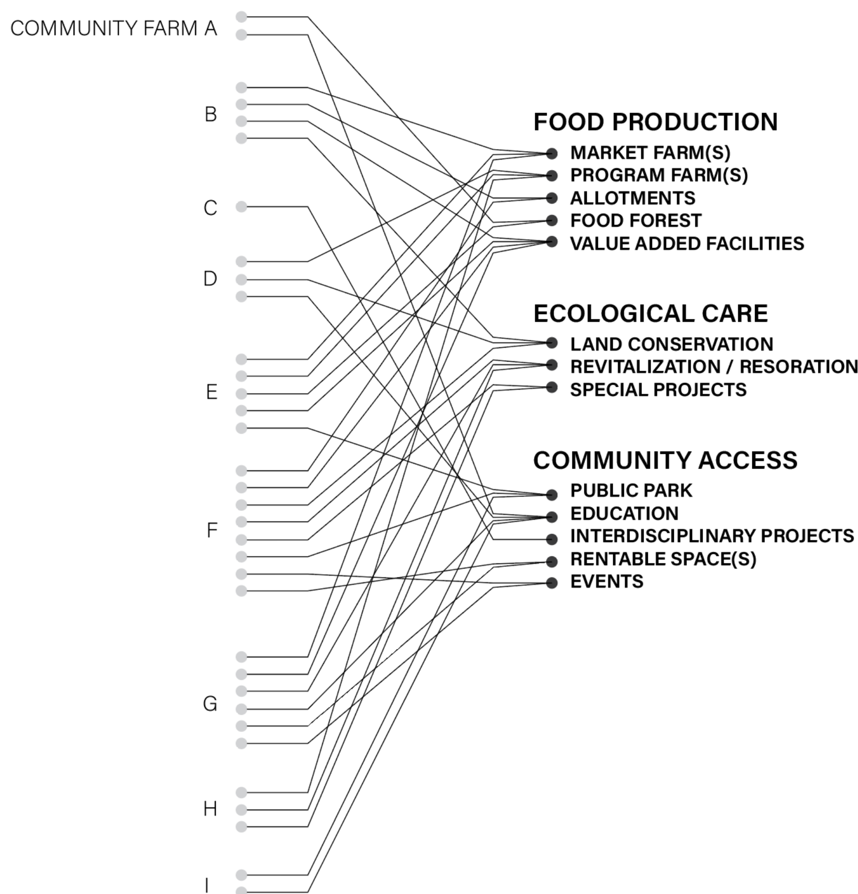

Diagram 2 - Linking the case study community farms to their observed land use(s).

Land use denotes what is being achieved on the land. Broad categories of land uses that were observed in the case study community farms are Food production, Ecological care, and Community access. It is important to note that this is not meant as a general classification system for all community farms - but is specific to the case study farms selected here. As previously

noted in past Canadian research on community farms (Wittman, 2009), **all of the case studies are multifunctional in their uses, with different agendas on who is able to access the land, and in what capacity**. In this sense, land use cannot be considered separately from land access. For example, 'market farm' use entails plots of land (typically around 1 acre in the case of the farms interviewed) being leased to farmers for growing and selling produce. Here, the farmers have primary access to the land, with outside community members typically able to access it through consumption / purchasing from the farmers. In contrast, 'allotment' gardens / plots allow community members who are not full-time farmers to have a place on the land, but access is limited by the number of allotment plots, along with other factors such as proximity, free time, and financial capacity to maintain a plot. Considering who is prioritized to access the land (farmers, local community, specific swathes of the community, ie. those in need) should be considered in tandem with how the land will be used.

GOVERNANCE

The challenge of **making decisions collectively** was brought up in many of the interviews, most notably in those that appear to be working boards, where the board members are both guiding and operating the community farm in some way. It was noted multiple times that the success of a nonprofit community farm can boil down to the individuals involved on the board, and if they are able to successfully work together. Another, more general, challenge that was observed was a **lack of robustness** in many of the governing bodies. A lack of concrete decision making systems, high reliance on volunteers, unequal balancing of labour, and limited public information about the boards and how they operate all played into this general impression.

Considerations

- It takes a lot of bandwidth to manage a functioning / producing community farm - it appears important to consider the amount of coordinating power that is able to be provided by the nonprofit early on when deciding how to set up governance, and therefore the extent to which they will be involved in direct oversight.
- Considering to what extent the land should be operated by the nonprofit for its' interests (for example, when the community farm is predominantly used for programs), mainly by the community, or a hybrid of these should play into governance type and formation.
- Having clear and outlined aims / guiding principles / values were outlined in both the literature and observed in the case studies as condoning a more robust governance and decision making process, regardless of the governance type.
- Consider a multi-tier system of decision making that gives agency to those operating the land (whether in roles for food producing, community engaging, researching, environmental efforts, etc.), as in (but not limited to) a sociocratic system, giving agency to the range of actors and their areas of expertise or interest.

- If the community farm is to be either partially or completely community operated, consider bringing community members directly into the governance at inception through community engagement or consultations.
- Community engagement was observed to bring new 'meaning' to the community farm for locals. This qualitative change in perception through engagement could encourage stewardship, or at least general awareness of a new kind of relationship between land and community. The most successful community engagements included professionals (architects, graphic designers, etc.) who could translate ideas to reality, and give a sense of value and 'real' change to the community voices who engaged. Having paid professionals also supported the sense that community engagement is actually a consultation, in which the nonprofit is there to serve the community.
- Both community engagement and collective decision making are slow processes, and embracing this during proceedings was cited in the literature review as a way to counter 'efficiency' driven governance, which is shown to limit collaboration and cooperative governance.

SHARED PLACE-BASED VALUES

The placement of values, as opposed to rules, was expressed as the heart of cooperative processes in both interviews and literature review (Hale & Carolam, 2018; Simpson and de Loë, 2017). More specifically, **sets of values associated with environmentally sustainable production practices** (the quality of food, the distribution of food, and/or relationships with particular farmers and places) **can help distinguish value / place based food systems**. Research suggested that "identification with a locality" offered prospects for "building common ground among consumer and farmer" interests related to food production and distribution (Smith, Ostrom et al., 2018).

Suggestions on ways that community food system actors (including nonprofits) can engage with the production and social equity aspects of place / value-based food systems include :

- Place based values have the potential to bridge producers and consumers (Smith, Ostrom et al., 2018);
- These values about food, place, and the environment enacted collectively at a community level can give new farmers more realistic opportunities to succeed (Smith, Ostrom et al., 2018);
- Place-based marketing strategies should be considered for nonprofits pursuing social enterprise. These could include aspects such as food traceability, food attribute retention, energy consumption and food miles, and flavor and taste arising from local soils and climate similar to the terroir (Matson & Thayer, 2013).

INCLUDING MINORITY COMMUNITIES

Smith, Ostrom et al. (2018) suggest that the place-based values that can foster sustainable community food systems can also allow aspiring farmers who do not come from economically, socially, or racially privileged backgrounds to succeed. Further, in a study titled 'Nonprofit-driven community capacity-building efforts in community food systems' (2015), Meenar argues that "nonprofits need to explore new avenues to better connect with minority populations and engage them in their activities, as well as in decision making or the planning and development processes. [...] **It is not about "educating" or "enlightening" [minority populations], but involving those individuals who are interested in such activities but may feel estranged from formal programs**" (p. 91).

Considerations

In our discussion with a case study actively working to involve BIPOC community members in both their community farm incubator program and governance, they suggested the following :

- Make all job postings / descriptions focused on the intent of the position, as opposed to degree or 'official' past experience required. These considerations will cast a wider net on who can be 'qualified' to apply. Often people who have only recently arrived in Canada have a breadth of life experience and skill sets that do not always show up on a resume;
- When resumes come in for any position, their HR department erases the applicant's names and any personal information to allow the managers to review them with minimal bias;
- They actively work with hiring organizations that focus on BIPOC inclusivity;
- When pursuing community engagements / consultations, they are careful to provide translators and / or surveys in the dominant languages of the community they serve.

INCLUDING CONSUMERS

Involving consumers in what are predominantly producer-driven organizations was noted as an ongoing challenge (Hale & Carolam, 2018). Currently, participation for consumers in alternative food networks has been largely limited to purchasing food from producers. "Although producers [..] expressed a strong desire, often in a prideful way, in educating urban consumers about farming and food, the decision-making process remains exclusive as they do not emphasize equal participation from members and other social groups outside of rural producers" (Hale & Carolan, 2018, p. 121). Cooperative decision making is made both smoother and more challenging by this division - when producer-centric organizations choose not to include consumers in their governance, the board may save on the emotional work of developing trust with consumers, but often at a financial cost, as they are usually reliant on non-producers for financial viability, and their inclusion in decision making could help find and maintain volunteers, as well as other resources such as skills, knowledge, and political connections.

Considerations

- The discussion above points to a need for clarity on who the ‘community’ of the farm envelops. Is the primary aim of the nonprofit to :
  - Support farmers, through incubator programs or the provision of affordable land leases ?
  - Engage the people who live in close proximity to the property ? This would connote very different communities for urban vs peri-urban properties, as a peri-urban place is in part defined by its low density.
  - Engage a mix of agricultural and urban folks, who are typically consumers ?
- Many of the case study community farms blurred the line between food ‘producer’ and ‘consumer’ with initiatives like allotment gardens, employment programs and food forests. In these, community members who are not full-time farmers can engage with growing food in a ‘part-time’ way, but more meaningfully than the typical ‘agri-tourism’ approach, which seems to maintain a stark boundary between ‘producer’ and ‘visitor’.
- Including consumers in an alternative food network does not have to be limited to food production - many of the case studies involved the community through ecological activities, interdisciplinary (art) projects, or rentable spaces.

FINANCES

Wittman, Dennis and Pritchard (2017) note that “The theorization of the resilience of family farms is in part tied to a reliance on the non-wage labour of family members. Similarly, community farms are relying on non-wage labour relations derived from the wider community, including urban volunteers” (p. 310). In their 2017 surveys of community farms in BC, program participants expressed their involvement with a community farm “as a relationship and exchange that has value outside of the structure of traditional wage relations” (p. 310). It has become standard practice for volunteers or interns on community farms to be responsible for forging the connection between the rural operations and urban consumers and advocacy groups (Wittman, Dennis and Pritchard, 2017).

Legally, nonprofits are established to pursue a public purpose, and are accountable to independent boards of directors. They typically rely on funding from government grants, donations, and other benevolent sources like volunteering, but they **can also pursue social enterprise as a funding stream that must be reinvested in the nonprofits activities**. Importantly, these social enterprise activities or operations must be closely aligned with the social focus of the nonprofit (BC Centre for Social Enterprise, 2021). Further, as there are no “owners” or shareholders for a nonprofit to report to, Diamond & Barham (2011) argue that **nonprofits are able to take on more risk as a business entity**, and absorb more of the risk faced by farmers /

producers in an alternative food network (although ‘how’ is not elaborated). This risk-absorption can in turn allow for innovation and experimentation, however it is also noted that taking risks and not developing a resilient social enterprise model creates an ongoing vulnerability for the operation (Diamond & Barham, 2011).

Regarding social enterprise, there is a sizable body of literature on the potential for nonprofits to act as intermediaries between producers and consumers in a local food system. They are referred to as food “hubs”, another member of the alternative food network family that is typically more involved with the distribution of food (LeBlanc et al., 2014). Smith, Ostrom et al. (2018) note that “transformation toward a more sustainable agriculture will require actions across the food system, encompassing research and education to on-farm practices to market development to policy reform [...]. As articulated by a wide range of food system critiques, **solutions to modern food system problems will require both producer and consumer engagement in ensuring equitable access to farming resources and markets”** (p. 112).

Considerations

- Limited suggestions for ways that nonprofits can move towards resilient funding / income in both the literature and the case studies could point to space for social innovation - particularly when leveraging donations, grants and partnerships during nascent / experimental stages is possible.
- Social enterprise is an option for nonprofits to develop sustainable community farm operations.
- Perhaps some lessons could be learned from nonprofit food hub models, which typically combine a social enterprise model with place-based marketing to fund their operations. Nonprofits could make use of the intersection of these values and consumer demand to both increase consumer access to local foods and increase the value and profitability of local food producers (Matson & Thayer, 2013).
- It is notable that neither of the two case study community farms that are actively working towards financial self-sufficiency are governed by nonprofits. Their approaches both veered towards targeting niche markets, including turkey, nuts, and CSA delivery.

LAND REFORM

The creation of ‘new property’ with ‘alternative social forms’’ are understood as important components to bringing social change (Wittman, Dennis, Pritchard, 2017). Nonprofit and community based land reform could combine the use of several institutional tools, including zoning, purchase of conservation easements, and the acquisition of land through purchase or donation for use by the community to **create a property with ‘alternative social forms’,**

occupying a space between public and private ownership (Wittman, Dennis, Pritchard, 2017).

Considerations

- Two farms were observed with intentionally changed zoning, both with unique zoning classifications that allow for both agricultural and community uses on the land. This presents a possible route forward in terms of giving 'alternative social forms' for a community farm.
- Food forests were observed as a means of separating food production from the usual 'producer / 'consumer' relationship that defines current land ownership based practice.
- Open community access (via paths or boardwalks, similar to public parks,) was observed in some case studies. This presents another 'alternative social form' that community farms could take as part of their larger operations.

FOOD SOVEREIGNTY

In Francis' 2012 overview of Wittman's 'Food Sovereignty: Reconnecting Food, Nature and Community' they summarize how the current food system, largely homogenized and dependant on high levels of purchased inputs and monocultural production, erases most of the complex and intricate connections of people to their food production. The diversified diets and traditional food systems that define many unique cultures are also ignored, predominantly in the interest of 'efficiency'. They argue that in this system, resilience and sustainability are lost, along with the unique food culture of each place.

In the Canadian context, food sovereignty is predominantly discussed in relation to Indigenous communities. Here, dispossession, not capitalism, has been the dominant colonial tool that shapes the relationship between Indigenous peoples and the Canadian state - therefore it is important to not just grapple with the capitalist side of agriculture, but also with property ownership itself (Kepkiewicz & Dale, 2019). Conventional land reforms have been defined as programmes that redistribute land ownership from large private landowners to small peasant farmers and landless agricultural workers; although inherited from movements like Via Campesina, it is questionable whether that is true food sovereignty in the Canadian context (Kepkiewicz & Dale, 2019). It is suggested that "**settler impulses to create equitable food systems by being stewards or 'keepers' of Indigenous lands are problematic** in a context where settlers have violently appropriated land from Indigenous peoples and denigrated Indigenous cosmovision and relationships to land" (Kepkiewicz & Dale, 2019, p. 3).

Suggestions on ways that settlers can support Indigenous food sovereignty from Kepkiewicz & Dale (2019) include :

- Challenging the dominance of private property relations, something that settlers may take for granted when operating within / around an overwhelmingly capitalist system.
- Developing agroecology not as the central food provisioning system, but rather as a practice that supports non-agrarian and agrarian Indigenous food systems.
- Centering food sovereignty efforts on Indigenous responsibilities to and relationships with land, and supporting their actions to restore these relationships through the revitalization of Indigenous foods and knowledge systems.

ECOLOGICAL CARE

Conservation efforts were observed at some of the case studies, with ‘ecology’ or ‘ecological care’ cited as primary aims of the community farms. No single way of conserving / protecting land was observed, and the approaches ranged from formal (legal) to informal (community / knowledge based). **Formal / legal ways** involved putting land in trust, unique zoning, or a covenant. **Semi-formal ways** included stewardship agreements, ecologically significant area assessments, or sensitive ecosystem designation. These methods typically involved having a specialized or expert group assess the land, with these assessments then used as leverage with governments for protection or recognition: for example, one case study hired an institutional environmental research group to do an assessment, which was then used to leverage their municipality to purchase the land and lease it for community farming, instead of developing it. **Informal ways** were seen in case studies in addition to their more formal actions. These included community groups formed to determine species and ecological features on the property, which then form a shared knowledge database.

CONCLUSION

There are no set conclusions to draw from the literature and case studies, only considerations. Overall, the broadening of the working definition of community farm to include consumers arose for the author as an important consideration. For a nonprofit this could also mean expanding the definition of ‘consumer’ from those who can afford locally produced food to include those with low purchasing power or are food insecure. As a final note, there appears to be a range of exciting and innovative routes that a nonprofit community farm could pursue in its governance and operations. Celebrating the property’s unique beauty and features, involving a range of actors that could bring positive change (from urban folks to research institutions), and engaging with the history of dispossession and cultural erasure that necessitates Indigenous food sovereignty, all present as exciting possibilities that could generate positive impact through a community farm. It is my hope that this report can aid the Okanagan Fruit Tree Project on their journey towards that.

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