



Social Enterprises
Knowledgeable Economies
and Sustainable Communities

A Global Market in the Heart of Winnipeg Measuring and Mapping the Social and Cultural Development of Food in the Central Market for Global Families

Kaeley Wiseman, Jino Distasio, and Raymond Ngarboui

**A research report prepared for the Northern Ontario, Manitoba,
and Saskatchewan Regional Node of the Social Economy Suite**

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Entreprises sociales
économies intelligentes
et communautés durables



A Global Market in the Heart of Winnipeg

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It is more difficult in this country and these times to find a patch of land to scatter seed on, and people to work it in the long term. In redlined neighbourhoods, vacant lots are there for the taking, often full of toxic waste. In many areas, the younger generation lost traditions of cultivating the land. In some cities, gentrification has turned the land into a commodity far out of reach of gardeners, where people have to work so much to pay rent that there's not time to produce food in a serious way. In others, car culture has so isolated people that they don't even know their neighbours.

But everyone's got to eat. And while gardens aren't a cure-all to the problems of economic racism and environmental injustice, unequal access to resources and an exploitative profit system, they can help us get by a little easier, give us space to breathe, to learn from the earth, and to begin to reweave relationships based on respect for the land and for the people around us.

— Cleo Woelfle-Erskine, Urban Wild

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

THIS REPORT EXAMINES LOCAL FOOD OPTIONS through the lens of social equity — closing the gap between inner-city newcomers and the high prices of the current food opportunities available to them. The findings and discussion naturally led to possibilities for improving the health of the population, which lacks everyday access to fresh, culturally appropriate produce:

- allocating land and resources so inner-city dwellers who have little or no land can have the same chance to grow their own foods as homeowners
- providing a sense of self-sufficiency to newcomers, who may have knowledge and skills undervalued in today's economy
- recognizing the social relationships and entrepreneurial opportunities that could result if city spaces were reconfigured to recognize food provisioning as a priority

As the Central Market example shows, broad-scale and diverse food options help attain civic aims in a bottom-up, often community-led, manner. Providing small-business financial assistance, reducing crime, strengthening residents' connection to place and community, combating obesity and diabetes, and re-introducing agricultural knowledge are just a few examples of the plentiful contributions markets and food security can bring to a city.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Community Development: Community development activities refer to social, cultural, and community-planning initiatives aimed at sustaining communities. However, not every community development initiative has a direct economic impact on the lives of community members.

Community Economic Development: CED can be defined as action by people locally to create economic opportunities and enhance social conditions in their communities on a sustainable and inclusive basis, particularly among those who are most disadvantaged. CED is a community-based and community-directed process that explicitly combines social and economic development and fosters the economic, social, ecological, and cultural well-being of communities. CED has emerged as an alternative to conventional approaches to economic development. It is founded on the belief that problems facing communities — unemployment, poverty, job loss, environmental degradation, and loss of community control — need to be addressed in a holistic and participatory way (CCEDNet 2007).

Ethno-Cultural Organization: An ethno-cultural organization refers to groups of people who organize themselves into formal or informal associations in their own specific ethno-cultural community. It is used in place of the term “ethnic” group, which is ideologically discriminatory since every person has a specific ethno-cultural background and history.

Food Deserts: Food deserts are large demographic areas without grocery stores, or distant from grocery stores. They often have an imbalance of food choices, meaning they do offer access to fringe food such as fast food, convenience stores, and liquor stores. While these areas are more often than not found in lower-income, inner-city neighbourhoods, many do have community assets, appropriate sites for sustainable grocery stores, and community

leaders working to improve healthy food options. Findings show that residents of food deserts suffer worse diet-related health outcomes — including diabetes, cancer, obesity, heart disease, and premature death — than people who live elsewhere.

Immigrant and Refugee: These terms acknowledge that immigrants and refugees have different experiences. The term “New Canadian” does not include those who are attempting to become Canadian citizens. There is no ideal term to respectfully describe the myriad experiences of newcomers (permanent residents, provincial nominees, temporary residents such as foreign workers, foreign students, and live-in caregivers), new Canadians (e.g., permanent residents who have acquired citizenship, established Canadian citizens who were not born in Canada but who have lived here many years), all refugee classes (convention, government-sponsored, and privately sponsored), and accompanying family members (spouses, children, and relatives) living in Canada.

Social Enterprise: A social enterprise is a business with primarily social objectives whose surpluses are reinvested for that purpose in the business or in the community, rather than being driven by the need to deliver profit to shareholders and owners. Social enterprises tackle a wide range of social and environmental issues and operate in all parts of the economy. Using business solutions to achieve public good, social enterprises have a distinct and valuable role to play in helping to create a strong, sustainable, and socially inclusive economy. Social enterprises are diverse. They include local community enterprises, social firms, mutual organizations such as co-operatives, and large-scale organizations operating nationally or internationally. There is no single legal model for social enterprise. Some organizations are unincorporated and others are registered charities.

INTRODUCTION TO CENTRAL PARK

THE INNER CITY OF WINNIPEG has long been recognized as an area of urban decline and has been targeted by countless initiatives aimed at improving the living conditions for the residents. Central Park, located north of Ellice Avenue, south of Notre Dame Avenue, and bordered by Balmoral Street, is at the heart of what is known as Winnipeg's inner city and has developed a reputation for negative activities associated with inner-city neighbourhoods. Knox United Church has long been known as the main hub of positive activity within the Central Park neighbourhood. Knox acts as the gathering place for local cultural, social, musical, educational, and community events and initiatives for the residents, many of whom are newcomers to Canada. Seventy percent of all refugees and immigrants coming to Winnipeg reside within the inner city during their first one-to-three years of residency in Winnipeg (Statistics Canada 2001). This highly mobile population may be one of the largest contributing factors to Central Park's reputation in the City of Winnipeg as an unsafe, impoverished neighbourhood. There are, however, a number of reasons for this public perception, some justified and others not.

The area is extremely dense, with 11,372 people per square kilometre as opposed to greater Winnipeg, which has only 131 people per square kilometre. This means that large numbers of people live in high-rises, many of which are subsidized apartment blocks, which naturally lead to higher rates of certain incidences (Statistics Canada 2007). One fifth of the population consists of a highly mobile Aboriginal group, and more than half are newcomers whose first language is not English (Statistics Canada 2007). The perceptions of high crime are rooted in a high level of drug- and alcohol-related charges, which may result in violence within public and private spaces. There is also a high percentage of gang violence and activity; recent young immigrants are known to be highly susceptible to gang participation as



Central Park, view south (Scott 2008)

their families are often separated during the refugee and/or immigration process. A lack of adequate recreation and supervised facilities in the area leaves many individuals and groups to congregate in the public outdoors. This fact, compounded by the current poorly designed and lit spaces, also contributes to higher violence and negative perceptions of safety. There is a proven financial need within the neighbourhood as well, which may be linked to the mobility and length of residence of the population. The median income in the neighbourhood for persons over fifteen is \$16,107 compared to the Winnipeg median of \$26,334 (Statistics Canada 2007). A high percentage of government transfers contributes to income in this area — nearly 29 percent as opposed to only 11 percent in greater Winnipeg (Statistics Canada 2007). After tax, 71 percent of the population is categorized as low income compared to 19 percent across the rest of the city (Statistics Canada 2007). All of these facts, combined with a complex variety of social and economic challenges, make Central Park a neighbourhood in constant flux and need.

Since its inception, Knox United has worked to address the diverse needs of its local area and has adapted and changed over time as the demographics and obstacles have changed. Providing food has recently become a high priority both locally and across the province as food is increasingly being viewed as the critical link between social, economic, and community well-being. The people most affected by the rising cost of healthful foods are low-in-

come individuals as well as single-parent and single-income families (Nordahl 2009). Ironically, a result of food insecurity is both hunger and obesity; while the former is obvious, the latter results in the farmer being no match for the endless marketing campaigns of fast-food chains and processed-food conglomerates aimed at rock-bottom food prices.

Winnipeg's inner-city has long been identified as a food desert, where low-quality and high-cost foods are available and little else. The reality in a capitalist economy is that high-quality supermarkets and grocery stores, farmer's markets, and affordable healthful food options simply do not locate in impoverished neighbourhoods. As Winne (2008) explains, "While the failure of supermarkets to adequately serve lower-income communities represents a failure of the marketplace, the marketplace is functioning rationally (as economist would say) by going to where the money is." With such a culturally diverse population, opportunities abound for more local, culturally appropriate, healthful, and affordable food options. In hopes of increasing the availability of affordable and healthful foods in the area, Knox United has been organizing and supporting the Central Park Market for Global Families. The market has been in operation for three years and is now looking to expand into food



Knox United Church, 400 Edmonton Street (Wiseman 2009)

education programs, a Good Food Box initiative and, eventually, a local food café run by residents. By empowering residents to produce, prepare, market, distribute, and consume their own foods in a safe, community-based environment, organizers hope to improve both personal and community health and security and to strengthen the social cohesion and connectivity in the area.

This report examines local food options through the lens of social equity — closing the gap between inner-city newcomers and the high prices of the current food opportunities available to them. The findings and discussions naturally led to possibilities for improving the health of the population, which lacks everyday access to fresh, culturally appropriate produce:

- allocating land and resources so inner-city dwellers who have little or no land can have the same chance to grow their own foods as homeowners
- providing a sense of self-sufficiency to newcomers, who may have knowledge and skills undervalued in today's economy
- recognizing the social relationships and entrepreneurial opportunities that could result if city spaces were reconfigured to recognize food provisioning as a priority

As the Central Market example shows, broad-scale and diverse food options help attain civic aims in a bottom-up, often community-led, manner. Providing small-business financial assistance, reducing crime, strengthening residents connection to place and community, combating obesity and diabetes, and re-introducing agricultural knowledge are just a few examples of the plentiful contributions markets and food security can bring to a city.

Community Food Assessment and the Social Economy

Using food as one perspective to explore immigrant and refugee experiences, it is clear that barriers to social and economic participation, such as underemployment and social isolation, are widespread. The Central Market for Global Families is one example of an ethno-cultural organization that has been formed to provide opportunities for cultural retention, to act a resource service for local residents, to build social solidarity and capital, and to alleviate social, environmental, and economic challenges facing newcomers. The community has realized that a holistic approach is necessary to create economic opportunities that also enhance the local social conditions. The Central Market chose to focus on food for this reason; the culture around food embodies the contradictory nature of the relationship between

humans and their environment. As one of our most basic needs, nothing symbolizes life like good food, and the marketplaces that sell food, for all their noise, mess, and chaos, make us aware of what it takes to sustain life. Foucault calls these spaces “heterotopias,” places that embrace every aspect of human existence simultaneously (1967).

As the goals of the Central Market are community based and led, a community economic development model is appropriate for examining the initiative. A CED model directly addresses the “goals of social inclusion, poverty elimination and facilitating full participation in society, particularly for those facing the greatest barriers to achieving such goals” (CCEDNet 2007). CED is appropriate as it merges social and economic objectives and builds the capacity of individuals and communities to create their own solutions to their own specific challenges. Working with the Central Park community to examine social enterprises relating to food, the CED approach will build appropriate human and financial capital, strengthen networks, and maximize economic benefits. Engaging in research from a CED perspective ensures that knowledge shared and developed will remain in the community for the future, addressing the questions of succession and long-term sustainability.

One method to examine social equity from a food-security perspective is through the relatively new and continually evolving concept of a *community food assessment*. A community food assessment is a participatory and collaborative process that examines a broad range of food-related issues and resources in order to inform actions to improve community food security (Ross and Simces 2008). Food security exists “when all people at all times have access to sufficient, safe, nutritious food to maintain a healthy and active life” (WHO 1996). To further clarify, the “Five A’s” definition of food security encompasses the structural elements of a sustainable food system. Food security exists when food is *available* in sufficient supply; *accessible* through efficient distribution; nutritionally *adequate* and safe; produced and obtained under *acceptable* conditions (e.g., culturally and ecologically sustainable); and when there are tools in place to allow action to be taken towards food security (*agency*).

Availability: Urban farmers’ markets increase the supply of fresh food to urban populations.

Accessibility: There is a need for alternative distribution programs such as food box programs, farmers’ markets, and CSAs (community-shared agriculture system). Since urban demand is high for fresh foods, alternative distribution methods must be explored to allow more flexible, affordable, and accessible solutions to food security concerns.

Adequacy: Ensuring foods are nutritionally rich and are grown in healthful environments is a rising concern in urban food provisioning, especially in lower-income neighbourhoods. Growing one's own food and selling the excess at a local market can address this; gardeners who grows foods safe from contamination for their own families can help ensure safe foods for others.

Acceptable: Rural farmers on larger acreages may have too much invested in their current production methods to justify experimenting with new crops. Small-scale urban producers could be more amenable to producing a variety of ethnic foods; this will be illustrated by examples such as the Immigrant Integration Farming Co-op and the Rainbow Community Garden. Here, individuals grow foods they and their neighbours are culturally and socially familiar with. Growing on a small-scale allows them to easily address changes in demand and adapt to climatic variations.

Agency: Recognizing the connection between distribution and production, cities need to create tools and policies to help integrate food systems into the urban fabric.

Mainstream groceries can be defined as places that support a healthy diet on a regular basis and that also meet one's social and cultural needs. Such groceries sell an assortment of foods at reasonable market prices, including a diversity of fresh produce. A fringe food location is the opposite. It is not inherently unhealthy, and if it is the primary source for acquiring food, local diets and public health will likely suffer. Fringe foodstores include convenience stores, fast-food restaurants, gas stations, liquor stores, department stores, bakeries, and other retailers that sell ready-made, boxed, canned, or other types of food products but for whom food is not the primary line of business.

A community food assessment includes the following strategies:

- Discover — identify the community's current resources and assets
- Dream — envision the desired future
- Design — identify priorities and develop strategies to achieve the vision; action plans may be developed as part of the assessment process, or funding approval could be obtained prior to the development of concrete actions plans
- Deliver — implement approved action plans; monitor and celebrate success

More specifically, there is general agreement that community food assessments include the following key elements:

- examines a range of food system issues
- involves a broad diversity of stakeholders, e.g., public, private, nonprofit sectors; builds capacity by engaging the community in meaningful ways
- uses participatory and collaborative processes
- focuses on community assets/strengths as well as gaps and issues regarding food security
- uses a variety of methods to collect information
- is completed in a reasonable timeframe
- fosters awareness and understanding of the community and its food system
- contributes to specific actions to bring about positive change by the diversity of stakeholders in the community's food system

Research Goal

The goal of this research project is to examine the design, operation, and maintenance of the Central Park Market for Global Families and to document the experiences of the neighbourhood members and larger Winnipeg community. Examining how this market has changed the lives of individuals and groups is of particular interest and it is hoped the final deliverable will provide a road map for other communities faced with similar socio-cultural and economic challenges.

The researcher chose an action research methodology, a collaborative and democratic method to engage stakeholders and build community and learning amongst the participants. Her research methods included a literature review, focus groups, and other engagements over the duration of the project from September 2009 to February 2010. The use of action research was particularly important as it ensured a continuity of accessible and comfortable dialogue among the community, participants, and the researcher. The research methods also invited the active participation of stakeholders — including vendors, consumers, and community members — with the researcher in an overall development process that allowed for social change in an urban space in Winnipeg's inner city. Building on these relationships, the researcher used focus groups and engagements to strengthen internal trust and capacity

between participants. These methods all brought clarity to the process of defining Central Park's future and distilling critical elements of food and the market from a diversity of perspectives.

Research Questions

- What is the role of the Central Park Market for the local social economy?
- What is the role of the social economy of the market in developing welcoming communities for newly arrived immigrants and refugees?
- How can the Central Park Market develop effective linkages, partnerships, and collaborations for capacity building and long-term sustainability?

Aims

This research is being conducted because community members have identified challenges surrounding food provisioning in the neighbourhood. Though community food assessments can lead to a diversity of outcomes, the Central Market research will address the research questions through the following aims:

- Develop stronger networks and partnerships among the neighbourhood, the market, and the broader Winnipeg community by providing a detailed case study of the Central Market for Global Families as a social enterprise and identifying new funding opportunities.
- Increase community participation in shaping its local food system through mapping the impact of food on the social and cultural fabric of the area.
- Enhance community capacity through volunteer and paid positions and education.
- Affect positive change in program development and policy affecting the Central Park Neighbourhood.
- Strengthen the capacity of local organizations (Knox Church, Central Market, and Rainbow Community Gardens) to provide ongoing social, cultural, economic, and environmental services to their local community members.

Project Outline

There are two stages in identifying and addressing food concerns in the area. The first is short-term relief, which includes addressing immediate issues such as food provisioning via the market and gardening initiatives. The short-term relief will focus on hands-on, ground-level solutions to everyday challenges. The second stage involves capacity building through the development of food programs that have the potential to empower participants over the medium-term. The final stage, which will involve redesigning the food system through policy, is out of the scope of this project.

The key steps in the Central Market Food Project are:

- The Environmental Scan — key variables that will offer opportunities to improve community food security and population health, including the economic, social, cultural, and environmental context and an inventory of existing services and resources related to food security
- Community Priorities, Assets, and Gaps — the needs of the target population; strengths and assets within the community, the region, and within existing programs and services supporting food security; gaps in programs, services, policies, and community capacity
- Recommendations for Proposed Action — short-term concerns, capacity building requirements, system/policy redesign, and recommendations
- Plan of Action and Implementation

Table 1: Key steps in the Central Market Food Project

Activity	Actions to be taken	Timeframe	Resources required	Responsibility
Community-determined activities	Specific actions to be carried out	Specify completion dates	Budget, staff, space	Who is responsible for activities and results?

Data sources for the steps are as follows:

Table 2: Data sources

Key phases	Methods/data sources
Environmental Scan	Review of Canadian and local census data to develop a community profile; literature reviews
Community Priorities, Assets, and Gaps	GIS mapping of resources; community mapping exercises; community engagements and focus groups; review data of environmental scan
Recommendations for Action	Best practices/precedent literature review; knowledge from community engagements and focus groups
Plan of Action and Implementation	Plans distilled from recommendations and local and regional opportunities and programs

Limitations

Resources limit the magnitude of the project, the timeframe, and what information can be reasonably collected.

Methods and Engagement

Greenwood and Levin (2007) define action research (AR) as follows:

a set of self-consciously collaborative and democratic strategies for generating knowledge and designing action in which trained experts in social and other forms of research and local stakeholders work together. The research focus is chosen collaboratively among the local stakeholders and the action researchers, and the relationships among the participants are organized as joint learning processes. AR ... credits local stakeholders with the richness of experience and reflective possibilities that long experience living in complex situations brings with it (1).

Action research is social research involving an action researcher and members of a community or organization (stakeholders) who are seeking to improve the participants' situation. AR promotes "broad participation in the research process and supports action leading to a more just, sustainable, or satisfying situation for [those involved]" (Greenwood and Levin

2007, 3). The process of identifying and examining problems, cogenerating relevant knowledge about them, and learning and executing action is carried out collaboratively by the researcher and stakeholders. Action research is therefore a dynamic, complex, qualitative method that involves the best efforts of both the researcher and members of the communities or organizations. The discourse between the researcher and local group members shapes a mutual learning situation that affects both research and action (Greenwood and Levin 2007). This method recognizes the values, perspectives, and constructs of all players through a dynamic engagement that unites the researcher and stakeholders to empower as well as further a more contextually reflective engagement process (Guba and Lincoln 1994). Such an approach is consistent with the governance structure of the Knox Centre and the Central Market for Global Families, which have a volunteer board drawn from the community. Further, the style of African community engagement, based on flexible, informal, and dynamic communication and feedback, is well reflected by the action research process.

Action research views social systems, such as markets, not only as structures, but also as processes in continual motion, dynamic and historic. They “are interlinked, entwining the individual social structures and the larger ecology of systems into complex interacting macro-systems” (Greenwood and Levin 2007, 59). As the AR process “[takes] action to promote social analysis and democratic change” (Greenwood and Levin 2007, 5), it also increases the ability of the stakeholders to control their future more effectively and to continually improve their capacity to do so within a more sustainable and just environment. In this sense, AR builds internal capacity while setting the foundation for stakeholders to play a stronger role within their organization in the future. To develop a long-term sustainable community market, the vendors and community stakeholders need to become confident enough in their knowledge and experience to eventually take on the direction of the project. The current members and vendors hope to become a co-operatively run community market; if this is to occur, it is critical to involve the participants from the outset in all political, organizational, and financial matters.

This vision is consistent with the three elements that comprise the basis of qualitative action research:

- *Action* — AR is participatory as it aims to alter the initial situation of the community in the direction of a more self-managing, liberated, and sustainable state.
- *Research* — Participants need to believe in the power and value of knowledge, theories, models, methods, and analysis and also believe that AR is one of the most powerful ways to generate new research knowledge.

- *Participation* — Strong value is placed on democracy and control over one's own life, embodied in a commitment to democratizing the knowledge generation process. AR is a participatory process in which everyone involved takes some responsibility (Greenwood and Levin 2007).

Constructing action research involves selecting methods that allow for the social change and learning processes that will occur throughout the project. Since AR processes aim to create learning both for the researcher and the stakeholders, any social science research methods that create gains for both sides will therefore be useful. While conventional social science research is oriented around the generation of professional knowledge and needs, AR is “oriented to achieving particular social goals” (Greenwood and Levin 2007, 97) rather than meeting only academic goals. The choice of focus groups and engagements aims to address this goal of mutual learning and the achievement of a social goal, namely, the creation of a road map for the future of the market. The Winnipeg Inner-City Research Alliance, the funder of this research, has a similar goal, i.e., to blend academia with the community to meet both research and social aims.

Neuman (1997) suggests that interpretive social science, or constructivist inquiry, allows researchers to study meaningful social action as it is founded on the idea that “life is based on social interactions and socially constructed meaning systems” (69). The methods in this study illustrate this interpretive approach to social science research. In the interpretive field, a researcher “conducts a ‘reading’ to discover meaning embedded within the text” (Neuman 1997, 68), recognizing that they also bring their own subjective experience to the text. An interpretive approach is necessary when working with such a culturally diverse community as the researcher will always be, to some extent, an outsider. As mentioned, action research involves the best efforts of both the researcher and local group members; the discourse between the researcher and members shapes a mutual learning situation that affects both research and action (Greenwood and Levin 2007). The research on and operation of the market required continuous personal contact with a wide array of individuals and organizations and it was these relationships that shaped the direction of the research. It was a great personal and professional experience for the researcher to have been welcomed into the community and to have had the opportunity to develop strong relationships with a number of residents. These relationships led to the sharing of deeply personal stories and experiences. The traumas surrounding many refugee and/or immigrant experiences are highly personal; sharing them with a researcher could be difficult or even inappropriate. The Central Park community welcomed the researcher and the topic, however, and a number of recent newcomers were keen

to share their views. The community wants to increase the awareness of their experiences among the wider community to tackle misconceptions others may have about the life of a newcomer to Winnipeg and Canada. It is greatly appreciated that they allowed their stories to be published here.

AR aims to highlight the multiple realities of the participants, even if they come from the same experience. Neuman (1997) also comments that “accuracy is obtained through sympathetic participation” (72) and AR embraces this method. Through the various personal accounts and stories of participants, multiple realities have contributed to the final research directions of this project. Finally, Guba and Lincoln (1995) state that an interpretive “researcher’s proper role is to be a passionate participant” (115) with those being studied. This researcher attempted to fulfill this role by creating a comfortable, respectful, and culturally appropriate environment for everyone involved with the market.

This project employed a number of methods.

- *Literature/Background Research* — history of the Central Park neighbourhood and the Knox Centre; demographics from Central Park; global market precedents from a North American context; refugee/immigrant/newcomer population social and economic precedents
- *Surveys* — approximately fifty surveys conducted with neighbourhood residents during December 2009 by a Red River College community economic development/community development student relating to the possibility of a fresh food box program in the neighbourhood
- *Interviews* — personal interviews with key players involved in the creation and operation of the market, from a political, community, and non-profit perspective
- *Community Engagements/Focus Groups* — two engagements and one focus group held at Knox Church to maximize community involvement and strengthen collaboration between residents and interested organizations. There are few opportunities for some of the residents to express their needs, desires, and hopes for their community; these engagements aimed to create a venue for them to share their experiences as newcomers to Winnipeg. One engagement involved vendors who had participated throughout previous seasons and potential vendors, while the other involved consumers and non-vendor participants discussing their experiences from a purchasing perspective. The focus group was held last and involved a diversity of individuals interested in the future of the park and market and who have been identified as potential board members.

Community Engagements/Focus Groups

The purpose of the engagements/focus groups was multifold. First, they brought together participants — vendors, gardeners, and producers at Central Market for Global Families — in a comfortable environment to strengthen community relations. Second, they created a forum for individuals to express their experiences, ideas, and concerns surrounding the market. Finally, they operated as a brainstorming and idea-generation exercise for individuals and groups from other non-profit or community groups that have experience or a vested interest in the future of the market and food itself.

Two focus groups were held in November 2009. One was designed to explore the producers' and vendors' experiences, while the other aimed to investigate ideas and possible collaboration and assistance from other community organizations and individuals. Krueger (1988) described the intention succinctly: "The intent is not to infer but to understand, not to generalize but to determine the range, not to make statements about the population but to provide insight about how people perceive a situation" (96). There are a number of reasons why focus groups are appropriate for this research. First, as Morgan (1988) emphasizes, focus groups are unique because of their explicit use of the group interaction as research data, as opposed to more general group interviews. Second, relatively small and intimate meetings can help develop the process of community and capacity building amongst those involved. For the producers, generating a sense of shared contribution and the opportunity to acknowledge the diversity of perspectives is an important step. It is hoped that by creating a cohesive market group, which has a sense of ownership and input into the direction and design of the market, the producers will develop a deeper vested interest in the initiative and the community. Finally, such meetings give other participants a sense of ownership and involvement in the future of an important project within their community and city. Community economic development workers in Winnipeg have mentioned the many-but-often-fragmented initiatives occurring in the city; these groups addressed that fragmentation by bringing a diverse group of people to the table.

Vroom and Jago (1988) refer to this development of skills and relationships among participants that yields benefit beyond the improvement of conditions as "human capital." The focus groups and the market as a whole contribute in four ways to increasing the human capital of the local community and wider CD/CED community. First, the methods will likely enhance decision-making skills and the reservoir of internal talents upon which the Central Market for Global Families can draw; this is critical to ensuring its long-term stability.

Second, they might create opportunities for building interpersonal relationships and teams to work through common problems and develop trust in a communicative atmosphere. Third, engagements such as these also foster skills in self-reliance that can result in less extensive staff support within the organization. Finally, organizational loyalty is established through the integration of individual and broader community goals with those of the market (Vroom and Jago 1988).

As Krueger (1988) highlights, there is also a strong validity to focus groups, with results that are easily understood and believed. Krueger notes further that focus groups are socially oriented, and with Knox Centre hosting them, the costs and time involved will be minimal. For the producer group, the number of participants was fixed based on how many of them could attend. And although the researcher sought a wide diversity of recruitment options for consumers, there was an ideal, if high, number of attendees. Both groups were informal and comfortable, with unanticipated answers and issues easily dealt with by both the moderator and the participants (Krueger 1988).

Table 3: Considerations in Designing the Focus Groups

Why should such a study be conducted?	To draw out community and vendor perspectives regarding the Central Market; to build capacity and connectivity among interested parties; to define interview direction
What information is of particular importance?	Information that guides future policy and planning in relation to markets in Winnipeg; challenges and opportunities that exist for the market and social enterprise
Who wants the information?	Central Market, Knox Centre, farmers’ market organizers, local food organizations, other farmers’ markets, the City of Winnipeg Special Events, Environmental Health, and Community Services Departments

The focus groups were held between 6:00pm and 8:00pm at Knox Church, a central location that hosts many of the participating organizations, over a meal on November 13th and 26th.

Interviews

Zeisel (1984) believes that interviews are effective methods of inquiry as they allow the researcher to focus on a particular issue and determine specifically how participants define a situation or circumstance. For this research, the interview is designed to focus specifically on issues surrounding the existing food situation within Central Park and what individuals see

as opportunities to improve the situation. Findings from the focus groups greatly shaped the interview questions and direction. Questions were built to facilitate pragmatic rather than academic discussions, with the hope of leading to the creation of a “road map” of practical steps for the long-term sustainability of Central Market. Given this intention, the interviews with other non-profits and CD/CED groups are critical in the development and practicality of the final product as they bring more depth to the data gathered through the focus groups. The focus groups began at a macro level, with ideas accepted as in a brainstorming session. The interviews hone that data, using the most applicable, conflicted, and common themes to determine interview questions. This process will ease the analysis of all the research findings and add legitimacy and value through a well-defined, multiple-method approach.

Concerned with the understanding and qualitative analysis of meaning in specific contexts, action research aims to view the world of individuals or groups as they see it themselves (Baxter and Eyles 1997). Questioning how things are done — an essential component of self-reflection — allows qualitative action research to demonstrate the relevance of the single case (credibility) and to move beyond it (transferability) with a degree of certainty (dependability and confirmability). Context, contingency, and the specific positioning of subjects (researcher-as-instrument) are central to qualitative inquiry and are not threatened by the application of a general set of criteria for evaluating rigor (Baxter and Eyles 1997). Both interviews and focus groups allow for self-reflection by the researcher and the participants alike, and in the case of building capacity and a community around Central Market, begin the conversation necessary for the its sustainability.

Table 4: Considerations in Developing the Interviews

Participant knowledge of the situation	Interviews with non-profit agencies, local CD/CED organizations and individuals involved in the Central Park and inner-city area
Significant elements of the situation or circumstance	The role of these participants and their perspectives and opinions on food in the neighbourhood and the market as a vehicle for social enterprise and food security
Interview guide	Areas of inquiry include political, administrative, and community experiences and perceived opportunities
Defining the situation or circumstance	Assessing the role these players have in the area and opportunities for their own or their organization’s participation in the future

A final deliverable of this project is a short film documenting personal stories and experiences surrounding food for newcomers to Winnipeg and the research report related to it.

The film captures visceral experiences related to food, culture, and the economy from the perspective of community members. The report examines the history of the neighbourhood, current projects and partnerships, and the direction in which the community wishes to go. It will explore best practices and precedents that may have relevance for the neighbourhood related to food provisioning, entry-level social economy opportunities, innovative market practices, and unique partnerships from the municipal, provincial, federal and private sectors. The report will outline the literature examined; the methodology, including participant perspectives, findings, and recommendations; and a “road map” for the future of the neighbourhood and the market itself, which will provide small, medium, and long-term goals and objectives created throughout the community consultation process.

Scope of Project

Though this research focuses on a single market, it has broad implications for the larger food and planning literature. Andreatta and Wickliffe (2002) discuss the research gap between urban farmers’ markets and a planning perspective. Their study shows that farmers’ markets themselves are not just a backdrop for activities, as most research assumes, but leading actors in contributing to the cultural dynamic within which these activities take place. Viewing the farmers’ market as a more complex entity means that municipalities and planners need to look beyond traditional planning and property tools and regulations and consider markets as a unique entities. As they point out, examining this broader role that markets are playing economically, culturally, and environmentally is critical if we are serious about increasing “the sustainability of small farmers, [mitigating] the negative environmental and social impacts of a consolidated food system,... [maintaining] rural areas in farmscapes and [keeping] local residents employed in farming” (174). This research seeks to address this gap from an urban perspective by examining the complex interactions between consumers and producers and how they contribute to a larger socio-cultural shift in consumers’ attitudes towards their local and regional environment.

Unfortunately, it is out of the scope of this project to engage in an entire community food assessment. The project will, however, examine the priority elements that have been identified by community members through a participatory and collaborative process that will follow the same strategies used in a complete food assessment.

THE ENVIRONMENTAL SCAN

Neighbourhood History

CENTRAL MARKET FOR GLOBAL FAMILIES is a community economic development project. It offers a way for families to work together to improve their economic lives and build social connections, while weaving together a resilient new community. Local organizers believe economic development is key to building a resilient neighbourhood, and by all indications, the strategy is working, as actual along with perceived notions of the Central Park neighbourhood are changing. Ethno-cultural organizations such as Central Market and Knox Centre were formed in an attempt to provide opportunities for cultural retention, to build social capital and solidarity, to alleviate isolation, and to provide a resource service for members of the community. However, in response to the much greater needs of many in the community, the groups' activities address pressing concerns as they arise, necessitating a flexible, innovative approach to community economic development. Both these organizations have addressed issues as diverse as settlement and immigration legalities, social services, housing, employment development, youth engagement, violence and drug abuse, and education. Providing such a wide range of services requires considerable revenue, which is generated through a variety of means, and the availability of funds has become the determining factor in the extent to which the market and Knox are able to provide services for the community.

Markets are more likely to thrive economically if they have deep roots in the surrounding community. As opposed to big-box retail developments, which rely on cheap prices and low-wage labour, markets must offer a public-space experience and a mix of products tailored to the people they serve. Just as crucial are the economic opportunities they create, which are more lasting and meaningful. Part of what makes markets so important to economic development is the low cost of entry for new entrepreneurs who may have little capital. Markets such as Central Market illustrate how public markets can succeed as self-sustaining incubators for new businesses in low- and moderate-income communities and provide vital public gathering places as well.

Central Market for Global Families is a culturally appropriate, food/local food provisioning project. With a number of garden spaces across the city, an ever-increasing number of Central Park residents are growing their own food to feed their families and others within the community. Such opportunities provide residents with healthful, affordable, and culturally appropriate foods, which means they are less likely to pay inflated prices for poor-quality food or adopt poor eating habits by purchasing fast food or lower-priced but accessible foods. Food deserts are overwhelmingly concentrated in low-income areas, and lack of access to good food is increasingly being recognized as one cause of the stark health problems these communities often suffer from. It is well known that a relative food desert exists within Winnipeg's downtown core, where access to fresh food is not easy or affordable.

Growing culturally known foods assists in maintaining bonds to one's culture and origins, while enabling the exchange of tradition and culture among community members. The need for culturally acceptable produce is one reason why a one-size-fits-all centralized food policy is neither ideal nor adequate in a city as diverse as Winnipeg. Food literacy has much to do with an understanding of culture and ethnic diversity and which foods have meaning and value to the diverse racial groups that comprise our communities. The common globe eggplant, for instance, is not suitable for Chinese residents, who prefer their own more slender, delicately flavoured variety. In many cases, culturally acceptable food is not simply a different variety of a more common produce item, but foods that Caucasians simply would not recognize as food at all. Chinese, Korean, and Japanese families, for example, revere ginkgo berries. In North America, however, the sentiment is that the fruit-producing female trees should be avoided at all costs, as the aroma of crushed ginkgo fruits remind many of an undesirable mix of rancid butter and vomit (Nordahl 2009). For this reason, many people have ardently sought to remove female ginkgo trees from city spaces. Yet, when prepared in Asian dishes, ginkgo fruit is delicious. The solution — rather simple but effective — is to harvest ginkgo fruit before it falls to the ground and is crushed, and plant the trees in neighbourhoods where their edibles will be harvested and consumed. Such foods add immense value to the public urban realm as they contribute to the rich cultural heritage and diversity of our cities.

Central Park, where Central Market is held, was one of the first four parks purchased by the City of Winnipeg from the Hudson's Bay Company in 1893 for a cost of \$10,000 plus \$10,000 in debentures. Poor drainage made the site undesirable for development, so the city turned thousands of loads of manure and soil into the 1.4-hectare space, transforming it into

a lush oasis in the heart of downtown. Until the 1950s, Central Park was full of prominent citizens riding bicycles, listening to music at the bandstand, walking down the promenade, and playing tennis. In 1913, the Waddell Fountain was installed at the north end of the park. Emily Waddell, who passed away in 1908, stipulated in her will that if her husband was ever to remarry, he must build a fountain at a cost of \$10,000 in Central Park. After Emily's death, her husband, Thomas, was left a significant sum of money, but when the time came for him to remarry, he had difficulty finding the \$10,000 to pay for the fountain. After a year, he cobbled the money together to hire a local architect to design and build the fountain that sits in the park to this day. Of the nearly \$6 million current park redevelopment budget, \$1 million will be spent on restoring this historic fountain.

In 1936, children's playground equipment was installed in the park, and in 1956, restrooms. After the Second World War, however, the neighbourhood fell into decay; families grew larger and moved away from downtown into the new suburbs. Many apartment buildings were left vacant and were not maintained. Numerous single residents moved into the



Waddell Fountain (Wiseman 2009)



Knox Church, 400 Edmonton Street, Winnipeg (Scott 2008)

area and some of the buildings were retrofitted on a tight budget with no regard for their architectural or historic integrity. The decline continued as poverty, drugs, gang violence, and poor living conditions became increasingly prevalent in the area. In the mid-1980s, the area was targeted as part of the Core Area Initiative to draw residents, positive activity, and economic revitalization to troubled neighbourhoods. In 1986, in response to increased year-round use by citizens, the city extended the park borders 1.3 acres southward to Ellice Avenue.

Knox Church, home to the Knox Centre, continues to be the social and cultural hub of the area. In 1868, Reverend John Black built the first Knox Church on Portage Avenue at a cost of \$240.00. In 1879, a second church was built on the same site for \$26,000 as the congregation grew. In 1884, Knox Church moved to Donald Street and Ellice Avenue, and the existing church opened in 1917 at the Edmonton and Qu'Appelle location. Regardless of where the church was located, it has always played a strong role in community development and been supportive of diverse residents and groups.

There is currently a major redevelopment project underway, in hopes of restoring the park to its original state as a safe haven for all ages and park users. The project has been funded by a \$2.6 million contribution from the Winnipeg Partnership Agreement, and \$1 million each from the CentreVenture Development Corporation, The Winnipeg Foundation, and the Gray Family. The Winnipeg Partnership Agreement, signed in May 2004, represents a five-year, \$75 million commitment by the Governments of Canada, Manitoba, and Winnipeg to strengthen our neighbourhoods, promote economic development, and enable Aboriginal citizens to fully enjoy Winnipeg's economic and social opportunities. The project, which began with the restoration of the park's Waddell Fountain and site improvements, has included a consultation process that invited community input. At the time of this research, the redevelopment was behind schedule but set to open in June 2010 upon completion of the soccer pitch, snow slides, and a splash park.

Farmers' Markets

Of all the direct marketing approaches that link consumers with their agri-food system, the oldest is the farmers' market, a location designated by a community or municipality where farmers convene to sell their products on a seasonal, weekly, or daily basis



Central Park redevelopment, projection (Scatliff + Miller + Murray 2009)

(Gibson 1994). A wide variety of forms exists, but the most basic purpose of markets remains the same — for farmers to sell their locally grown products. A farmers’ market is generally accepted as a common facility or area where multiple farmers/growers gather on a regular, recurring basis to sell a variety of fresh fruits, vegetables, and other farm products directly to customers (Andreatta and Wickliffe 2002; Sommer 1989). To further narrow this definition, an urban farmers’ market operates within a densely populated area or city. Farmers’ markets can range from “relatively simple structures with a straightforward purpose, to far larger, more complicated organizations with a broad public mandate and a range of customers, vendors, and community stakeholders” (Colihan and Chorney 2004, 35). They are known for facilitating a symbiotic relationship between producer and consumer, as has been done in traditional marketplaces for centuries. A defining feature of the farmers’ market is that the people who grow the food sell the food. Once common throughout the world, they have declined, along with the number of diversified small-scale farmers, in the decades since industrial agriculture has become the dominant method of food production.

The most recent Canadian research on farmers’ markets, completed by the Canadian Co-operative Association in 2009, found 578 farmers’ markets across Canada. Founded in 1750, the Halifax Farmers’ Market is recorded as the oldest running farmers’ market in North America (CCA 2009). The market in Kingston, which opened in 1780, became home to Ontario’s first farmers’ market. Canada’s markets have a \$3.09 billion economic impact on the economy, and the National Farmers’ Market Impact 2009 Report indicated that they account for 28 million shopper visits in 2008 alone (CCA 2009). The Canadian farmers’ market industry is characterized, like its American counterpart, by significant recent growth. The number of farmers’ markets in British Columbia, for example, has grown from sixty to one hundred in only eight years, with estimated annual sales reaching \$65.3 million and a \$118.5 million overall contribution to the provincial economy in 2006 (CCA 2009).

Farmers’ markets are sometimes held in a permanent structure, but more often in a public square, parking lot, or on a segment of street that has been blocked to traffic. Most of the producers who sell at these markets are relatively small scale and tend to use fewer pesticides than large-scale monocultures, even if they are not certified organic (Norberg-Hodge et al. 2002). Consumers are provided with a range of in-season fresh produce, often harvested that same day. Most markets also have a wide variety of other local products for sale, ranging from honey, jams and preserves, bread, flowers, ciders and juices, and potted plants. Meat, dairy, and eggs are also common, many of which are free from hormones and antibiotics

found in products from large factory farms. Some markets features live local talent, including music, theatre, and children's entertainment.

Beyond food and craft provisions, markets nearly always become community events, not only because of their friendly social ambiance, but because the money spent at the market supports local enterprises and remains circulating within the community. Markets and related food initiatives offer opportunities to bring not only health benefits into a community, but to contribute to the economic vitality of a surrounding neighbourhood. Food retailers face a number of challenges when starting businesses in underserved neighbourhoods, including adapting to public perceptions of safety and poverty, providing culturally diverse food products, selling products at affordable costs while remaining competitive and profitable, and finding well-located land or buildings that are in decent repair. Top challenges cited by retailers also include obtaining affordable insurance coverage and financing, attracting and retaining qualified employees, and dealing with regulatory and zoning processes.

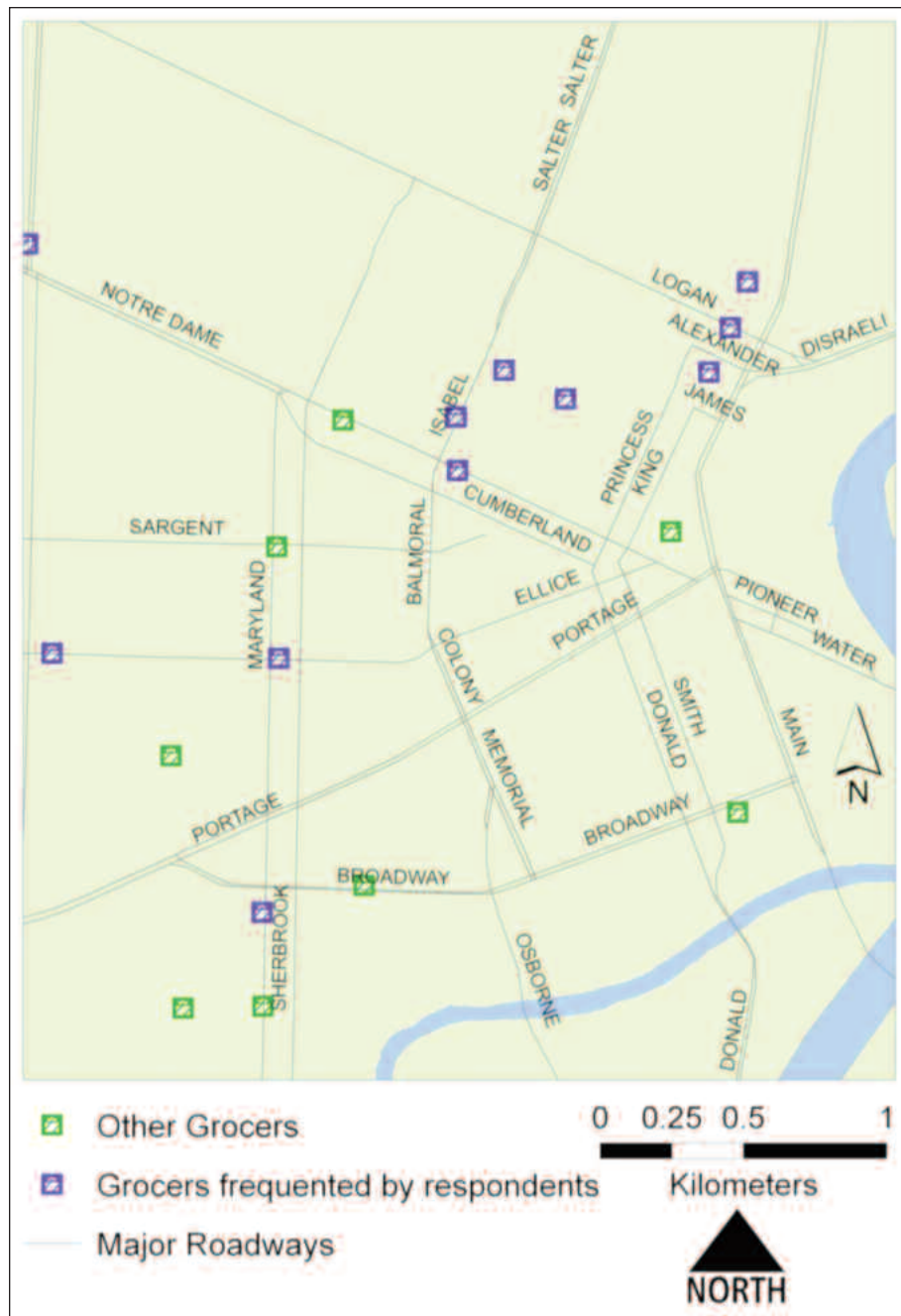
Markets as Vehicles for Community Economic Development

Direct marketing aligns with goals of community economic development as it can provide the most benefits to the most people. A shift towards local food provision within cities is a key step in addressing this. "Improving the economic welfare of farmers, farm workers, small producers, and shopkeepers benefits entire local economies, providing in turn deep social benefits to communities as a whole" (Norberg-Hodge et al. 2002, 79). "Community" itself is a concept that is generally understood but difficult to define. Described as a "portmanteau" word (Wilson, in Dominelli, 1995, 133), it captures some form of spirituality or ethos in which people come together united in a common purpose. Khan (1999) proposes a view of community as a collection of people with differing but harmonious views, skills, perceptions, and so on, who can, with some outside intervention (e.g., funding, professional advice, associated bodies), develop in a co-operative way to achieve agreed outcomes. Such a body of people usually exhibits some form of organized management and a level of democracy that allows risks and benefits to be shared. Many markets eventually turn into co-operatively run entities for these reasons. They strengthen community by creating a social event around the purchasing of local food — food already being strongly imbued with social and cultural meaning. Central Market embodies this portmanteau as it draws on any given day a countless number of ethnicities into its space. Central to its success is finding suitable positive activities that can capture such a diverse groups of citizens.

Direct marketing reduces the scale of the economy beyond just the financial imports and associated benefits. Direct marketing has also led to a growing interest among many consumers in the health of the local and regional environment, the health of their bodies, and the health of their communities (Andreatta and Wickliffe 2002). Wayne Roberts of the Toronto Food Policy Council sees the direct marketing of local foods as “the new frontier in public health,” offering two potential health benefits: first, more fresh fruits and vegetables for urbanites, and second, the social connection and education involved in spending time in a public space getting re-acquainted with local farmers (Roberts 2002). “Instead of pop and candy vending machines plastering the cityscape,” says Roberts, “people see fresh fruits and vegetables.”

Studies show that people who have access to good supermarkets, particularly those offering greater variety and food value relative to convenience stores, tend to have healthier diets (Cheadle et al. 1991; Laraia et al. 2004). Site-location decisions made by large supermarket chain operators, however, are often influenced by municipal property taxes and revenue potential (Hawkes 2008). This has led to a growing trend of establishing supermarkets outside of city centres (i.e., in areas with lower taxes) and near middle- to high-income suburban areas. These trends, which affect the closure of small, independent food stores in urban centres in favour of large chain stores in suburban neighbourhoods, have been linked to the creation of food deserts — urban districts with little or no access to the foods needed to maintain a healthy diet (Hawkes 2008). Map 1 (overleaf) illustrates the current food desert that exists in the Central Park neighbourhood as identified by residents in informal discussions and engagements.

While multinational food corporations have an important role to play in these movements, it is probable that municipal policy and planning practices may impact opportunities for healthy food access and availability, particularly for people living in the downtown core or lower-income neighbourhoods. Access to healthy food may be adversely affected if the establishment of neighbourhood grocery stores and other health-promoting food outlets is restricted by zoning regulations. In fact, the purchasing of food can even become secondary to the social interactions a market encourages, as shoppers linger to socialize with friends, farmers, and neighbours long after their purchases are made (Norberg-Hodge et al. 2002). In the case of Hartford, Connecticut, most of the farmers’ markets involve “white, Yankee farmers selling largely to black or Puerto Rican consumers,” says Mark Winne of Hartford Food System, an NGO sponsor of the markets (Halweil 2004, 100). The farmers have adapted to



Current location of food outlets in the Central Park neighbourhood, as identified by community residents (Institute of Urban Studies 2009)

their market by growing more collard greens, chili peppers, and tomatillos. “Everyone learns, everyone gets to share a bit of their food culture, and this all becomes part of improving race relations,” Winne says (Halweil 2004, 101). This can be compared to the global food system,

which promotes anonymity, often out of necessity. As Pollan (2007) suggests, consumers, farmers, processors, and distributors rarely know one another, and usually live at least a thousand miles apart. This is in direct contrast to the markets of other cultures such as Africa and Asia, where consumers shop daily at their neighbourhood market and lack no opportunity to interact with their fellow consumers and producers. It is well known that the market tradition remains dominant in the majority of eastern and southern nations. Learning to shop in a food culture dominated by agri-business and hard-to-reach, big-box stores adds another dimension of complexity to newcomers to Canada.

A number of studies (Guptill and Wilkins 2002; Stephenson 2008) identify community culture, second only to food, as the major factor fuelling market growth. Food and community and culture are critically linked, however, which results in a new concept of a local food system or economy that directly involves the local consumers of food resources. Called “civic agriculture,” it is defined as:

the emergence and growth of community-based agriculture and food production activities that not only meet consumer demands for fresh, safe, and locally produced foods but create jobs, encourage entrepreneurship, and strengthen community identity. Civic agriculture brings together production and consumption activities within communities and offers consumers real alternatives to the commodities produced, processed, and marketed by large agribusiness firms (Lyson 2004, 2).

Civic agriculture has a number of important characteristics that connect it with newcomer agriculture and farmers’ markets. First, the imperative to earn a profit is filtered through a set of co-operative and mutually supporting social relations. Civic agriculture is grounded in community problem solving rather than individual competition (Nordahl 2009). It produces farm products for local and regional markets rather than international markets. The integration of food production into communities rather than producing commodities for agribusiness is critical in re-establishing place-based food systems (Lyson 2004). Second, civic agriculture producers generally develop direct market links with their customers, creating a relationship “from farm to fork” with consumers. This relationship has turned many farmers’ markets into social institutions and social organizations that “embody what is unique and special about a local community and region and help differentiate one community from another” (Lyson 2004, 93). Third, activities related to markets are “tightly



Central Park resident, Edmonton Street (Wiseman 2009)

ways, farmers' markets help to create bonds among community members and strengthen local economies. Of critical note is the influence on city space as citizens have the opportunity to directly and positively change the face of a shared public space.

linked to a community's social and economic development" (Lyson 2004, 1) and have functional community-building roles. These functions include: drawing large numbers of people together to interact in a space; establishing a community identity; and, in some locations, creating spillover effects of shopping and interacting with businesses associated with the market site (Stephenson 2008). In these

CED and Social Enterprises

Community economic development (CED) is an integrated, holistic, and community-empowering approach used to create economic opportunities while enhancing social conditions (CCEDNet 2007). Its goals are to eliminate poverty, to effect social inclusion, and to encourage full participation in society, especially for those facing the greatest economic barriers. CED aims to merge social and economic objectives while building the capacity of participants to create solutions to their own challenges. The CED approach also recognizes the wealth of hidden and underutilized capacities of immigrants and refugees that needs to be recognized in order for them to become fully active within the social economy. The creation of social enterprises, including co-operatives, is one means to do so.

Social enterprises build and strengthen social networks and generate economic benefits by being bottom-up, grassroots endeavours designed specifically to build on the unique needs and strengths of individuals and communities (CCEDNet 2007). Social enterprises may therefore look different in each community; for this reason, they foster social innovation and

are able to respond to diversities in language, cultural background, and many other areas. Regardless of their roots, social enterprises share a number of characteristics:

- they generate sales revenue and reinvest it to meet the social purpose of the business
- they operate independently of government
- they are democratically or co-operative governed
- they operate explicitly for the common good and in the public interest
- they build a sense of community and social networks
- they are a cost-effective method of delivering services
- they foster social innovation (CCEDNet 2007)

While there may be a number of reasons for establishing a social enterprise, the Central Market for Global Families was created for many reasons:

- to provide a social and commercial service much needed in the neighbourhood
- to create meaningful employment in a venue where they are comfortable or have experience to assist residents in making the transition to mainstream employment
- to revitalize Central Park, both socially and economically, and address the negative perceptions of the area
- to provide a healthful service by selling locally grown fruits and produce, along with culturally familiar foods
- to create a socially inclusive and safe space that will encourage residents to leave their apartments, reducing isolation and exclusion
- to take control of the outdoor community
- to strengthen social infrastructure, alleviate the effects of poverty and marginalization, and increase community wealth by re-circulating wealth in the local economy

The Central Market is also a prime example of a social enterprise:

- Sales revenue is reinvested to meet the social purpose of the business. The market operates independently of government and is democratically governed by the Knox Centre and program members.
- The market operates explicitly for the shared good and public interest and builds a sense of community and social networks that a traditional business could not.
- The market is a cost-effective way to deliver a much-needed local service that fosters social, environmental, and economic innovation.

Immigrant and Refugee Experience

The Central Market Program for Global Families is one of a number of ethno-cultural initiatives designed to address the barriers to social and economic participation that many immigrants and refugees face upon arrival in Canada. In Manitoba, the provincial government attracts approximately ten thousand newcomers annually in an attempt to meet labour-market shortages and spur economic growth. Despite this increasing number, few programs have been successful in assisting newcomers to adapt to the new cultural and social environment relating to health and food provisioning. The Central Market is aimed at meeting a large gap in neighbourhood programming.

Compared with Canadians born into similar backgrounds, newcomers face a number of challenges:

- they may have lower rates of employment
- their earnings will usually be lower
- they are more likely to be in part-time or temporary jobs
- immigrant and refugee women are particularly disadvantaged, and unlike past immigrants and refugees, they may not catch up over time
- there may be cultural issues that limit individual or group inclusion in certain types of employment (e.g., unmarried Muslim women not being allowed to engage with unmarried men, etc.)
- their skills and knowledge are often underutilized due to a lack of proficiency in English or French, a lack of recognition of professional and educational accreditation, the inability of employers to evaluate foreign credentials and experience, and discrimination in the marketplace (CCEDNet 2007)

A Newcomer's Food Experience

Adjustment to local food is one of the first issues newcomers face when they arrive in Manitoba. Just as different cultures have different clothes or dances, newcomers also have their own foods, which are different from the ones they find in Winnipeg. I realized that the foods I found in Canada tasted different from those in the part of the world I came from. For example, milk tastes very different; mangoes and bananas in Cameroon are smaller, fresher, and sweeter than those in Canada. Chicken and beef in Canada have more fat and are tasteless compared to the ones I used to eat in Africa. I noticed the same with fresh fish.

Immigrating to Canada from Cameroon (Central Africa), and originally from CHAD (Central Africa), I used to eat "fufu," a dish made from a mash of yams or other starches and flours (corn, rice, sorghum, etc.) and served as an accompaniment to smoked and dried fish, meat, etc., with leaves and other tropical vegetable stews or cooked as spinach. That constituted my main dish. To eat fufu, we pull a small ball of mush off with our fingers, form an indentation with our thumb, and use it to scoop up stews and other dishes. Another way is to place large balls in individual serving bowls and spoon stew around them and eat that way. We usually eat in groups. However, these types of foods are not as readily available here in Winnipeg as in immigrants' homelands. Even though some of these leaves and vegetables are imported frozen and sold in some grocery stores in Winnipeg, they are very expensive due to differences in climate, which make growing certain plants difficult or impossible in Manitoba.

While struggling with local foods, the only things I ate and drank every day were rice with canned sardines, and orange juice.

I sincerely missed that dish when I newly arrived in Winnipeg, where local dishes were tasteless for me and had a sweet and salted taste at the same time. Those made me lose my appetite. I also found it very difficult to sit and eat alone because eating alone back home was considered as selfishness and condemned by the society. While losing my appetite, I started missing back home and felt loneliness. Consequent to that homesickness feeling, I felt hatred towards life in my new society and lost the hope that I had when leaving Africa for Canada. In fact, that situation threw me into despair and deep culture shock for a few months. As a matter of fact, the process of my integration into Canadian society has taken quite a punishing. Thanks God, things slowly changed for me when I met and talked to another African young man (who had been in Winnipeg a few years before I came) about my food challenges. He escorted me to two different local grocery stores (Dinos and International Foods), which carry ethnic foods and ingredients. I found and bought fufu (cassava flour), cassava leaves, okra, dried and smoked fish, etc. However, these grocery stores' selections are less than in my homeland. Since only fewer in number of these grocery stores are selling ethnic foods, they sell them very expensive and make it hard for immigrants to access them with the regularity they were used to overseas. Therefore, local community gardens that promote ethnic vegetables and leaves growing in Manitoba should be promoted to a greater level to make ethno-cultural foods more available in the province.

— Raymond Ngarbouli, 2009

Central Market for Global Families

The operation of the Central Market requires a balance between vendors and consumers. In order to secure a reliable selection of produce for local consumers, residents have formed a farming co-operative. The Immigrant Integration Farming Co-op (IIFC) operates the Rainbow Community Garden on behalf of the Central Market, supplying the market with fresh organic produce and providing opportunities for refugees and immigrants to participate in economic and social development through gardening and farming. Giving people the opportunity to feed their own families while making a difference in the lives of others by providing culturally familiar, healthy, and affordable food has greatly enhanced community development in Winnipeg's inner-city. It has also contributed significantly to food security in Winnipeg.

IIFC is a non-profit organization based out of the Central Park neighbourhood. The



Winter in Central Park (Scott 2009)

group strives to make fresh local and tropical vegetables and leaves more readily available for immigrants and newcomers by giving them skills and learning opportunities while also contributing to the protection of the environment and healthy, sustainable, local food systems. At the time of writing, IIFC had partnered with the University of Manitoba Student Community Farm initiative. The student farm is an initiative that stewards a student-managed, organic, sustainable farm that provides food, a place for community building, multidisciplinary education, research, and outreach. It is establishing a place to foster the growth of ecological literacy at the university and among the wider community. As part of this mission, the farm, located at the western edge of the Fort Garry campus, has shared the three-acre parcel with IIFC for the last two years. This partnership has resulted in a mutually beneficial learning environment, a vibrant seed and crop-management knowledge exchange, and the sharing of food stories and experiences among a diversity of individuals. Similar partnerships with the University of Winnipeg, the City of Winnipeg, and various neighbourhood associations are underway.

The IIFC is a complimentary program to the Central Market for Global Families, connecting food production with food distribution and sales. The market's goal is to "establish an eco-agricultural market in Central Park and assist in developing micro-businesses through which low-income inner-city residents can increase their economic security, with a focus on refugee and new immigrant families."

Objectives of this goal include:

- assisting low-income residents to develop micro-enterprises within the supportive structure of an eco-agricultural market in Central Park
- strengthening partnerships that promote opportunities for low-income families
- bringing ethnically diverse, low-income families within the North Portage and Spence neighbourhoods together to celebrate their diversity in a communal project

Social Enterprise in Immigrant and Refugee Communities

The Central Market for Global Families is an organization committed to serving all of the community and offers innovative programs that span the field of employment and education. The market deals with critical and diverse issues within the local resident population such as homelessness, substance abuse, delinquency, child abuse, delayed education, and unemployment. The initiative is a prime example of a non-profit agency striving to

assist locals in entering the social economy in an accessible, safe, and respectful environment.

The market aims to uphold the following values:

- providing quality services to all of our neighbours, regardless of age, sex, race, colour, religion, notational origin, sexual orientation, mental or physical disabilities, or ability to pay for services
- showing sensitivity and caring
- being accountable and responsive
- pursuing professional excellence
- offering a fulfilling work experience and professional development for all

The partnership with the Knox Centre is important as Knox has proven successes in social enterprises and community economic development. This includes developing low-income co-operative housing on Balmoral Street (construction began in the winter of 2009), providing skill development and leadership experience through the Multicultural Sewing Enterprise, and assisting with the start up of Rainbow Community Gardens.

COMMUNITY PRIORITIES, ASSETS, AND GAPS

Food Mapping: Strengths and Assets of the Community

THE DISAPPEARANCE OF FOOD from urban planning concerns is of no surprise — “Unlike, say, the demolition of a beloved landmark, food’s disappearance from cities leaves the urban fabric virtually untouched” (Steel 2008, 116). The loss of neighbourhood and larger, central urban markets across North America is one of many elements contributing to urban degeneration and decay. Old Market Square in the centre of the Exchange District in downtown Winnipeg is a perfect example. The covered market building was demolished in the 1970s, although it had been the heart of downtown and an exceptional civic space. Once these food resources are shut down, people who preferred to shop there have no choice but to switch to the corporate supermarket. “What begins as a seemingly harmless ripple becomes a powerful and destructive wave” of community and urban change (Simms et al. 1992, 15). Many, including Barton (2002), Johnston (2002), and Steel (2008), consider markets to be the original nuclei of cities.

For many newcomers, markets are a daily way of life. Central Market has the opportunity to become a significant asset to immigrants from Africa, Asia, and Eastern Europe, who are far more comfortable shopping in an open-air market than a grocery store. Central Market has already been identified as a success, in large part due to its re-use of an existing and contested urban space. The market builds on the inherent potential of a long-standing community space that has high visibility, safe and easy transportation access, and a history of neighbourhood outreach. It also has the advantage of being located within one of the densest neighbourhoods in Winnipeg.

The survey of neighbourhood residents conducted in conjunction with this project identified a number of challenges and opportunities within the area. For example, while Winnipeg Harvest operates weekly at Knox Centre, the food is usually of poor quality and has little or no cultural relevance for the residents. Beets and pumpkins are often found in the alley behind the church, as most residents do not know how to prepare them. Knox is taking steps to expand beyond the basics of providing free food. On Harvest days, for example, they have begun preparing sample foods to illustrate how to use the vegetables of the week. Fruits are rarely provided, and as one resident mentioned, “I sometimes go without fruit for a month or so” as the costs of fresh fruit can be prohibitive.

There were some positive responses to the proposal for an expanded food program that would include a food box project, cooking classes, and a more diverse market. Survey participants felt positive about:

- the involvement of Knox Church, a trusted institution in the community where they always come to collect their food from Harvest every Tuesday
- the affordability of food items
- the fact that foods were locally grown by Manitoban farmers; they want to support their local farmers
- the possibility of having food delivered to their doors if they cannot come to the church to collect their orders as many have mobility issues

There was also great enthusiasm about the cooking classes, which will teach them how to prepare the fruits and vegetables they are not familiar with.

Table 5: Food box statistics

Average number of people per household is 4	Willing to pay is between \$12 and \$18 for a box	Average age is 40 years	Willing to order twice per month
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Challenges for Local Food and Social Enterprises

A 2006 study by Oregon State University titled *When Things Don't Work: Some Insights into Why Farmers' Markets Close* cites five dominant factors related to failed markets: small size (less than twenty vendors); the need for more farm-fresh products; too little administrative revenue; a volunteer or low-paid market manager; and high market manager turnover. These are also the top five challenges facing Winnipeg's Central Market.

The concern regarding small size is justified. As one participant explained, "Securing vendors is difficult for us. You have to deal with more than just the expectations for sales the farmer might have; you also have to deal with the negative perception of the park itself and the possible perceptions of the people living within our community." Market participants identified three vending components as critical to their success: fresh food products, prepared food products, and the arts/cultural products. Securing reliable fresh food products will be a challenge until the market develops strong relationships with farmers who are invested in the market. Supplying the market with produce that local residents grow themselves is a viable option, but in order to ensure a reliable supply, the market needs to secure tenure on land that is accessible to residents. Many participants felt that selling prepared food will remain a challenge as long as the current City of Winnipeg's Environmental Health Regulations remain in place. While the province has updated its Temporary Food Service Guidelines, Winnipeg has yet to begin the discussion that will recognize markets as unique entities within the food-service realm. The rules remain prohibitive to selling anything that involves "potentially hazardous foods," such as products that include meat, dairy, and eggs, and anything that requires cooking and holding at a certain temperature. These regulations are prohibitive for a number of reasons. Local African and Asian residents, for example, prefer to purchase meat that has not been previously frozen. This is not allowed under the current guidelines. Residents are seeking alternatives to the current food system. Currently, markets have social, cultural, and environmental advantages over larger retailers, even though they are able to sell only a fraction of the products.

Mougeot (2006) believes that urban agriculture strategies perform best when they can be retrofitted onto public and open spaces where other activities are already occurring. "Setting aside areas in or around the city for the exclusive and permanent use by urban agriculture is

unrealistic and self-defeating,” he argues. “For one thing, it ignores the economic reality of land prices in growing cities. More importantly, it misses out on the interactions that urban agriculture can have (and should have, if it is to prosper) with other urban activities.” He urges municipal governments to take a critical look at the myriad public and open spaces, and to ask probing questions such as “How much space in the city is underused, unused, or misused? Where? How much of this could be made more attractive, more productive, more profitable and safer in social, economic and environmental terms? How much could be achieved, in the short or longer term, through urban agriculture?” A number of types of public spaces could provide great alternative sites for urban agriculture:

- those that are too large for the density of the surrounding development (suburban parks and parking lots)
- those that are too uncomfortable or uninteresting to attract a sufficient number of users (downtown parks such as Central Park)
- those where development is neither capable nor allowed (street rights-of-way, floodplains, utility and transportation easements and corridors)

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR PROPOSED ACTION

Social Economy Opportunities

ENVIRONMENTAL PSYCHOLOGISTS HAVE LONG KNOWN that the form of urban space can either increase or diminish substantive human contact (Lawton 1974; Osmond 1957). Markets are usually credited with creating *sociopetal space*; that is, space designed to facilitate social contact, internal identity, and inclusivity (Hester 2006). Design that discourages social contact, in contrast, creates *sociofugal space*. Like benches placed in long parallel rows, sociofugal space discourages communication and interaction and has been dominating civic design for years. Focusing on the creation of sociopetal urban spaces that allow for co-operation, communication, and social connectivity (Orr 1992) is a relatively new notion and a critical one if we are to design more connected cities and citizens. Desjardins et al. (2002) see local food markets as also improving the social determinants of health, including the beauty and safety of neighbourhoods and the strength of community ties and social interactions. Planners are slowly learning that farmers’ markets

are ideal for bringing neighbours together in a central, downtown location; attracting people to underutilized public spaces is a key goal of urban revitalization. The current redevelopment is aimed at just this, attracting more people, both local and from across the city, to Central Park in the hope of creating a more sociopetal space that will encourage more positive activities and improve the image of the neighbourhood.

At the neighbourhood level, supermarkets and other large actors in the global food system have been identified as urban destructors. Steel (2008) goes so far as to say that they are changing the “very nature of urbanity” (145) by reforming the social and physical texture of cities. Traditional city centres held a dense collection of individual businesses and trades, while the streets provided the first common shared spaces with which people identified as the basis of the urban public realm. Compared to the suburbs, where the idea is autonomy, “street life” is “synonymous with the social buzz of a busy city” (145). Similarly, most newcomers hail from cultures based on more informal street interaction and personal connection with their producers. Supermarkets are extending the autonomy of the suburbs into the entire urban realm, as few residential streets have corner shops or neighbourhood markets. Where food once used to reach every unit of a city through a finely honed distribution network, now it operates mainly through large-scale, autonomous supermarkets that have little investment in the neighbourhood or social unit. On the other hand, social economy opportunities abound with more direct-marketing initiatives such as markets.

Food Provisioning Opportunities

Central Market for Global Families

Alongside supermarkets, alternative food outlets are an important source of health-promoting foods. An investigation into appropriate locations and zoning designations to enable the establishment of these outlets could make an important contribution to improving the availability and accessibility of health-promoting foods within the larger food store environment. Some argue that providing access to healthy, low-cost food is not the role of city government. As long as city planners and elected officials strive to create programs to reduce social inequity and increase the quality of life for their citizens, however, it is hard to agree with this argument. For the same reasons that city governments provide clean drinking water, protection from crime, sewage treatment, garbage collection, and public transportation, access to healthy, low-cost food helps ensure the health and safety of their citizens (Nordahl

2009). While poverty is likely intractable, hunger does not have to be. “Public officials need to recognize hunger’s pervasiveness across the country, and fight to eliminate it. Programs and policies need to be crafted and resources set aside to ensure that *all* of life’s basic necessities are met: health care, shelter, clothing, as well as food” (Nordahl 2009, 90). Central Park is home to the largest population of newcomers in the province and one of the highest in Canada; provincial and federal officials should take some responsibility for assisting with their transition to Canada. This assistance should encompass all aspects of life, not only the quantitative elements such as income and housing. Providing education, outreach, and opportunities to transfer one’s knowledge to a new environment need to be addressed, and that includes food, social, and environmental knowledge.

Economic support and policy and planning considerations that encourage the establishment of farmers’ markets, mobile produce stands, or farm specialty shops in underserved, low-income urban areas could help to overcome the economic and physical access barriers faced by some individuals and groups. Further investigation and support from local and regional governments could also help to strengthen the local food economy, particularly when the process involves participation from local producers, independent retailers, and consumers who, for health, environmental, and ecological reasons, are committed to buying locally (Wegener 2009).

Markets inevitably end up functioning as community hubs that provide far more than mere food products. They “[continue] a legitimate and timeless historic process. Countless communities trace their beginnings as [historic] marketplace sites” (Gratz and Mintz 2000, 212). Many market sites adapted for commercial ventures originally served other purposes such as communal meeting places, where ceremonies of a political and religious nature were held. These sites evolved into town squares and became the place where artifacts, food, and other goods were bartered, because people were more likely to be in this central location than anywhere else in the community. Frequently, this trading function began to overshadow the religious, governmental, or social function and the square became known as the marketplace that would evolve into “downtown” (Nelson 1958).

The logic of the market tradition and its economic potential is as important today as it was in the past, especially in an uncertain economic environment. Enhancing downtown revitalization efforts such as the Core Area Initiative and the Forks/North Portage Partnership and local economic development are two of the most common contributions markets can have aside from improved food provision. Today, urban renewal rather than urban develop-

ment is a strong focus for many markets. When part of an urban renewal strategy, markets must understand their target customers and serve their local community. To be successful, they must understand the needs and preferences of the local people and the most accessible and appealing community locations and times. Even when these key factors are considered, it can still be difficult to secure reliable community support. People are creatures of habit and it takes time to change the way they navigate their city. In older downtowns, working with the existing infrastructure and design can be a challenge, especially if the area has been neglected. Addressing these design challenges, along with other planning concerns related to food and health such as walkability, open space and farmland preservation, public transportation, and community services are necessary to promote an overall healthy city and region. Though food is not typically a comprehensive planning topic for most cities, it is as important to health and well being as air and water. Rather than separating food issues from other planning concerns, planning needs to integrate it throughout all municipal and regional plans so as to create a comprehensive and holistic vision for the future. Food planning can be as simple as including direct-marketing opportunities within bylaws and city plans, or as complex as re-introducing lost food opportunities into society again. Gleaning and foraging, for instance, have long been used to subsidize the diets of urban inhabitants while keeping streets clean of fallen or neglected fruit. “Fruit and nut trees are illegal along the streets of most cities. Their crime: producing nutritious food that can fall with a squish in the public domain” (Register, in Nordahl 2009, 91). Some cities across the world are beginning to plant edible ornamentals again after years of refusing to because of their mess and smells. Curitiba, Brazil, is one such city; in an effort to eliminate hunger and malnutrition, the city has begun planting orange, mango, and other fruit trees along public streets and has found that citizens are happily reaping the harvest. At little extra cost to the city, residents are re-engaging with their local environment and taking notice of what it has to offer.

Food Clubs

Food Clubs are a recent innovation in increasingly individual and family access to affordable, healthy foods. A variety of styles exist. A co-operative consumer food-buying club (also known as preorder co-ops or buying clubs) consists of a group of people who pool their financial resources in order to purchase bulk foods at wholesale prices. A buying club can be as small as five people or as large as one hundred. The group works together to purchase, pick up, sort, and distribute foods, as well as to maintain the group in order to secure whole-

sale prices on groceries and build a social network with local and city-wide residents. Some food clubs, such as the Good Food Club at West Broadway Development Corporation in Winnipeg, operate through buying shares in a community-shared agriculture system, or CSA. A CSA is a socio-economic model of agriculture and food distribution. It consists of a community of individuals that pledges support to a farm operation in which the growers and consumers share the risks and benefits of food production. CSAs usually operate on a system of weekly delivery or pick-up of vegetables and fruit in a vegetable-box scheme, and sometimes include dairy products and meat. In the case of West Broadway, the development corporation has purchased a number of CSA shares and sells the produce at subsidized rates at a small weekly market. Food club members also have the opportunity to work at the agriculture site in exchange for “sweat equity” dollars.

- see “A Co-operative Food Buying Primer” at <http://www.vegfamily.com/articles/coop-food-buying.htm>
- see West Broadway Development Corporation Good Food Club at <http://www.westbroadway.mb.ca/index.jsp?p=goodfood>

FoodShare in Toronto is one of the most successful food-box programs and operates similarly to a food club. The Good Food Box FoodShare runs like a large buying club with centralized buying and co-ordination. Twice a month, individuals place orders for boxes with volunteer co-ordinators in their neighbourhood and receive a box brimming with fresh, tasty produce. Customers pay between \$12 and \$32 for their box, depending on the version they choose. Each box contains the same mixture of food, although the contents change with each delivery, depending upon what is in season and reasonable at the time. FoodShare truck drivers deliver the boxes to the neighbourhood drop-offs, where the local volunteer co-ordinators ensure that customers pick up their boxes. Customers pay the cost of the food itself, while distribution overheads are subsidized. Also available are a fruit basket, organic boxes, and the “Reach for 5” basket, geared to seniors, which contains prepared, cut-up fruit and vegetables. A newsletter offering nutrition information, as well as easy and economical food preparation tips, accompanies all of the boxes. FoodShare also assists in operating school nutrition programs, urban gardening programs, and a commercial kitchen space for cooking, training, and food production.

- see FoodShare Toronto at <http://www.foodshare.net/>
- see Good Food Box Guide at <http://www.foodshare.net/good-food-box-guide>

Policy Innovations and Precedents

Working in diverse situations calls for creativity in design. Multiple policies can aid in increasing an individual's access to food sources that are local, affordable, and culturally appropriate. Proximity is the single largest deterrent against healthful food choices (Raja et al. 2008) and most individuals will not walk more than four hundred metres from their residence before utilizing motorized transport for a shopping excursion. Central Market is ideally situated to provide a high level of access to its residents. In order for it to be successful in all of its goals — ensuring local food security while also meeting its community economic development goals — however, the market will need to attract residents from a larger catchment area. One solution is to approach local food planning from a holistic perspective that includes examining transportation, land use, and urban design at the neighbourhood level in order to work with rather than against human habit. In this case, many of the ideal elements for a highly accessible urban site came naturally, and yet the site had never been identified as having much possibility. Policies need not only encourage certain paths, but may also deter less desirable paths. For the Central Market, that could have meant a strategy within the city plan that recognized it as a desirable site for public use. Further, policies may support the assessment and mitigation of the negative environmental and ecological effects caused by and affecting food system activities, thus phasing out undesirable food practices. Methods to encourage citizens to frequent the market, such as public transportation discounts, food coupon programs, or even waiving or reducing permit fees to vendors are additional ways the City of Winnipeg could have supported the local food system and community.

The May 2008 policy of the American Planning Association (APA) was the first planning policy guide adopted in North America that recognized such control and sought to encourage alternatives to it. The Community and Regional Food Planning policy guide encourages its members “to help build stronger, sustainable, and more self-reliant local food systems” (Rich 2008), noting that among the basic necessities of life — air, food, shelter, and water — only food had been given short shrift by the planning community. Adopting this guide was a progressive step as planners have rarely had the opportunity to conserve agricultural land for local food production rather than conserving it to simply protect open space. Though these

are guidelines rather than enforceable policy, some believe they carry significant weight. Planners such as Amit Ghosh, chief planner at the San Francisco Planning Department, commented that cities and planners need to recognize that food is a pillar of sustainable policy (Rich 2008). The APA guidelines emphasize that a city that can supply and control its own food needs will have more say in what it eats, opportunities to eat fresher, healthier foods, and will be insulated from disruptions in national and global food distributions. Additionally, food grown nearby carries a significantly smaller ecological and carbon footprint and the food dollars spent on locally produced food have a greater chance of cycling back through the local economy (Rich 2008). The necessity of keeping money within the neighbourhood is no better illustrated than within an insular newcomer community such as Central Park.

APA's Community and Regional Food Planning policy guide exemplifies the expanding work mandate of planners and the gradual incorporation of environmental planning concepts into everyday policy. The role of the urban planner has changed from that of an "expert, technical designer of the future urban form to a facilitator of community needs and aspirations, often pushed or pulled by policy makers through various declarations" (van Veenhuizen 2006, 55). This role, combined with the fact that planning is now widely recognized as the legitimate authority for managing land use within the constraints of democratic government (Kaiser et al. 1995), means that planners are well positioned to initiate the dialogue necessary to advance real environmental change in urban contexts. Promoting local food production at public, professional, and bureaucratic levels by advocating for alternative and non-traditional use of urban space is very much now within the mandate of the urban planner. Encouraging the conversion of underutilized space to host initiatives aimed at food security such as providing prescriptive schemes of urban, rural, and peri-urban connections and including community food planning within a city's official community development plan, strategic plan, and visionary framework are all actions that planners can initiate and promote. At the moment, Winnipeg city planners give little if any direction to encourage this. Resident's views were confirmed by interviews with city officials, who demonstrated a lack of knowledge in the area and therefore an inability to address local challenges put forth by the residents. Fragmentation at the city level was mentioned numerous times as a significant deterrent to accomplishing broader community goals. Political changes at the city lead to departmental changes that continually divide neighbourhood boundaries, resources, and responsibility. There is no collaborative board that might bring the necessary individuals to-

gether to address food concerns, Central Park, or the challenges specific to the inner-city. Volunteers and market participants do not know whom to approach with their questions and inquiries, which has often resulted in the wrong information being relayed. To their credit, many city officials are aware of these challenges but feel there is little they can do about it. The opinions of the interviewees illustrate the same challenges at the city; most feel that change is only possible in incremental steps.

Market Precedents

The Moss Street Market in Victoria, British Columbia, has partnered with the Victoria Native Friendship Centre to promote healthy eating to Victoria's low-income families. The Nutritious Coupon Project is a provincially funded program that offers fifty low-income families \$15 a week in coupons redeemable at the Moss Street Market. Participating families also receive instruction in nutrition planning and cooking techniques for health eating. The coupons are distributed by the friendship centre on a first-come, first-served basis and include bus tickets for families who travel long distances to get to the market.

PLAN OF ACTION AND IMPLEMENTATION

Social Governance

THE RESEARCH REVEALED that “networking” and “social capital” are necessary for change to occur in Central Park. A network can be understood as “an extended group of people with similar interests or concerns who interact and remain in informal contact for mutual assistance or support” (*American Heritage Dictionary* 2000). Networks are the basis of social capital. A term borrowed from economics, social capital captures the “value-added” of trust and reciprocity that comes from active membership in a network. While financial capital may be thought of as monetary resources, social capital may be thought of as the value of participation that money can't buy.

A high degree of network density already exists within the local community, especially the African global community. One resident believed that this is a natural result of the high needs of newcomers to connect with each other; it is also a carry-over from the more communal societies many of them belonged to before they came to Canada.

African communities work in a less hierarchical, more informal mode than we tend to. Their relationships can be described as “social networking.” A social network is a social structure made of nodes (which are generally individuals or organizations) that are tied by one or more specific types of interdependency such as values, visions, ideas, financial exchange, friendship, kinship, dislike, conflict, or trade. These concepts are often illustrated by a social network diagram, where the nodes, or points, are joined together by lines. The resulting structures are often complex, but can be used to analyze the social capital and influence of individual actors. The networks within the community are the foundation for the creation of social capital. “Community networks hold a repository of common sense, experiential knowledge and shared wisdom (often mediated by women)” (Gilchrist 2000). They provide opportunities for active on-going learning, such as the Knox Centre’s Women’s Sewing Co-operative.

Discussion and interaction appeared to be key elements in the engagements and larger community, both in terms of the talking and listening, but also in terms of learning about what other boards do, what their strengths and challenges are, and how they solve specific problems. In essence, “working one’s network” can be understood as an “interpersonal learning style.” It is a method for getting information and can often be a very pleasant experience. Holding informal focus groups and engagements based around food and sharing proved to be a highly effective and enjoyable experience for everyone involved. Participants were more inspired by the opportunity to be heard and to listen to others than by the outcomes of the events. The experience was considerably different from previous community planning exercises the researcher had been a part of, which were more goal and outcome oriented. While it would be easy to say that informal discussions are less productive in terms of achieving necessary goals, as one city employee called them, providing the time and space for these gatherings is critical for developing the social networks that are necessary in an area as diverse as Central Park.

The research found that community members knew what was fundamental to good governance, and they knew what they wanted and needed to learn in order for the market to be a success. The emphasis, in fact, was as much on “how” as on “what.” The engagement style of the community drew each person’s wisdom out in a way that addressed individual learning needs and built relationships at the same time. Activities and actions necessary for the future of the market were discussed and are summarized below.

Table 6: Activities and actions for the future of the market

Activity	Actions to be taken	Timeframe	Resources required	Responsibility
<i>Community determined activities</i>	<i>Specific actions to be carried out</i>	<i>Specify completion dates</i>	<i>Budget, staff, space</i>	<i>Who is responsible for activities and results?</i>
Establish market co-ordinator	Seasonal full-time market co-ordinator to facilitate relationships for market and neighbourhood	Co-ordinator hired by May 1 of each year; operate market until last market day	Competitive salary, operate out of Knox Centre	Board will manage and direct co-ordinator
Establish Forks/North Portage Partnership	Financial, marketing and community support	One partnership member to sit on board	Written annual commitments from partnership	Co-ordinator will manage commitments
Establishment of advisory board	Commitment from 6–8 individuals for an initial 18-month period	Board in place for 1 May 2010 in order to plan for market opening June 2010	Monthly meetings to be held at Knox Church	Market co-ordinator to organize the initial advisory board meeting; secretary of board then organizes meetings
Coupon program	Partner with FMAM to be part of pilot market-coupon program from province	2010 market season	Province provides coupons, co-ordinator dispenses them	Market co-ordinator to distribute coupons, report to FMAM
Food box program	Establish a Central Park weekly food box program	Trial season; upon success, year-round food program	Provincial subsidies for trial; eventual program will break even, with regular-priced boxes subsidizing lower-cost boxes	Local board with collaboration from food policy council
Media campaign (Greater Winnipeg)	Board and market to engage in branding; television, print, and voice promotion of market	Two weeks before market launch until end of season	\$1,000 for print ads; \$2,000 for signage; free media coverage via CBC, Shaw, BIZ partnerships	Market co-ordinator and board; word of mouth within community
Policy recommendations	Year-end report to both funders and city and province; create food-policy board	End of market season; annual board of community, city, provincial reps	Co-ordinator is responsible for reports; city takes lead on food policy council	Reports are responsibility of paid market co-ordinator and supervised by board; 1 member, 1 vote

Advisory and Action Board

The development of advisory groups in all sectors of municipal government, planning, development, and health is becoming increasingly recognized as a key to designing and implementing successful food-security initiatives. Lessons from other cities show that leadership from the supermarket industry, from public officials, and from the municipal sector is crucial to the redevelopment of supermarkets in urban and rural areas. The complementary strengths of the public and private sectors should continue to guide the implementation of these recommendations.

Two boards have been established to provide on-going support for the market. One is an advisory board comprising key community leaders and decision makers who have taken a keen interest in the future of the market. This board will help determine the direction of the market's future and assist with professional needs. The other board is an action board of local community members who will be a ground-level support system for the daily operation and maintenance of the market.

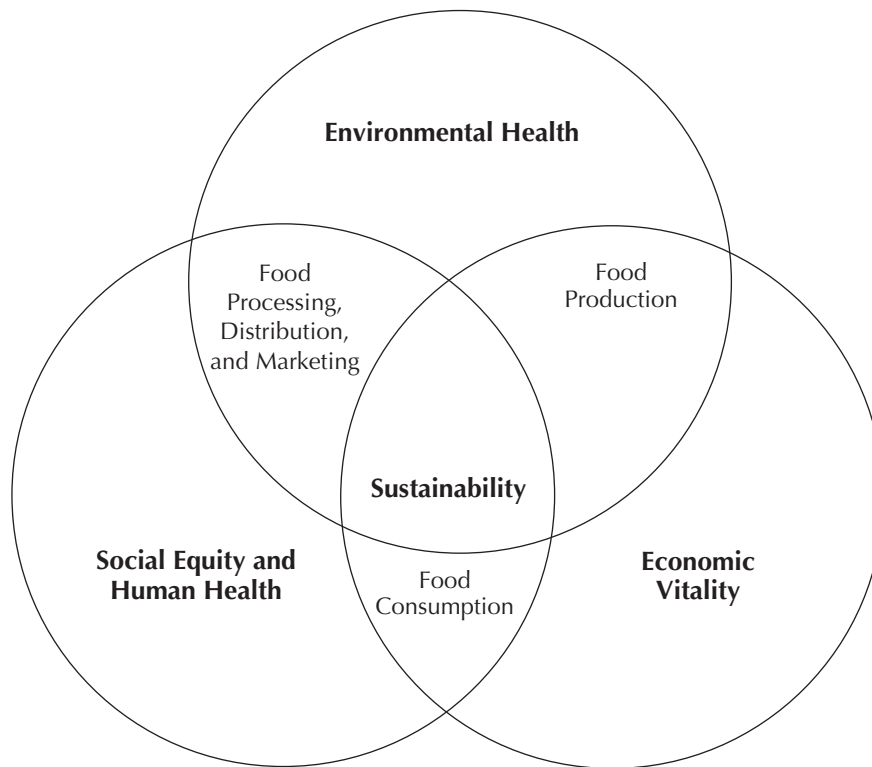
Provincial and Municipal Assistance

The Farmers' Markets Association of Manitoba, in conjunction with Manitoba Agriculture and Rural Food Initiatives, is in the process of developing a pilot coupon program for the 2010 market season. The program will provide a number of non-profit social agencies across the province with funding to dispense coupons that may be redeemed at a number of markets. The coupons are to be used only for the purchase of fresh produce, breads, and fruits; they will provide lower-income residents with healthful food and also give markets a number of assured weekly sales.

Healthful Food Promotion and Provisioning

Local food systems are traditionally regarded as unquantifiable. Creating inventories of local food systems and recording their economic, social, and environmental impacts at the neighbourhood, city, and regional level can provide a comprehensive portrait of their importance. An inventory of what already exists can be the first step in the creation of a community and regional food system that reveals the links between the production, processing, distribution, consumption, and waste management of food. Currently, there are no such

inventories at the neighbourhood or municipal level. This fact arose repeatedly in the focus groups; there are many initiatives in Winnipeg but they are fragmented and are often unaware of each other. Appendix 1 details funding possibilities for supporting the market from both governmental and non-governmental funding agencies.



A simplified model of a local community food system (City of Vancouver 2003).

Following a local community food system model will assist the residents, volunteers, and those engaged in city-wide food provisioning by providing a strategic map that has been successful in other Canadian cities. It will assist in addressing food concerns at various levels, both politically and socially. The model could pair, for example, the social element of an educational workshop in environmental health regulations with the political element of having the class taught by a city health officer. If possible, classes would be free of charge; the financial benefit to the city would be the outcome of the class and the dispersal of knowledge and employment skills.

Policy Changes and Recommendations

The World Health Organization states that the most promising strategies for creating population-wide improvements in healthy eating are environmental and policy interventions (WHO 2004). Local institutions can play key roles in supporting alternative food outlets through granting licenses, negotiating with producers, and publicizing events.

Alternative Regulatory Categories for Markets

Specific categories for markets such as guidelines for environmental health regulations, event permits, parking, liquor, and food-service establishments can assist in clarifying requirements for potential producers and vendors as well as recognizing markets as a unique entity with different values from other city or business events. If the City of Winnipeg, for example, had food regulations for markets that recognized their open-air and temporary characteristics, educating consumers about the preparation and cooking aspects of buying local would have been much easier.

Provincial and municipal governments need to reduce regulatory barriers to supermarket and grocery store investment. Approval processes, for example, can add several years and substantial costs to supermarket initiatives in underserved areas. Governments can show preference or encourage priority development by expediting approval processes, thereby reducing project costs. Further, creating a single point of access for interacting with government would assist supermarket operators to navigate the often complex process of development. The City of Chicago Department of Buildings, for example, developed an expedited permit process for projects that incorporate innovative green building strategies; similar strategies could be used for supermarket development in underdeveloped areas. Projects accepted into the Green Permit Program can receive permits in fewer than thirty business days, sometimes in as little as fifteen. Further, municipal governments can utilize tools such as land-banking to assemble lands specifically for food provisioning and supermarket development. Density bonuses or other zoning preferences can also include special consideration for supermarkets.

Table 7 (overleaf) summarizes planning tools at all levels that can be utilized to advance food security in both Central Park and the rest of Winnipeg.

Table 7: Planning tools for food security

Macro-Level Planning Tools	Examples of How Tools Can Be Used to Advance Food Security
Official plans	Policy statements that set out the goals and priorities that direct planning decisions; policies regarding food systems ensure that bylaws support the development of food initiatives
Other ad hoc plans (e.g., neighbourhood plans, secondary plans)	Developed on an as-needed basis; can be used to incorporate food system goals into planning policy in a context-based manner
Mid-Level Planning Tools	
Zoning bylaws	Regulate the use, size, height, density, and location of buildings; could be used to ensure market and garden sites; provide tenure of sites; deter uses in conflict with food security concerns
Holding bylaws	Allow municipalities to put a freeze on development until certain conditions are met; could be used to ensure brown-field sites are remediated, thus creating the potential for food production
Permitting and licensing	Allows municipalities to control particular uses and approve on a case-by-case basis; ensures that the use is occurring in conformity with established standards and regulations; could be used to ensure that food deserts are addressed; assist producers with high costs of direct-marketing fees, etc.
Micro-Level Planning Tools	
Temporary use bylaws	Allow municipalities to zone land for a particular use for a limited amount of time; could be used to create trial markets in different areas
Bonusing agreements	Allow municipalities to make deals with developers for certain trade-offs; could be used to encourage developers to design garden space in new developments or transit developments
Interim control bylaws	Allow municipalities to limit permitted uses for the purpose of conduction reviews/study-of-land-use options in a particular area; could be used to half development on vacant lands while studying their appropriateness for gardens
Economic Tools	
Tax incentives and exemptions	Supportive tax rates can be set for urban agriculture businesses and local food retailers
Development charges	Can be set at different rates to encourage development that provides opportunities for gardens and markets or to deter undesirable developments in conflicting areas

Economic Development Incentives

Provincial and local governments can create new and modify existing economic development programs and target them to the supermarket and grocery industry. The food retail industry needs public support to overcome the costs of urban development, which are on average 30 percent higher downtown than in the suburbs. Supermarkets and food retailers have not traditionally been viewed as drivers of economic growth and have even been specifically excluded from economic development programs. However, access to food is too important to be left solely to market forces. Public financing and tax credit programs should be reconfigured so they can be made available for supermarket investments. These investments should include new stores and existing stores looking to expand their offerings.

Cities across the United States have successfully utilized economic development subsidies to bring supermarkets into select areas. For example, anchored by a 56,000-square-foot Shaw's supermarket, the Dwight Place development in New Haven, CT, brought a much-needed supermarket to the heart of the city. The project was made possible with funding from a variety of public and private sources including the Office of Community Services, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, and the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development; \$3 million from Local Initiatives Support Corporation's The Retail Initiative; and a \$1 million grant from the State of Connecticut. The project also received additional assistance from the City of New Haven and Yale University. With this development, Shaw's became the first major supermarket to locate within the City of New Haven in decades, improving fresh food access for the city's residents and creating more than two hundred jobs. Tax exemptions can encourage developers to choose supermarkets over other competing retail uses. In Washington, DC, the Department of Planning and Economic Development approved the Supermarket Tax Exemption Act in 2000, part of a citywide supermarket attraction and retention effort that has resulted in several new store openings and expansions in targeted areas.

Partnerships

Provincial and local government have countless opportunities to partner with commercial and retail security, policing, and community efforts to help ensure a safe and secure environment for both customers and store personnel. A 2007 report by Local Initiatives Support Corporation's Bay Area and PolicyLink found that for retailers, "Neighbourhood crime decreases their ability to attract workers and increases operating costs in the form of additional

security and increased shrinkage, or loss of inventory. It is often a perception of crime and/or history of crime, as opposed to current actual crime, that hinders development in underserved markets.” Grocery store retailers and consumers desire a safe, clean environment. Neighbourhood blight, poorly lit streets, and areas of known criminal behaviour can contribute to the continuing decline of a neighbourhood as well as deter the opening of a much-needed supermarket. Community groups and community revitalization programs can partner to ensure a safe environment. Making significant changes to the physical safety of an area, coupled with publicizing the changes, can go a long way towards changing perceptions.

CONCLUSION

CENTRAL PARK MARKET exemplifies the possibility for community members and planners to reverse the trend of corporate decision making around food by taking back the spaces that already exist within their own communities. The current Central Park redevelopment shows that interest in the area is increasing and the city has recognized the importance of the site within the larger fabric of Winnipeg. Though the bones of the urban fabric may already be laid, there remain endless possibilities to look more creatively at what already exists. Food has always shaped cities, and continues to. Today, however, there is a difference. Today, it is overwhelmingly in corporate hands, where goals are significantly different from the promotion of public and environmental health. “Supermarkets enjoy the same monopoly over food that markets once did, but unlike markets, they have no civic role to play” (Steel 2008, 145). Arguably, urban citizens are required to follow them to wherever they build their stores, leading to the notion that control of food gives control over space and people. This is particularly true in communities facing social and economic barriers; what may be simply deterring to some citizens may be absolutely impossible for a newcomer who does not know the language, have the skills to navigate, or the financial or social assets to access the amenity. If a consumer has no opportunity to choose otherwise, they are faced with the prospect of spending more time and therefore money on a trip that may once have been met by visiting the neighbourhood market.

The individual participant, or “food citizen” as Lyson (2004) calls us, is at the centre of a new voice that is currently muted in the conventional food-supply system. Lyson reasons:

Civic agriculture flourishes in a democratic environment. Problem solving

around the social, economic and environmental issues related to agriculture and food requires that all citizens have a say in how the agriculture and food system is organized. Indeed, citizen participation in agriculture and food-related organizations and associations is a cornerstone of civic agriculture. Through active engagement in the food system, civic agriculture has the potential to transform individuals from passive consumers into active food citizens. A food citizen is someone who has not only a stake but also a voice in how and where his or her food is produced, processed and sold. The free-market neo-classical system of conventional agriculture, on the other hand, does not necessarily benefit from democracy and, in fact, may be constrained by the politics put into place through democratic actions of citizens.

Civic agriculture, as Lyson contends, holds value to everyone in the community. Central Market shows that innovation in environmental and social sustainability goes beyond simply reducing carbon footprints and using new technologies. Providing citizens with the opportunity to directly contribute to the long-term sustainability of their neighbourhood is finally being recognized as just as important as encouraging sustainability at the larger policy level. The market has spurred discussion of the role neighbourhoods can play in Winnipeg's future as a sustainable city; individuals and community organizations are brought together in one space to discuss and share their visions for their own city. Food is at the forefront of this discussion. As a basic necessity of life, food transcends research fields, municipal departments, and individual interests.

Central Market has shown that food can play a significant role in drawing people out of their homes and into their public spaces. The location of the market encourages alternative modes of transportation for visitors, vendors, and customers alike. Not only does this expend less fossil fuel and reduce congestion, it promotes modes of mobility that embed people more deeply in place. Walking, cycling, running and even taking public transit are place-based activities that necessitate a more detailed knowledge of one's locale than driving a private motor vehicle. This is particularly important for newcomers, who may use a different type of knowledge in navigating urban space. Ross (2009) has shown that immigrants often use landmarks and relational space and distance as navigational tools, as opposed to street names, numbers, and cardinal directions. Opportunities to interact with the local environment through travel can therefore be promoted passively, as is this case, or more actively; it is hoped that in future years the market will develop a partnership with the transit authority to make it easier to arrive at the market than in a car.



Central Park at night (Scott 2008)

The Central Market Program for Global Families is a valuable social, environmental, and economic enterprise that provides viable solutions to the employment barriers faced by the refugee and immigrant communities. As the research process has illustrated, the development and implementation of the program needs to be paired with skills development and mentoring, especially as the program operates as a largely volunteer-based initiative with limited training in business development. Findings from the engagements, literature, and precedent research highlights the immediate need for:

- paid positions for a co-ordinator, facilitator, and social enterprise councillor to ensure continuity in organization, vision, and strategic and business development; full-time positions are critical to the successful development of the program
- social enterprise business/technical training: a co-ordinator with local community economic development and business development groups is necessary to provide program participants with the resources and support required to ensure long-term social and economic sustainability

- case study research: conducting research on successful social enterprises in immigrant/refugee communities across Canada can assist in identifying new opportunities and critical components of successful operations
- an advisory volunteer board of community members, agricultural producers, municipal and provincial representatives, and professionals; ideally, the skills of the board will meet gaps in the community's current skill set and will include experience in accounting/finances, organizational development, food policy, marketing, event planning/co-ordination, political networking, and food/agricultural knowledge and handling

APPENDIX 1

Funding Opportunities

Sustainable Development Innovations Fund (SDIF). The SDIF supports research studies, new technology, community enhancement, and educational projects that further the sustainability of Manitoba's economy, human health, and social well-being, and help protect the environment. The fund encourages the creation of sustainable communities and helps them meet their needs by providing grant funding to projects that demonstrate partnerships between groups and individuals, pride in the community, and concern for the environment. Deadlines: October, December, April, June, and August 15th. See <http://www.manitoba.ca/conservation/pollutionprevention/sdif/index.html>

Neighbourhoods Alive! Neighbourhoods Alive! is a long-term, community-based, social and economic development strategy that recognizes that building healthy neighbourhoods requires more than an investment in bricks and mortar. Neighbourhoods Alive! supports and encourages community-driven revitalization efforts in designated neighbourhoods in a number of key areas including housing and physical improvements, employment and training, education and recreation, and safety and crime prevention. Deadlines for the Community Initiatives Program are January 2, May 1, and October 1. See <http://www.gov.mb.ca/ia/programs/neighbourhoods/#one>

Assiniboine Credit Union (ACU) Sustainable Community Grants. ACU invests in community leaders working to reduce poverty and homelessness, to build assets, and to foster economic self-reliance. The company supports initiatives that create economic opportunities;

build community assets (such as leadership, identity and pride, safety and non-violence, business development, community spaces, “green” space); increase the inclusion and participation of marginalized members of the community and those living in poverty; and reduce economic dependency, build capacity, and strengthen economic links in the local community. ACU also supports climate change concerns, food security, co-operatives and the co-operative movement, and works to foster effective social, economic and/or environmental change. See <http://www.assiniboine.mb.ca/My-Community/Sponsorships—Grants/About-Sustainable-Community-Gr.aspx>

Youth Eco-Internship. Non-profit social service host organizations across Canada will provide paid positions for youth aged fifteen to thirty. Interns will be paid by the YMCA or YWCA Canada. Internships support skills development, provide work experience, enhance employability, and support attaining sustained future employment. See <http://www.yeip.ca/about-hosting.aspx>

Urban Green Team. Non-profit organizations in Winnipeg are able to apply for summer students to work for their organization or a specific project. The Urban Green Team Program creates meaningful and career-oriented summer employment for students and youth aged sixteen to twenty-four years. Participating employers provide a variety of community development opportunities that improve neighbourhoods, promote community involvement, and help develop young leaders. See <http://www.edu.gov.mb.ca/youth/employers/urbangreenteam.html>

Social Development Partnerships — Children and Families. By providing funding to not-for-profit organizations, the Social Development Partnerships Program helps to improve the lives of children and families, people with disabilities, and other vulnerable Canadians. The program invests in organizations that support the well-being of Canadians — from developing a better understanding of the issues Canadians face to providing greater access to information, programs, and services. Examples of projects include: helping families taking care of elderly parents while also raising children; helping youth at-risk of dropping out of high school; and increasing participation, opportunities, and accessibility for people with disabilities. See http://www.hrsdc.gc.ca/eng/community_partnerships/sdpp/index.shtml

Winnipeg Foundation. Deadline for requests of \$100,000 or greater is December 30; deadline for requests of less than \$100,000 is January 30. See <http://www.wpgfdn.org/grantsagency.php>

Community Places. The Community Places Program provides funding and planning assistance to non-profit community organizations for facility construction, upgrading, expansion, or acquisition projects. Eligible projects must provide sustainable recreational and wellness benefits to communities. Deadline for applications is December 15. See <http://www.gov.mb.ca/housing/cpp/>

Manitoba Community Services Council. Manitoba Community Services Council awards grants to successful applicants in the form of monies, bingos, or a combination of the two. It is one application process. Council makes the decision on the type and amount to fund. Applications received throughout the year. See <http://www.mbcsc.ca/grants>

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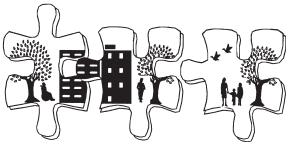


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