Narrative ground: Applying settler colonial theory to the discursive themes of the farmland access movement

By

GWENAEL AUDREY BLANCHET ENGELSKIRCHEN

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Approved:

Beth Rose Middleton Manning, Chair

N. Claire Napawan

Amanda Crump

Committee in Charge

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ABSTRACT

In the last decade, increasing attention has been paid to land access as a key barrier for new entry farmers (Butler-Rippon, 2020; Calo & Petersen-Rockney, 2018; Cox, 2012; Figueroa & Penniman, 2020; Ruhf, 2013; Scrufari, 2017; Valliant & Freedgood, 2020). One response to alleviating this barrier has been a suite of programmatic activities, often run by non-profits or public institutions (Hersey & Adams, 2017), related to connecting land seekers with landowners. These initiatives carry out their core objectives via a range of activities (e.g., curating land listings, technical support, facilitating relationships), and are broadly grouped under the unifying theme of championing land access for farmers.

Land is also central to the reproduction of settler colonialism, maintained via dispossession and narrative erasure of those who are Indigenous to the land. Given this, how are initiatives for farmland access positioned with respect to the maintenance of settler colonial social structures? My research seeks to answer this question by exploring how the farmland access movement articulates its values and priorities, and by interrogating how those themes reverberate within and against the contours of settler colonialism. Through textual analysis of values (mission/vision) statements, I attempt a discursive examination of the narratives expressed by the farmland access movement guided by the inquiry: how do these themes reflect, resist, or relate to settler colonialism? I straddle methodologies, using content analysis as a systematic, descriptive approach to deriving meaning from language (Green-Saraisky, 2015) and critical discourse analysis to situate meaning within historical and social processes (Fairclough, 2012). By applying the theoretical lens of settler colonialism to the discourse of farmland access advocacy, I probe narrative constructions around how land is held, and by whom.

Overall, my findings suggest that while the discourses of the farmland access movement are positioned in contrast to the harms of industrial agriculture, they assert entitlement to land in ways that often fail to refute Indigenous land dispossession. I identify themes of generational futurity, farmland preservation, sustainability, stewardship, community, and others. In my discussion, I examine these themes alongside a settler colonial past and present, and bring them into juxtaposition with Indigenous thinkers and frameworks. Emphasis on land transfer from one generation to the next reproduces a “knowable future” in which settler colonial structures of

Indigenous erasure remain unchanged and unchallenged. Representing farmland as threatened, or in need of preservation, fails to acknowledge that agrarian land-grabs were a mechanism by which settler colonialism unfurled across the North American continent. While emphasis on ecological stewardship and community relationships echoes Indigenous epistemologies informed by land, these discourses do not in and of themselves constrain settler colonial structures.

Challenging settler colonial structure requires a reckoning with the cultural logics that persistently deny sovereignty and restoration of land to Indigenous peoples. This calls for an examination of all aspects of "business as usual." This research seeks to make visible the taken-for-granted "embodied practices" (Barker, 2021, p. 3) of settler colonialism within the specific arena of farmland transfer and advocacy. "Inhabitants of Canada and the United States take these nations' settler colonial contours so much for granted that the systems of ordinary dispossession and domination are made invisible to settler people or recede both figuratively and literally into the landscape" (Barker, 2021, pp. 4–5). Farmland access initiatives represent a moment of transfer: land is changing hands. Perhaps this moment of transfer also represents an opportunity to *do* differently. This paper concludes by presenting frameworks of land rematriation and 'land back' as actively undoing narratives of settler colonialism, illustrated by organizations oriented towards relationships on and with land.

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To my colleagues, for being the inspiration.

To my community, for being the reason.

To my mother, for who I am.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

INTRODUCTION

> Everything in US history is about the land - who oversaw and cultivated it, fished its waters, maintained its wildlife; who invaded and stole it; how it became a commodity…
>
> Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, *An Indigenous peoples' history of the United States*, 2014

> Land is life – or, at least, land is necessary for life. Thus contests for land can be – indeed, often are – contests for life.
>
> Patrick Wolfe, *Settler colonialism and the elimination of the native*, 2006

In the last decade, increasing attention has been paid to land access as a key barrier for new entry farmers[1] (Butler-Rippon, 2020; Calo & Petersen-Rockney, 2018; Cox, 2012; Figueroa & Penniman, 2020; Ruhf, 2013; Scrufari, 2017; Valliant & Freedgood, 2020). One response to alleviating this barrier has been a suite of programmatic activities related to connecting land seekers with landowners, sometimes in combination with education around the legal and financial aspects of land transfer (Ruhf, 2013; Valliant et al., 2019). These initiatives, often run by non-profits or public institutions (Hersey & Adams, 2017), carry out their core objective via a range of activities (curating land listings, facilitating relationships, offering financing or technical assistance), which can generally be grouped under the unifying theme of championing land access for farmers.

In 2020, I joined the board of a local chapter of a national non-profit engaged in securing land access for farmers. Around this time, I also encountered scholarship evidencing stark disparities in farmland ownership within the context of racialized capitalism, highlighting the historical dispossessions and denials which have resulted in significant inequities in farmland ownership today. White people own 98% of all farmland and operate 94% of all farmland (Horst

[1] I adopt the term "new entry farmer" from Carlisle et al. (2019) who use it to reflect a range of agricultural experience and ages (not necessarily captured by "beginning" and "young", respectively).

& Marion, 2019). This started me down a path of thinking critically about who owns farmland and to what extent current interventions around farmland access for new entry farmers may be perpetuating or confronting existing inequities. Through an academic internship with Minnow, a social justice-oriented non-profit engaged in land access for farmers of color in California, my critical lens was broadened beyond racialized capitalism to understand settler colonialism as an ongoing structure of unjust occupation of Indigenous land.

Settler colonialism is defined as the historic and extant erasure and elimination of Indigenous[2] peoples, motivated by and operationalized through occupation of land by peoples *not* Indigenous to a place.

> Settler colonialism is a persistent social and political formation in which newcomers / colonizers / settlers come to a place, claim it as their own, and do whatever it takes to disappear the Indigenous peoples that are there. Within settler colonialism, it is exploitation of land that yields supreme value. In order for settlers to usurp the land and extract its value, Indigenous peoples must be destroyed, removed, and made into ghosts. (Arvin et al., 2013, p. 12)

In other words, settler colonialism manifests as an ongoing social structure predicated on control of land and maintained via the physical and narrative erasure of those who are Indigenous to the land. In settler colonial countries like the present-day United States, advocacy around access to land for new entry farmers, like nearly all practices of landholding, exists within a framework of settler colonialism.

[2] I am guided by Neshnabé (Potawatomi) scholar Kyle Powys Whyte's definition of Indigenous as referring to peoples whose "communities exercised systems of self-government derived from their own cosmologies before an ended or ongoing period of colonization" (K. P. Whyte, 2014, p. 599). I also evoke Aboriginal writer (Palyku) Ambelin Kwaymullina's emphasis that Indigenous is a "category created by colonialism, and the term obscures the vast diversity of the Indigenous peoples of the earth, suggesting a single homogenous culture which does not exist" (Kwaymullina, 2018, p. 194).

In their article in Science, Farrell et al. (2021) catalog historical and present day tribal land boundaries in the continental U.S. to demonstrate Indigenous land loss of 93.9%. When considering overlapping use of territories by multiple Indigenous groups, the aggregate alienation from tribal lands increases to 98.9%. This corresponds with Walter R. Echo-Hawk's assertion, quoted in Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz's *An Indigenous Peoples' History of the United States*, that in 1955 the Indigenous land base was at 2.3% its original size (Dunbar-Ortiz, 2014, p. 11). Farrell et al. further find that 42.1% of tribes identified in the "historical period" – defined as "earliest documented locations of Indigenous peoples in the historical data sources often as lands held before the last 19th-century forced migration" (Farrell et al., 2021, p. 2) – are currently without any federally or state-recognized tribal land base, and that for tribes that do have a land base, the average area is 2.6% of their "estimated historical area" (Farrell et al., 2021, p. 1). While Farrell et al. quantify Indigenous land loss at an aggregate scale, the actual dispossession of lands occurred in ways that were specific to peoples and place, and originated at specific historical junctures while persisting in structures of land use and distribution that are upheld today. As Dunbar-Ortiz writes, "Native peoples were colonized and deposed of their territories as distinct peoples – hundreds of nations – not as a racial or ethnic group" (Dunbar-Ortiz, 2014, p. xiii).

Given the centrality of land in the maintenance of settler colonialism, my research seeks to interrogate farmland access advocacy through a settler colonial lens. I use critical discourse analysis to examine the movement's narrative themes, as derived from mission and values statements. What underlying values are expressed through these texts? How do their narrative themes reflect or resist themes of settle colonialism? Applying a settler colonial lens to the

discourse of farmland access advocacy calls into question narratives around how land is held and by whom, thereby challenging settler entitlement to land.

Examining narrative themes is essential, as cultural narratives play a significant role in shaping, justifying, and maintaining social structures such as settler colonialism. Historian Lorenzo Veracini (2010) includes narrative strategies among his 26 types of "transfers" by which settlers assert and justify their entitlement to land. He draws this term from James Belich's description of mass transfer as "shifting substantial clusters of peoples across oceans and mountain ranges" (Veracini, 2010, p. 33), explaining the intersecting physical and cultural tactics used to affirm the legitimacy of settler dominance. "[T]here is a specific need to focus on the way different narratives and their availability inform political life in settler societies" (Veracini, 2010, p. 96). Cultural narratives also feature strongly in the construction of an agrarian imaginary, with influences on the enactment of farming both spatially and in policy (Calo, 2020; Peterson, 1990).

According to Burow et al. (2018) "The dispossession of land is frequently obscured by the absence of a set of clear actors, instead operating through diffuse structural processes" (p. 59). In focusing on initiatives and organizations involved with farmland access – and, by extension, the beginning farmer movement – I identify a distinct set of actors. Additionally, much of the scholarship on settler colonialism interrogates individual settler responses or ways in which settler colonialism is maintained by the state's legal and political apparatuses. I have encountered less research grappling with the complicity of civic and community endeavors in perpetuating structures of settler colonialism. To the extent that settler colonialism is the work of collectives, as Veracini and geographer Adam Barker assert, it seems important to examine the social spaces *between* the individual and the nation-state. "Inhabitants of Canada and the United

States take these nations' settler colonial contours so much for granted that the systems of ordinary dispossession and domination are made invisible to settler people or recede both figuratively and literally into the landscape" (Barker, 2021, pp. 4–5). Farmland access initiatives represent a moment of transfer: land is changing hands. Perhaps this moment of transfer also represents an opportunity to *do* differently, to reconstrue how and by whom land is held and stewarded.

Challenging settler colonial structure requires a reckoning with structural logics that persistently deny sovereignty and restoration of land to Indigenous peoples. This calls for an examination of all aspects of "business as usual". As scholar Eva Mackey points out, "[i]n general, settlers and their governments [do] not seriously address or grapple with potential uncertainty about their entitlement to land ownership" (Mackey, 2016, p. 32). This research seeks to make visible the taken-for-granted "embodied practices" (Barker, 2021, p. 3) of settler colonialism within the specific arena of farmland transfer and advocacy.

In their 2020 report, *Land Policy: Towards a More Equitable Farming Future*, the National Young Farmers Coalition grounds their policy recommendations in the historic and ongoing racialized injustices of the United States. "The construct of land ownership has been deployed to dispossess Indigenous people of their land for centuries, and is tied to ongoing discrimination against Black, Indigenous, and other people of color. The result is immense inequity in land ownership. This history must guide us as we envision a more equitable future for farming" (Butler-Rippon, 2020, p. 5). The report situates land as central to environmental health, climate resilience, food sovereignty, public health, and economic prosperity. Within their set of fifteen guiding principles, the authors include support of land rematriation for Indigenous communities as number two. Under a list of policy recommendations, the report advocates for

expanding funding for two Indian land loan programs: the Indian Tribal Land Acquisition Program and the Highly Fractionated Indian Land Loan Program. Fundamentally, though, the organization's call to action is in securing land access for new entry farmers, with priority towards BIPOC (Black, Indigenous, People of Color) farmers: "The number of young producers is on the rise, but access to land stands in their way" (Butler-Rippon, 2020, p. 11).

Because land is simultaneously central to the establishment of new entry farmers and the settler colonial project, I endeavor to undertake a critical examination into the narrative positioning of initiatives in support of farmland access through the lens of settler colonialism. "The degree to which settler people enact colonization as a physical usurpation of place and the attendant mental process of justifying and forgetting this usurpation through a transformative and affective situation in place are significant" (Barker, 2021, p. 16). Do organizations that exist with the goal of connecting new entry farmers to land situate *themselves* within a context of Indigenous land dispossession, as evidenced in the National Young Farmers Coalition's report? What values related to land access and entitlement are articulated by the farmland access movement as a whole?

Positionality

I am a white settler on Native lands writing with a relatively nascent understanding of that identity. I occupy the settler colonial present as a first-generation daughter of a French mother and descendant of 19th century German settlers on my father's side. I currently make home on the lands of three federally-recognized Patwin tribes: Cachil Dehe Band of Wintun Indians of the Colusa Indian Community, Kletsel Dehe Band of Wintun Indians and Yocha Dehe Wintun Nation. My presence here is only possible because in the 1800s, the Wintun people were

barred full jurisdiction over their own homelands and displaced onto a federally designated reservation, partly in order to make way for agricultural settlement. Today, the Yoche Dehe Wintun Nation grows crops on 3,000 acres and runs cattle on 12,000 acres in the Capay Valley (Yocha Dehe Wintun Nation, n.d.). My home-making on this land is a privilege directly connected to the histories and logics that accompany the settler colonial realities of place.

I think about and practice my relationship and responsibilities to these lands on most days. In the morning, I notice where the sun first emerges, as a saucer of light atop the ridgeline, and how it moves gradually south as summer compresses into fall. I do my best to be a good neighbor to the scrub jays, even though they eat my succulents and (I suspect) shrilly disparage me. I tuck tree roots into mulched soil, and learn the names and gifts of plants who've lived here long before me. I am grateful to the land that has nourished me – literally – while I have worked on this thesis.

Prior to the last year or so, my positionality and accountability as a white settler within settler colonialism were not something I had considered. My personal aim with this work is to explore the fledgling aspects of my thinking on settler colonialism, namely: what is my responsibility, as a settler, and what is the broader responsibility of the alternative food and farming movement of which I've been a part for most of my adult life?

My approach to this research has been shaped by Indigenous thinkers and voices on the page and via podcasts. Over the course of my graduate sojourn, I often went for walks into the hills near my home, accompanied by the narrations of *The Red Nation Podcast*, *All My Relations*, and various guests on *For the Wild* and *New Books in Native American Studies*. I found inspiration and affirmation in Kim TallBear's theorizing on love and relationships. I perused *The Henceforward*, *Métis in Space*, and *Stories from the Land*. Yet, my work is not extensively

informed by direct interactions or in-depth personal relationships with those living Indigenous lives. As someone who values grounded knowledge, this feels like a significant shortcoming.

In their seminal piece *Decolonization is Not a Metaphor,* Eve Tuck (Unangax̂) & K. Wayne Yang (2012) describe settler moves to innocence as "strategies or positionings that attempt to relieve the settler of feelings of guilt or responsibility without giving up land or power or privilege, without having to change much at all" (p. 10). One such settler move to innocence is "conscientization", whereby settlers become caught up in *learning* about colonization and understanding decolonial frameworks, but don't *do* anything. My current positioning as a settler in academia confirms this critique, and it is one I commit to confronting in an ongoing way.

My interrogation of responsibility and complicity – my own, that of the alternative agriculture movement – is undertaken with a spirit of exploration and inquiry, rather than certainty and assertion. I am learning *in* process, *through* process. I am certainly still learning, and I invite critique and dialogue around what I overlook, either as a result of my positionality or lack of awareness. This thesis represents a grappling with ideas that remain evolving, and as a result, it feels vulnerable and awkward – feelings which, I understand, accompany transformation. Indeed, as Tuck & Yang (2012) point out, decolonization should be unsettling.

BACKGROUND & CONTEXT

Indigenous dispossession as context for considering land access

The separation of Indigenous peoples from their homelands was and continues to be accomplished through actions of violence, narratives of erasure, and policies of dispossession. During the early phases of North American settler colonialism, the land grabs were loosely organized and perpetuated by what Barker (2021) calls "settler collectives," groups of settler

individuals acting in concert. Historian Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz (2014) describes Bacon's Rebellion as an insurgency by "Anglo settler-farmers" and their "Anglo and African" workers to violently claim the lands of the Susquehannock people in what had recently become the colony of Virginia. "The creation of wealth in the colonies based on landholding and the use of landless or land-poor settler-farmers as foot soldiers for moving the settlement frontier deeper into Indigenous territories" provided the basis for settler colonial genocidal actions and policies (Dunbar-Ortiz, 2014, pp. 61–62).

Settler collectives and the emerging state worked in tandem – not always intentionally – to transfer lands from Indigenous to settler control, with the state often using the rogue actions of settler squatters to justify their disregard for treaties with Indigenous nations. "A common trope held that Indigenous nations must surrender land to the settler state because the state was unable to prevent settlers from illegally occupying Indigenous lands and from then using this occupation to justify their theft" (Barker, 2021, p. 72). In the example of Cowichan Valley on Vancouver Island, colonial officials encouraged settlers to claim farmsteads "despite the fact that Cowichan people were actively farming in that very spot" (Barker, 2021, p. 93).

Once the United States was established as a nation, dispossessing Indigenous peoples from their lands became a government project, through relocation and other policies. The Allotment Act of 1887 and the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 were two federal pieces of legislation resulting in significant eroding of what remained of the Native American land base. Between 1887 and 1934, tribes were dispossessed of approximately 90 million acres – roughly the size of the state of Montana – and equivalent to nearly two-thirds of what remained of Indigenous-controlled lands at that time (Graddy-Lovelace, 2017; Tsosie, 2001).

Another example of Indigenous land dispossession at the hands of the government can be seen at the dawn of California statehood, when three federal Indian commissioners acting on behalf of the Department of the Interior negotiated eighteen treaties with 135 different tribal groups. The treaties proposed to relocate California Native peoples from their homelands throughout the state onto approximately 7.5 million acres of land in the Central Valley, which at that time was considered to hold little value (Almaguer, 2020). However, California state senators and agricultural interests petitioned against the treaties (Akins & Bauer, 2021; Almaguer, 2020). The U.S. Senate failed to ratify the treaties and instead opened the acreage of proposed reservation land for settlement, while at the same time surveying the tribes' original homelands for homesteading (Almaguer, 2020).

Sociologist Kari Marie Norgaard (2019) ties the government's failure to ratify treaties to the loss of land by the Karuk people in what is now northern California and southern Oregon; they recognize over a million acres as their ancestral homelands, but as of 2016, have jurisdiction over less than one-eighth of a percent of this area – approximately 1,700 acres. In addition to alienation from the land itself, Indigenous lifeways were further disrupted by the extractive plunder of settler activities of ranching, mining, fishing, timber harvest, and damming. In the years between 1915 and 1928, canneries on the Klamath River in Karuk territory removed roughly 725,000 pounds of salmon annually, interfering with not only the tribe's food traditions but also with expressions of social and cultural responsibilities. "The absence of fish resulting from ecological damage affects both food availability and the quality of social connections, which in turn affect individual gender practices and represent a genocidal act to the community" (Norgaard, 2019, p. 166).

The above examples make clear that present-day settler occupation of land – which takes many forms, only one of which is farmland – was achieved by substantial and sequential acts of dispossession, rupturing Indigenous jurisdiction over and relationships to land. Land that is available for settlers to farm is a direct result of historical and ongoing unjust dispossession.

Land access initiatives as attendant to the new entry farmer movement

I now turn to my research subject – initiatives in service of land access for farmers – in order to situate them within the context of the new entry farmers movement, specifically focusing on its iteration within the United States. I provide background on the rationale for farmland access initiatives and a brief summary of the mechanics of intervention. I also touch on structures of racial and gendered inequities embedded within current farmland ownership.

Secure land tenure is recognized as one of the biggest barriers for new entry farmers in starting a farm business (Ackoff et al., 2017; Calo & Petersen-Rockney, 2018; Gillespie & Johnson, 2010; Schreiner et al., 2018). This is attributed to the loss of farmland due to development – diminished *availability* of farmland – in combination with the typically low purchasing power on the part of new entry farmers, especially in competition with established industrial farms and/or farmland investors (Butler-Rippon, 2020). In addition to facing disadvantages due to market structures, non-white, non-heteronormative new entry farmers also face barriers resulting from gendered and racialized social structures (Calo & De Master, 2016; Figueroa & Penniman, 2020; Leslie, 2019).

But who are these new entry farmers, and why are their interests heralded so fervently on the topic of land access?

A beginning farmer[3] is defined by the USDA as someone who has "operated a farm or ranch for 10 years or less" (Ahearn & Newton, 2009, p. iii). According to the Census of Agriculture, in 2017 there were 908,274 beginning farmers, comprising 27% of all farmers in the U.S. (USDA NASS, 2017b). Beginning farmers tend to farm fewer acres and are more likely to rely on off-farm income than established farmers (Ahearn & Newton, 2009); they are also more likely to sell their products directly to consumers through farmers markets and Community Supported Agriculture (CSA) programs (Ackoff et al., 2017). Demographically, they are more likely than established farmers to be "female, non-White, or Hispanic" (Ahearn & Newton, 2009). The average age of beginning farmers is only about a decade younger than the average age of all U.S. farmers: 46.3 compared to 57.5. But while the average age of all U.S. farmers has continued to increase over the past decade (National Young Farmers Coalition, 2019b), in the five years between 2012 and 2017, the average age for beginning farmers trended younger.

The beginning farmer movement emerged in the early part of the twenty-first century at the confluence of two currents within the food system. In one stream were concerns about a declining farming sector, reflected in an aging farmer demographic and a trend of farm closures and consolidation. In the other stream, the alternative food movement was gaining momentum, characterized by an emphasis on direct sales relationships, geographic proximity to source, ecological production practices, and greater crop diversification. The multiplication of farmers markets alongside a wave of books depicting a romanticized farming lifestyle gave the profession increased visibility and public appeal.

[3] As referenced above, some scholars refer to this group of farmers as "new agrarians" or "new entry farmers", emphasizing the temporal relationship to operating one's own farm business over farming experience (which can exceed 10 years) or age. However, in providing historical context and corresponding policy, I use the USDA's term of beginning farmer.

At a Senate Agriculture Committee hearing in 2010, then USDA Secretary Tom Vilsack shared his vision for the 2012 Farm Bill: it would engender 100,000 new farmers and revitalize rural communities (National Sustainable Agriculture Coalition, 2010). This was not the first time the USDA sought to encourage new entry farmers: as early as 1992, the Agricultural Credit Improvement Act targeted beginning farmers for special loans and financing (Ahearn & Newton, 2009). In 2006, the USDA codified their commitment to "foster marketing, development, credit, and outreach programs to improve competitiveness of beginning farmers and ranchers" via the *Small Farms and Beginning Farmers and Ranchers Policy* (Ahearn & Newton, 2009) and in 2009, awarded close to $19 million in funding through the Beginning Farmer and Rancher Development Program (BFRDP), which had first been authorized in 2002 but without any associated funding (Niewolny & Lillard, 2010). While the BFRDP generated technical assistance and training to new entry farmers, provided mostly by academic institutions and non-profit organizations, other USDA programs furnished direct financial support. The creation of a microloan program at the Farm Service Agency in 2013 aimed to facilitate new entry farmers' access to credit (Ackoff et al., 2017).

Attention towards new entry farmers in the policy arena was mirrored by a proliferation of programs in the advocacy and non-profit spheres (Hamilton, 2011). The era yielded organizations like The Greenhorns, founded in 2008 to "promote, recruit and support the next generation of farmers" (The Greenhorns, 2020) through media creation and skill sharing, and the National Young Farmers Coalition, started in 2010 to "tackle the many challenges that young, independent farmers face in their first years' operating a farm business" (National Young Farmers Coalition, n.d.-b). A 2011 article in the New York Times about agriculture's new generation ran the quote: "Now, everywhere you turn, someone's a farmer" (Raftery, 2011).

Formal and informal training programs, designed to inspire and transmit the craft of farming, garnered increased attention (Schreiner et al., 2018).

While the increased visibility and support for beginning farmers was encouraging, the programs themselves tended to operate according to a "knowledge-deficit" logic which focused on education and skill building as primary modes of intervention, often neglecting structural barriers, such as access to land, housing, and market opportunities, that generally demanded policy solutions (Calo, 2018). Ostrom et al. (2010) argued for more programs to adapt their training methods to the learning needs of non-English speaking and/or non-literate farmers, and to move away from the more traditional "diffusion-and-adoption approach" characterized by a one-way flow of knowledge from "expert" to farmer. Regardless of differing pedagogical approaches, the paradigm of new entry farmers was hailed as pivotal to a revitalized agricultural sector, provided that advocates and policymakers could "unlock" key barriers, including the critical issue of access to land.

Land linking programs as a strategy for farmland access

Land linking is defined as an initiative or program that "connects farmland seekers (aspiring, beginning or established farmers) to farmland owners (farmers, non-farming landowners, or public and institutional landowners), and/or connects participants to services that support land access and use decisions" (Pillen & Hinrichs, 2014). Existing literature reflects a broadly consistent rationale for such programs. Articulated as a response to an aging farmer population coupled with enthusiasm for an agrarian lifestyle on the part of a younger cohort without family ties to farmland, land linking initiatives strive to mediate barriers presented by market-driven land prices while simultaneously acknowledging the embedded value (ecological

and social) in agricultural land. Most land link programs are run by non-profits or public institutions (Hersey & Adams, 2017).

When land link programs first emerged in the 1990s to support aging farm owners identify non-family successors (Ruhf, 2013; Valliant et al., 2019), these efforts cohered with the aims of the farmland conservation movement which began in the 1970s. However, the conservation movement focused more on a constituency of existing landowners than new entry farmers, in part due to its deployment of conservation easements as a tool available to landowners to protect land from development. More recently, some land trusts, as landholding entities, have aligned with the agrarian land access movement by leasing land to new entry farmers (Beckett & Galt, 2014). While Hersey & Adams (2017) surveyed 12 U.S. land link programs and found none explicitly stated land protection as a key goal(Hersey & Adams, 2017), land conservation appears as an implicit objective of many land linking programs, as evidenced by the National Young Farmers Coalition's statement that "farmland is a vital natural resource" (Butler-Rippon, 2020).

Farm access expert Kathy Ruhf (2013) classifies the activities of land link programs into three categories: listing, linking and matching. These fall along a spectrum from more passive (curating a list of land opportunities and seekers) to engaged (brokering relationships between seekers and owners). Valliant et al. (2019) expand this typology by adding two additional categories of activities related to knowledge transfer: mentoring (farmer to farmer) and technical assistance ("expert" to farmer). Listing and linking are the most common intervention strategies, likely because they can be accomplished with lower levels of staffing and funding (Pillen & Hinrichs, 2014; Valliant et al., 2019). However, given the complexity involved in real estate transactions, succession planning and/or business formation, new entry farmers and transferring

farmers benefit from support beyond listing or linking services; indeed, greater emphasis on providing education and access to services may produce a higher number of successful land matches (Hersey & Adams, 2017). Policy approaches exist as well. In 2017, Maryland and Minnesota passed legislation related to land access for new entry farmers, and at the federal level, the Conservation Reserve Program-Transition Incentives Program (CRP-TIP) provides financial incentives to farm owners for transferring land to new entry farmers (Valliant & Freedgood, 2020).

Although many land link programs in the U.S. have been in operation for a decade or more, scholars point to a lack of research on the effectiveness of different land linking approaches and mechanisms (Hersey & Adams, 2017; Valliant & Ruhf, 2017). Tracking of outcomes is complicated by the long time horizon involved in many land transfers, as well as by lack of funding and staffing capacity on the part of the linking organizations (Valliant et al., 2019). Despite insufficient evidence of their success and impacts, most states across the U.S. have at least one land linking program, according to a directory compiled by the National Young Farmers Coalition (National Young Farmers Coalition, 2019a).

Structural inequities in farmland access and ownership

The land linking initiatives described above are intended to, at least in part, resolve difficulties of new entry farmers in accessing land. However, Gillespie & Johnson (2010) situate access to land within a "conducive social context", highlighting that while "individual operator factors" are often emphasized, in actuality it is a "complex and sometimes contradictory social world [which] both enables and constrains agricultural enterprises" (Gillespie & Johnson, 2010, p. 38). Indeed, scholars have pointed out how access to land is mediated by socio-structural

factors, such as gender, sexual identity (Leslie, 2019), language ability, and/or race (Calo & De Master, 2016; Figueroa & Penniman, 2020). For example, because farming tends to be structured around the family unit, an invisible ingredient in beginning farmer viability is a heteronormative identity, which unlocks access to land, labor, credit, and knowledge: "heterosexual farmers rely on intimate relationships to cope with the squeeze of capitalist land markets" (Leslie, 2019, p. 930). Heteronormative privilege therefore grants greater access to the key components of long-term farm viability while queer farmers excluded from privileged heterosexual arrangements face a distinct set of considerations and constraints (Leslie, 2019).

It must also be emphasized that farmland ownership in the United States is concentrated along racial and gendered lines in ways that are vastly unequal. Current patterns of farmland ownership and tenancy express persistent "legacies of structural discrimination, racialized and gendered capitalism and white supremacy" (Horst & Marion, 2019, p. 1). Situating farmland ownership within the historical context of Indigenous land dispossession, racialized violence and legal exclusion, and USDA loan discrimination, the authors show that for *operator-owned* farmland in the U.S. (i.e., land that is farmed by the person who owns it), 94% is owned by White people and 6% is owned by People of Color. Similarly, for farmland owned by *non-operating owners* (i.e., landowners who do not farm), 98% is owned by White people and only 2% by people of other racial identities. Continuing the trend, 92% of all *leased* farmland is controlled by White people. Along gendered lines, men control 93% of all operator-owned farmland and 92% of all leased farmland, though only 54% of non-operator owned farmland (Horst & Marion, 2019). Given that most farmland ownership transitions are expected to take place between relatives (Bigelow et al., 2016), these racial disparities risk protraction. As Gilbert et al., (2002) point out, a sizable imbalance in who owns farmland also has ramifications in terms

of wealth generation, even civic participation. Therefore, while securing farmland is a significant hurdle for new entry farmers overall, structural barriers rooted in the past, and manifesting in the present, impose even greater challenges for farmers of color.

Indigenous movements for "land back"

Around the time I was gaining awareness of settler colonialism as a structuring feature of North American society, I was also learning about activism and initiatives related to Indigenous land return, often under the lexicon of land rematriation or 'land back'. For example, the Sogorea Te' Land Trust is an "urban Indigenous women-led land trust based in the San Francisco Bay Area that facilitates the return of Indigenous land to Indigenous people" (Sogorea Te' Land Trust, 2022). By mobilizing a voluntary land tax – called Shuumi, which means "gift" in the Ohlone language Chochenyo – and through instances of land transfer from settler hands back to Indigenous stewardship, the Sogorea Te' Land Trust is bringing attention to settlers' continued occupation and associated responsibilities on Indigenous lands.

In the short film *#LandBack: What does it mean & how do you enact it?* (2021), interviewee Cedar Rose of the Haisla Nation describes 'land back' as "a deep reflection on previous injustice." Scholar Kaitlin Reed (Yurok/Hupa/Oneida) calls for land reparations as the subsequent step in the state's formal acknowledgement of the California Indigenous genocide: "[t]he dispossession and destruction of our lands was central to the California Indian genocide; therefore, the return and restoration must play a central role in healing from that same genocide" (Reed, 2020, p. 44). Anne Spice, Tlingit member of Kwanlin Dun First Nation states: "When it comes down to it it's pretty simple: it is about the jurisdiction and authority and autonomy that we should have as Indigenous peoples over our own land and our own territory" (Manuel &

Manuel, 2021). However, while 'land back' is rooted in the land, it also entails *more* than access to land: "It's not just physical, it's a conceptual space and what our future can hold on the land, where we can be our entire selves and address the violence against our bodies and our minds and our hearts and our spirits. It's the time and space to heal", says xʷisxʷčaa (Kati) George-Jim, tSouke (Manuel & Manuel, 2021).

Municipalities, non-profit organizations, and individuals have responded to calls to transfer land back to Indigenous ownership and jurisdiction. In 2019, the City of Eureka deeded 200 acres on Duluwat Island to the Wiyot tribe, nearly two decades after the tribe, through their own fundraising efforts, purchased back 1.5 acres of land on the island, and over 150 years after settlers carried out a massacre of Wiyot people on the island (Greenson, 2019). In 2012 and again in 2022, the non-profit Save the Redwoods League transferred ownership of forest land to the Intertribal Sinkyone Wilderness Council, a consortium of tribes with cultural connections to the Mendocino County region (Paz, 2022). And farmers in Nebraska, Nova Scotia and Washington have sold or gifted land back to local tribal nations and organizations (King, 2021; MacInnis, 2021; Special to the Daily News, 2018).

It is alongside these appeals and actions towards Indigenous land return that I situate my interrogation of narrative themes deployed by the farmland access movement to justify claims to land. How do we perceive the discourse of farmland access when considering that the land was stolen, and when confronting ongoing petitions for its return?

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Settler colonialism as framework

Scholars who theorize on settler colonialism invariably make clear that it is premised on and implemented via control over land. As Eve Tuck (Unangax̂) & Allison Guess (2017) write "[s]ettler colonialism is distinct from other forms of colonialism because its main pursuit is land" (p. 45). Barker (2021) concurs: "[s]ettler colonialism has been constructed as a method of transferring control over land – conceptualized broadly – from Indigenous to settler polities" (p. 8). As a theoretical framework and distinct academic field of study, settler colonialism emerged relatively recently, during end of the 20th century and early part of the 21st – though as Snelgrove et al. (2014) point out, "land and the attempted elimination of Indigenous peoples" (p. 7) have long been theorized by Indigenous scholars and activists.

Settler colonialism brings specificity to theories of European global colonization by elucidating dynamics which are particular to places where, as historian Patrick Wolfe (1999) puts it, "the colonizers come to stay" (p. 2). This contrasts with extractive colonialism, which is premised on the appropriation of resources *from* the land, rather than occupation *of* the land. Under extractive colonization "the object is to exploit not only natural resources but also human resources. Native inhabitants represent a cheap labor source that can be harnessed to produce goods and extract materials for export to the *metropole*" (Glenn, 2015, p. 55). Between the 15th and 19th centuries, European powers engaged in colonizing approximately one-third of the world's land (Ertan et al., 2016). The United States and Canada – what Barker terms the "northern bloc" – are both considered settler colonial nations. This is due to a shared history of European extractive colonization which started in the 15th century and was followed by waves of permanent settlement. The Doctrine of Discovery, originating with the Catholic Church,

rationalized the taking of land from non-Christians, a policy which later reverberated through nascent nationhood in the form of Manifest Destiny, providing justification for westward colonial expansion across what is now the United States (Pieratos et al., 2021).

As opposed to extractive colonialism, settler colonialism operates simultaneously through erasure and entitlement: it aims for the "dissolution of native societies" while concurrently "erect[ing] a new colonial society on the expropriated land base" (Wolfe, 2006, 388). Settlers transplant themselves in search of new opportunity, motivated by profiteering, desperate conditions in their homelands, or both. In order to justify their claims to land that was *already inhabited*, the settler colonial project – comprised of individuals acting in consort, alongside government force – enact Indigenous erasure. Wolfe (2006) refers to this as settler colonialism's "logic of elimination", executed via social and ecological violence and legitimated through cultural narratives. Settler colonialism strives to erase/displace pre-existing Indigenous political orders and replace them with a new settler political order (McKay et al., 2020).

While dispossession of land from Indigenous peoples is the unifying theme of settler colonialism, this commenced and continues to occur differently, in different places. Settler colonialism did not unfold "evenly across time and space" (Wolfe, 2006, p. 387). Therefore, while it is possible to talk about settler colonialism as a generalizable framework, one which "highlights commonalities in the history and contemporary situation of indigenous peoples in many parts of the world" (Glenn, 2015, p. 55), it is also important to emphasize that its manifestation is specific to the many ways Indigenous nations, tribes, and communities encountered, responded to, and continue to resist structures of settler colonialism.

Settler colonialism offers an essential lens towards understanding the formation of racial and gender categories in the "northern bloc" of the U.S. and Canada. Concepts of race and

gender congealed to legitimize unequal access to material and economic resources. Settler colonialism "transplanted certain racialized and gendered conceptions and regimes from the metropole but also transformed them in the context of and experiences in the New World" (Glenn, 2015, p. 58). Racial hierarchies were shaped by settlers' imperative to differentiate themselves from Indigenous peoples in order to justify usurping land. Norgaard (2019) situates land (as well as the natural world more broadly) as a key source of wealth in systems of colonialism, imperialism, and capitalism, which are structured according to racial and gendered categories. "Racial categories may be constructed in order to justify access to the natural environment and the right for a given group to manipulate it according to their worldview and interests" (Norgaard, 2019, p. 34). McKay et al. (2020) visualize the mutually reinforcing dynamics of racism and settler colonialism whereby the racist ideologies legitimize settler colonialism's expropriation of land. Alongside Indigenous land dispossession, the 1866 revision to the Homestead Act excluded Blacks from entitlement to 160-acre parcels of land (Norgaard, 2019) and California's Alien Land Laws denied Japanese immigrants the ability to own land (Carlisle, 2014).

Understanding intersections between settler colonialism and race and gender formation helps to situate contemporary theorizing of social inequalities within an underlying context of Indigenous dispossession of sovereignty and land. "[W]hite supremacy birthed the racial distinction of human groups through the racist discourse of settler colonialism" (McKay et al., 2020, p. 5). Settler colonial theory also provides a framework for understanding the distinct position of Indigenous peoples within theories of racialization. The tendency to bundle all non-white racial identities obscures the specificity of Indigenous peoples as sovereign on this land. At the same time, non-white identities, while denied equal entitlement to land under settler

colonialism's racialized hierarchy, are still implicated in the displacement and erasure of Indigenous peoples. Rita Kaur Dhamoon, a Canadian scholar of Sikh background reflecting on settler colonialism, states "people of colour are also structurally implicated in dispossession, whether that's our choice or not" (Snelgrove et al., 2014, p. 19).

Building on the work of scholar Frank B. Wilderson, which posits three social positionings in the U.S. – "Savage", "Slave", or "Human" – Tuck & Guess (2017) argue that within the framework of settler colonialism, Blacks and non-white immigrants are complicit in Indigenous erasure and dispossession, while at the same time settlers and Indigenous people are implicated in antiblackness. Adopting Chickasaw scholar Jodi Byrd's term "arrivant" (used by poet Kamau Brathwaite instead of "slave") they write, "This nomenclature is a recognition of the ways in which arrivants both resist and participate as settlers in the historical project of settler colonialism. The word arrivants helps to highlight the complicity of *all* arrivants [including Black people] in Indigenous erasure and dispossession" (Tuck & Guess, 2017, p. 48, brackets appear in original quote). The point here is to bring specificity to different entanglements within the settler colonial project, and to consider the distinct disruptions of stolen land and stolen labor.

Veracini similarly depicts a triad of positionings within settler colonial structure, supporting an understanding of racial categories in terms of entitlement to land. In this depiction, the "settler collective" represents the colonizer; the "indigenous Others" represent the colonized; and the "exogenous Others" are "those who are in place but have not yet been given access to political rights as settlers" (Veracini, 2010, p. 20). In other words, the "exogenous Others" are those who are neither Indigenous nor racialized white. The presence of "exogenous Others" serves to legitimize the settlers' positioning while also compounding the dispossession of Indigenous people. "[I]mmigrant exogenous Others often benefit from the dispossession of

indigenous people, even as their incorporation within the structures of the settler body politics remains pending (they are implicated; however their positioning *is* distinctive)" (Veracini, 2010, p. 18). Thus, settler colonial theory provides an essential framework through which to understand land as a site of entitlement, exclusion, or erasure contingent on different social positionings.

Within the field of settler colonialism, I have encountered a subset of literature I characterize as critically self-reflexive settler colonial theory, wherein settler authors focus on interrogating and exposing settler perspectives, behaviors, structures, and norms. I use "self" in a broad sense to include reflexivity towards settler collectives and institutions as well as individuals. Barker calls settler colonial theory "a tool of self-critique", enabling, at least to some degree, non-Indigenous researchers to "take account of and address ongoing colonialism" (Barker, 2021, p. 10). My impression is that this vein of scholarship is somewhat more prevalent in Canada than in the United States. In so much as my research is oriented towards critically examining farmland access movements for evidence of settler colonialism's affect, I situate my work within this settler self-reflexive genre.

Themes within the sub-category of settler self-reflexive literature include concepts of home, place, identity, entitlement, activism, hostility, and shifts in awareness. Often, the scholarship proclaims a desire to disrupt settler colonialism by spotlighting it: authors engage in efforts to expose the "fissures, contradictions, and inconsistencies within Western culture, society and knowledge" (Hiller, 2017, p. 420). For example, May Chazan (2020), in her ethnographic case study on how settler activists integrate conceptualizations of 'home' under differing settler positionalities, seeks to understand ways in which "settlers are beginning to destabilize their own claims to belonging, question their own ways of knowing and being on colonized lands, and support Indigenous resurgence through listening, (un)learning, relationship-

building, and meaningful allyship" (Chazan, 2020, p. 37). Similarly, Chris Hiller (2017) interrogates transformations in Canadian settler activists' perceptions, seeking to uncover "critical turning points" wherein the structures of settler colonialism become visible to settlers: "by what processes do settlers come to act in recognition of these realities [of settler colonialism], and what implications do such forms of recognition have for the ways in which we imagine and actively emplace ourselves here, on Indigenous lands?" (Hiller, 2017, p. 418).

Through interviews with Canadian settler food activists/scholars, Lauren Kepkiewicz (2020) finds that "settler food activists impede Indigenous movements for land and self-determination through actions that reaffirm settler rights to Indigenous territories, reinforce private property regimes, uphold the Canadian colonial state, and foreground settler futures on Indigenous lands" (Kepkiewicz, 2020, p. 247). Kepkiewicz positions her work as a response to Mushkegowuk scholar Michelle Daigle's query about "well-intentioned" settler actions which forestall Indigenous sovereignty and land return. Kepkiewicz argues that food systems activists fail to give adequate priority to Indigenous land rights by upholding farmers' rights to land, both in the context of private property and alternative land arrangements.

Eva Mackey (2016) examines settlers' feelings of anger and anxiety in response to Indigenous assertions of rights to land and connects these "structures of feeling" (p. 36) with legitimizing narratives and frameworks of settler colonialism. She terms these frameworks "fantasies of entitlement", arguing that "Western notions of private property, as well as hierarchical and racialized categories of personhood, are deeply related to securing certainty in land and ontological certainty in settler society" (Mackey, 2016, p. 33). Mackey draws a compelling throughline between legal frameworks grounded in the colonial fiction of *terra nullius* and "expectations of ontological certainty in property and privilege for settlers" (p. 34).

Other settler scholars focus beyond settlers' awareness of their own roles in settler colonialism to examine the ways institutions and the built environment are shaped by settler colonialism. Adam Barker (2021) analyzes the formation of rural, urban, and suburban spaces to show how each are shaped by and imbued with narratives and values of settler colonialism. Marcel Brousseau (2021) interrogates the university as a site of Indigenous erasure and dispossession, both pedagogically (referencing Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernandez, 2013) and by way of appropriation of Indigenous lands. The author posts a sign at the trailhead of a wildlife preserve in Eugene, Oregon in an autobiographic attempt to make *visible* the evidence of Indigenous land dispossession described in the High Country News article, "Land-grab Universities" (Lee & Ahtone, 2020). The sign exposes one of the enactments of settler colonialism on that place: land which had been stewarded by the Kalapuya and other Indigenous peoples of the Pacific Northwest region was taken by the U.S. government, broken into parcels, and sold *by* the state of Virginia in order to endow its land grant colleges.

It is important to note that Indigenous scholars and others have challenged settler colonial theory for sustaining erasure of Indigenous subjectivity and epistemology through its emphasis on settlers and settler institutions. Snelgrove et al. (2014) question whether the field of settler colonial studies, typically represented by non-Indigenous scholars, has surpassed Indigenous studies in volume of attention and funding it garners, thereby replicating the same structural dynamics it seeks (in theory) to resolve. There is no doubt that keen attention must be paid to representation and positionality in scholarship, and that the perspectives and paradigms of Indigenous thinkers – both inside and outside the academy – must be amplified and elevated. Scholars who occupy advantaged social positions must not be the most frequently heard or cited voices (Delgado, 1992) and I apply this critique to my own research.

At the same time, settlers' challenging of settler attitudes and institutions can *de*invisibilize the narratives of settler colonialism and may be one step towards transforming those structures. "It is important that we focus on settler, on what they do, and how they think about what they do," Veracini writes, "to avoid the possibility that, despite attempts to decolonize our gaze, we continue understanding the settler as normative" (Veracini, 2010, p. 15). Kwaymullina (2018) calls for white feminists to listen to Indigenous women's voices while "interrogat[ing] positionality, whiteness and colonialism, rather than interrogating Indigeneity" (Kwaymullina, 2018, p. 204). Shining the lens on settler colonial frameworks can deobfuscate them as universal or normative; however, attention must simultaneously be given to avoiding the pitfall of recentering settler positionality in doing so.

METHODOLOGY

Given the centrality of land in the maintenance of settler colonialism, my research seeks to theorize farmland access advocacy through a settler colonial framework. I use discourse analysis to examine the movement's narrative themes, as derived from mission and values statements. Discourse analysis is a form of social science research which looks to language and text as a means of understanding socially constructed realities. "It is through the recognition and interaction of the various discourses in which we are embedded that meaning is created, power is conveyed, and the world is rendered recognizable" (Dittmer, 2010, 275). I also draw on content analysis for a more systematic, descriptive approach to deriving meaning from language (Green-Saraisky, 2015).

While some researchers sharply segregate content analysis from discourse analysis, I support Hardy et al. (2004) in their assertion that the two can be complementary: "More

qualitative forms of content analysis that (…) include a sensitivity to the usage of words and the context in which they are used are compatible with discourse analysis and can, in fact, be used within a broad discourse analytic methodology in the analysis of social reality" (p. 20). Discourse analysis situates meaning within historical and social processes (Fairclough, 2012), and as such augments the theoretical framework of settler colonialism: both give attention to hegemony and power as constructed via narrative. Critical discourse analysis "does not simply describe existing realities but also evaluates them, assesses the extent to which they match up to various values, which are taken (more or less contentiously) to be fundamental for just or decent societies" (Fairclough, 2012, p. 9). In comparison, qualitative content analysis is "defined as a research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns" (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, 1278). Content analysis is widely used to interpret media and public communications (Green-Saraisky, 2015).

A systematic approach to content analysis is important (Schreier, 2014; Bhattacherjee, 2012); however, Hsieh & Shannon (2005) distinguish different degrees of flexibility in constructing the coding frame, proposing a typology of conventional, directed and summative. In summative content analysis, the occurrence or usage of words or phrases is tallied for frequency; a method which intersects with quantitative approaches and positivist methodology. Directed content analysis looks to the text to confirm a hypothesis or theory; as such, coding is established based on pre-defined themes. By contrast, in conventional content analysis, the coding framework is derived from the researchers' engagement with the texts, "allowing the categories and names for categories to flow from the data" (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, 1279). As I describe

below, my methodology combines directed and conventional approaches to content analysis alongside critical discourse analysis.

The source of my data is public facing websites of farmland access initiatives [4]. Websites are commonly used as material in both content analysis and discourse analysis. For example, using content analysis, Ki & Shin (2015) investigated 200 companies in the U.S. and South Korea combined to explore how cultural difference between the two countries is made manifest in messaging about environmental sustainability. Taking a different approach, de Burgh-Woodman & King (2013) focused on a single company website – that of Toyota – to conduct critical discourse analysis on values associated with sustainability. Although research using websites is more widely prevalent in the business sector, it is not limited to that realm. Wilson & Carlsen (2016) use discourse analysis to investigate how website messaging impacts school choice and segregation, and Spoel (2008) assesses communication between patient and provider within a pre-natal healthcare setting as mediated by website design. Lemke (1999) affirms websites as "material-semiotic phenomena."

While websites serve as the site of my data collection, my analysis pays particular attention to narratives conveyed by mission and values statements. Seen as an articulation of the "fundamental purpose" of an organization or endeavor, a mission statement "gives meaning to work, motivates people and foster consensus activities conducive to the achievement of organizational goals" (Bakoglu & Askun, 2007, p. 66). Scholars have looked to mission

[4] According to the Cambridge Dictionary online, an initiative is defined as "a new plan or action to improve something or solve a problem", and an organization is "a group whose members work together for a shared purpose in a continuing way". Since activities around farmland access take both forms, throughout this text I use these two words more or less interchangeably when generalizing. However, in discussing the findings I do distinguish between initiatives – synonymous with programs – as embedded, or nested, within organizations, synonymous with enterprises or non-profit entities.

statements as a way of elucidating underlying social paradigms and relationships. For example, Barniskis (2016) applied constructivist grounded theory to the mission statements of 32 public libraries in order to understand the "reality claims, metaphors, and subject positioning" (p. 135) embedded within, and demonstrate instances where the language serves to disempower the library user. Ayers (2005) analyzed the mission statements of 144 US-based community colleges (obtained from the institutions' websites) to show neoliberal ideologies prevail in how campuses articulate their purpose.

Critical discourse analysis is anchored in the idea that our social reality is "conceptually mediated" (Fairclough, 2012, p. 9), meaning we both interpret and construct the world through textual representation. Here, the term "textual" refers to the broad topography of cultural and linguistic representation – visual images, words both written and spoken – which express and contest structures of knowledge and power (Luke, 1995). Critical discourse analysis is concerned with the ways in which cultural hegemonies are constructed, reproduced, and resisted. This methodology is particularly suited to analysis using a settler colonialism framework because, as Dunbar-Ortiz (2014) writes, "Origin narratives form the vital core of a people's unifying identity and of the values that guide them" (p. 3). Settler colonialism is a hegemonic structure reproduced by social relations and spatial logics shaped by narratives. Barker (2021) writes: "How settlers imagine themselves is a product of both meta-narratives and personal or site-specific experiences" (p. 17). Discourse analysis serves to interpret and interrupt the flow of what is assumed to be true.

I analyze publicly available information as a way of elucidating discursive themes within farmland access initiatives: how their underlying values and priorities are expressed both through their programming and through narrative and explanatory text. While human subject research is a

common method within the social sciences, I chose to use publicly available data for several reasons. One, as prominent platforms of external communication, websites are presumed to represent an organization's agreed upon priorities and values (Jonsen et al., 2021; Ki & Shin, 2015), likely achieving this more accurately than an individual interview subject. Indeed, as Beckett & Galt (2014) found in examining how land trusts position themselves in relation to new entry farmers seeking land, perspectives from different staff people within the same organization can be in conflict. Two, while websites are not static, the information derived from them is typically more temporally stable than from an individual interview subject, whose views and knowledge may be influenced by any number of factors (hunger, fatigue, distraction, preoccupation) given any specific moment in time (Fadyl & Nicholls, 2013). Finally, guided by my values as an emerging researcher, I chose to pay respect to the already expended labor that produced digital communications pertaining to my topic, rather than make a request for new labor in the form of participation in interviews, focus groups or surveys. Appealing to a human subject's time and effort as knowledge, perspectives and – one hopes – honesty can reproduce an imbalanced relationship between the researcher and the subject (Wallerstein & Duran, 2006). While the argument is made that research findings offer benefit to a greater public good, in many cases the direct return to the subject is minimal or non-existent.

METHODS

Sample selection

In order to identify the farmland access initiatives which are my subject of inquiry, I started with existing lists already compiled by reputable sources working in the new entry farmer

sector. The lists from these sources included organizations and initiatives related to land access across the United States and into Canada[5]. The sources for those lists were:

1. *Land Link Directory* (National Young Farmers Coalition, 2019a) https://www.youngfarmers.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/Land-Link-Directory-2019.pdf

2. The Greenhorns' Resources webpage (The Greenhorns, 2020b), specifically "Organizations Working on Land Access Issues" and "Farm Linking Programs" (https://greenhorns.org/resources-list/)

3. American Farmland Trusts' Farmland Information Center searchable database (2022) results for "Farm Link Programs" (https://farmlandinfo.org/programs/?program_type=414)

4. *Land Access for Beginning and Disadvantaged Farmers* (Figueora & Penniman, 2020), specifically the organizations listed on page 7 as "examples of organizations that work at the local and national level". (https://www.dataforprogress.org/memos/land-access-for-beginning-disadvantaged-farmers)

The National Young Farmers Coalition (NYFC) was founded in 2010 in order to "tackle the many challenges that young, independent farmers face in their first years operating a farm business" (National Young Farmers Coalition, n.d.-b). The 501(c)3 organization's current mission states, "We shift power and change policy to equitably resource our new generation of working farmers" and lists land access as one of their five programmatic themes (National Young Farmers Coalition, n.d.-a). The Greenhorns is a grassroots organization started in 2008 whose mission is to "recruit, promote, and support the incoming generation of farmers in America" through media, publications and events (The Greenhorns, 2020). Both NYFC and

[5] While my review of the new entry farmer movement is focused on the United States, I made the decision to include Canada in my data collection for the following reasons. Despite distinct historical trajectories, the United States and Canada both exist today as settler colonial states. The border between the two – which intersects tribal homelands, such as those of the Akwesasne Mohawk and the Chippawa – is an enactment of the continued structures of settler colonialism. Additionally, my theoretical framework and analysis are informed by Indigenous thinkers writing from and in response to the so-called Canadian state. Therefore, in determining my inclusion criteria, it didn't make sense to allow "[p]erceived differences between Canada and the United States distract us from attending to their shared processes of settlement facilitated by attempted genocide" (Barker, 2021, p. 3).

The Greenhorns are strongly allied with the new entry farmers' movement, and there is some historical association between the two, as The Greenhorns' current and founding director was involved in the creation of both organizations. American Farmland Trust (AFT) is a 40 year old non-profit – started in 1980 – dedicated to "protecting agricultural land, promoting environmentally sound farming practices, and keeping farmers on the land" (American Farmland Trust, 2022). AFT's origins are in the land conservation movement, uniting values of environmentalism with agriculture.

The report *Land Access for Beginning and Disadvantaged Farmers* was included as a source to complement the more comprehensive inventories described above because of its explicit centering of socially disadvantaged farmers. While its contribution is a much shorter list of organizations, it represents an emphasis on "creative solutions" not otherwise captured. The report was released by Data for Progress ("a progressive think tank") as part of their series on the Green New Deal (Data for Progress, 2022).

Data cleaning

Combining the sources detailed above generated a list of 146 land access initiatives, including 6 in Canada (46 from NYFC, 47 from The Greenhorns, 43 from AFT, and 10 from the Data for Progress report). Removing duplicate entries reduced the number of initiatives to 88. I confirmed that each organization or initiative had a functioning website and removed those that did not (80 remaining). Some organizations had placeholder language on their website landing page, indicating that the program was on pause, or going through a re-evaluation phase. Those were also removed. Next, I reviewed each initiative's website for evidence of programming that was: 1) focused specifically on linking farmers to land opportunities (i.e., supporting farmland access), and 2) involved active programming carried out by the organization (i.e., more than just

providing resource links that redirected to other organizations). Organizations engaging landowners around conservation easements *only* (without accompanying farmland access programing) did not count for inclusion. Farmland access programming carried out alongside other unrelated programming (e.g., local food promotion) *did* count for inclusion. In most cases, this information was clear from the organization's landing or home page. In some cases, it took navigating to other areas of the website, such as the organization's "What we do" or "About us" menus. These scans were relatively brief, and not comprehensive of the organization's programing. In other words, if programming related to land access for farmers was not easily and immediately evident, the organization was not included. Of the 80 initiatives surveyed, 45 met the above inclusion criteria and 27 were excluded outright. An additional eight were ambiguous because while they did address land tenure in some way, they were not explicitly engaged in land linking. Ultimately, I decided to exclude these from my analysis, though I reference two of them in the discussion. The data cleaning process thus yields a total of 45 organizations for analysis.

Data collection and analysis

My data collection process entailed visiting the website for each of the 45 initiatives and capturing the page content via screen shots and plain text into NVIVO, a software application used for qualitative data analysis. This was carried out in August 2022. In most cases, two website pages were gathered: the home or landing page, and the "About" or "Mission" page. In some cases, the values of organizations were explicitly identified as mission and/or vision statements. In other cases, they were not. In situations where they were not, I made the inference that website text related to organizational values and function served as implicit statements of mission, vision and/or goals. Since my focus was on narrative themes found in values statements, I did not capture or review information about staffing, program structure, listing format, and

other programmatic details. However, I did note whether the land access initiative was embedded within or operated by an organization, perhaps alongside a broader range of activities, or whether it was the sole objective of a standalone organization.

I adopted an iterative approach to coding, identifying and refining the themes over several readings of the organizational values statements. According to Hsieh & Shannon (2005), directed content analysis is a type of qualitative content analysis that "looks to validate or extend conceptually a theoretical framework or theory" (p. 1281). I entered my research with the hypothesis that farmland access initiatives would be largely silent on the topic of colonial land theft and Indigenous land rematriation in their values statements – I was looking to validate this. However, I more extensively relied on conventional content analysis, where the researcher first reads through the data to "obtain a sense of the whole", then derives and refines codes "from key thoughts or concepts" (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, p. 1279).

During my first round of coding, I identified seven overarching categories and 28 sub-categories (Table 1). A second round of coding narrowed the themes to 11 key themes and one sub-theme – or 12 coding categories, which I discuss in my findings (Table 2). The decision to merge categories was based on concordance between concepts or themes. Values statements were coded to multiple themes, when applicable. I drew on critical discourse analysis to situate textual themes within broader historical and ideological contexts. Following Fairclough (2012), my analysis is grounded in the 'social wrong' (p. 13) of Indigenous land theft as maintained by settler colonialism. The theoretical framework provided scaffolding by which I analyzed the coding themes for their discursive role in reproducing or contesting settler colonialism.

Table 1: Coding categories and sub-categories (first pass)

Agricultural sustainability
Community
Economic values - business viability
Enviro - Ecological
Family farms
Farm scale - Small
Land - Rural
Land - Urban
Land as relationship
Stewardship of land (tend)
Food
Food access
Food values - healthy, local
Recognition of socio-economic factors
Affordability of land
Historical context
Justice & equity
Non-invisibilizing of race
Settler entitlement to land
Future
Next generation of farmers
Settler structures of land holding
Farming
Landowners as key participant
Protecting farmland
Unsettling approaches
Alternatives to private property
Breaking boundaries
Land as pedagogy
Land use other than farming
Non-human community
Rematriation
Miscellaneous
Markets

Limitations

In order to identify farmland access initiatives, I started with existing lists of organizations that had been compiled by four reputable sources in the sector and merged those lists. The most current (and shortest) of these lists was from 2020 and one was undated. This means that very recent/emergent organizations may have been excluded, since at best the lists were a few years old. However, the goal of my research was not to create a comprehensive compendium of land access initiatives in the United States; my intent was rather to understand the paradigms reflected within the movement.

Perhaps more significantly, there is a limitation to what one can know from a website. A critique of this research is that it is admittedly shallow. There may be initiatives and narratives deployed by these organizations that I could uncover via a deeper dive – for example, by looking at Annual Reports, blog posts, newsletters, the composition of the Board, etc. However, my data collection process veered more towards shallow and wide (covering the United States and Canada) rather than focused and deep. While there is much I may have missed, a contribution of this research is pointing out some trends that future deeper dives could investigate.

FINDINGS & DISCUSSION

The 45 websites I examined all demonstrated some involvement in supporting farmland access. The majority – 82% – were initiatives within broader organizations. The organizations hosting land access initiatives were non-profits (29%), land trusts (20%), collaborations between entities (18%), government (9%), and university (7%). In cases where the land access initiatives were operated by non-profit organizations, those non-profits tended to have a focus on food, agriculture, and (often rural) community. Agencies represented under government included state

departments of agriculture, a conservation district, and an agricultural development commission. Collaborations were between various combinations of the types of organizations listed above: non-profits, land trusts, state departments of agriculture, and universities. One collaboration also included private partners in the legal and produce industries. The overwhelming majority – 91% – of the initiatives were based in the United States. That only 9% of the initiatives were Canadian may be more indicative of the fact that the sample selection was derived from organizations based in the United States (e.g., National Young Farmers Coalition, Greenhorns, American Farmland Trust), rather than of how many land access initiatives are actually present in Canada.

In my review of the mission, vision, and goals statements of these land access initiatives, I found strong consistency in the values articulated, which also closely align with the rationale for these programs reflected by the new entry farmer movement, previously summarized in the background section of this paper. One central aspect of their narrative is the importance of farmers and agriculture – not surprising since farmland is "baked in" to the initiatives' reason for being. Prominent and concordant themes include emphasis on generational continuity, "protection" or preservation of farmland, environmental sustainability, and benefit to community (Table 2). Secondary themes emphasize the importance of food, economic viability, and affordability of land. Some of the initiatives address racial equity. Minor themes also include attention to rural places, aging farmers, and relationships.

Sixteen percent of the initiatives were not coded to any of the above themes. This was the case where website text was descriptive of the mechanics of land linking only and did not make any values statements. For example:

- "TN Farm Link is a web tool developed by the Appalachian Resource Conservation & Development Council in partnership with the TN Department of Agriculture: Helping farm seekers and farmland owners find each other"

- "FarmLink is a list of Minnesota farm properties for sale or rent. FarmLink can also help connect retiring farmers with prospective farmers, and experienced farmers with beginning farmers"
- New Jersey Land Link "is designed to help connect farmers and landowners to farming opportunities sought and available, including certain employment opportunities. If you are a farmer seeking access to land, or a farm owner with land available, you can create a listing on the website"

Table 2: Farmland access initiatives narrative themes

		Percent initiatives with theme (n = 45)
THEME 1:	Generational continuity	58%
THEME 2:	Farmland preservation / protection	38%
THEME 3:	Environmental values	40%
THEME 3.1:	Broader ecological values	16%
THEME 4:	Community engagement / benefit	47%
THEME 5:	Food	27%
THEME 6:	Economic contribution / viability	24%
THEME 7:	Equity	18%
THEME 8:	Affordability of land	18%
THEME 9:	Rural character	9%
THEME 10:	Aging farmers	7%
THEME 11:	Relationality	7%

By far the most common type of intervention – in its most distilled form – was brokering linkages between those seeking and those possessing land. This was to be expected since it was a facet of the inclusion criteria. Many, like TN Farm Link, expressed the goal of "helping farm seekers and farmland owners find each other." Most initiatives functioned according to some type of linking or matching mechanism, such as a database or listings. For example, according to New Jersey Land Link, "If you are a farmer seeking access to land, or a farm owner with land available, you can create a listing on the website." Some initiatives offered additional support services, such as the Columbia Land Conservancy's Farmland Matching and Advising program,

which "connects farmers seeking land with landowners seeking farmers, and provides resources and individual consultations to facilitate fair, secure, and long-term farm leases, and farm sales." However, as stated, the focus of my analysis was less on the mechanisms of these initiatives as the underlying values being represented.

In the discussion that follows, I will show how the narrative themes found in the farmland access movement serve to uphold concepts of settler futurity and entitlement to land. An emphasis on generational continuity – maintaining farms from one generation to the next – when situated within the context of agriculture's role in Indigenous land dispossession risks replicating existing structures of settler colonialism. Presenting farmland as a form of spatial assemblage to be protected or preserved assumes its inherent "goodness" and further fails to acknowledge the complicity of agriculture in rupturing ecological systems and lifeways maintained by Indigenous peoples. I suggest that the thematic values of environmentalism and community expressed by farmland access initiatives center ecological care and relationships in ways that echo Indigenous epistemologies on land, yet these values can challenge capitalism's most extractive tendencies while leaving settler colonial structures – namely, Indigenous alienation from land – intact.

Generational continuity: futurity & the "next generation"

Over half of the farmland access initiatives emphasize the importance of generational continuity in their values statements. Of the narrative themes I identified, this one is most prominent. I use the term "generational continuity" to include a focus on the up-and-coming (presumably new entry) farmer as well as the notion that agriculture *itself* must be maintained into the future: as land use and livelihood. In general, these concepts are mutual and intertwined.

- "Supporting land access for next generation farmers" – Agrarian Trust

- "We keep land in production by making it accessible to a new generation of farmers" – Farmer to Farmer
- "…keep our farmers farming" – Alaska FarmLink
- "…keeping farmers on the land" – American Farmland Trust
- "…support to ranchers, farmers, landowners & land seekers in order to secure agriculture's future on the land" – Colorado Land Link
- "…shepherd prime farmland from its current stewards into the hands of the next generation" – MiFarmLink
- "Resilient farms now and for future generations" – Practical Farmers of Iowa
- "… caring for the health of the land for future generations" – Farmland Legacies
- "Linking Farmers to the Future" – PA Farm Link

Several of the values statements recognize the landowner or retiring farmer as an important stakeholder. Indeed, the character of the aging farmer represents the counterweight to the "next generation." Vermont Land Link states that "We work directly with landowners and retiring farmers searching for next generation farmers to continue Vermont's farming legacy." As an aside, it seems worth noting that emphasis on the future may be characteristic of mission and vision statements generally, as forward-looking categories of text.

Eve Tuck & Rubén A. Gaztambide-Fernandez (2013) define "settler futurity" as the reproduction of a knowable future in which settler colonial structures of Indigenous erasure remain unchanged and unchallenged. Veracini (2010) argues that settler colonialism has a linear form, unlike extractive colonialism which circles back on itself (the colonizer *returning* home to the metropole). "[T]he settler colonizer moves forward along a storyline that cannot be turned back" (Veracini, 2010, p. 98). Within the narrative of settler colonialism, settlers imagine a past to legitimize their future: "settlers construe their very movement forward as a "return" to something that was irretrievably lost: a return to the land, but also a return to an Edenic condition" (Veracini, 2010, pp. 98–99). The theme of affirming farming's legacy evident in the

farmland access values statements aligns with this feature of settler colonialism. This can be seen in NWA Farmlink's statement: "The family farm is rarely passed down as it once was generation to generation. Today, new farmers need help navigating their journey to farm as do farmland owners planning a farm legacy."

It is important to acknowledge that stewarding of land – which includes soil, water, vegetation – *is* an endeavor that is ongoing, and does connect one generation to the next. In this sense, care for the land is both a cumulative and enduring project. The ideology of passing down of the family farm resists the notion that land is merely a commodity, purely subject to market forces. However, the fact that 95% of farmers in the U.S. are white (USDA NASS, 2017a) calls into question the narrative of generational transfer as one that risks further embedding current patterns of inequity.

In addition to "futuring" the next generation of farmers, an additional narrative thread asserts the future of agriculture itself. Land for Good states: "Our mission is to ensure the future of farming in New England by putting more farmers more securely on more land." Maine Farmland Trust "… protects farmland, supports farmers, and advances the future of farming." I suggest that this emphasis on continuity is illustrative of settler fantasies of certainty and entitlement. In her book *Unsettled Expectations: Uncertainty, Land and Settler Decolonization,* Mackey (2016) applies concepts of certainty and entitlement in characterizing how settlers relate to and conceive of land, demonstrating how "settler fantasies of possession and entitlement" (p. 10) are reenforced through legal frameworks and through settler discourse. By using the word "fantasy", Mackey challenges the legitimacy of settler land claims, arguing that they are "rarely examined within settler nation-states, but simply assumed, especially within the daily lives of many non-Indigenous people" (Mackey, 2016, p. 42). Drawing on court cases in the United

States and Canada for evidence, Mackey demonstrates how the legal logics used to establish the dominion of these nation-states over Indigenous sovereignty were based on the historically located and socially constructed fictions of *terra nullius*, first possession, and "western notions of property and personhood" (Mackey, 2016, p. 54). Her research shows how settlers resisting Indigenous land claims in Ontario, Canada and upstate New York frequently emphasized the number of generations that connected them to the land, and the labor they expended in transforming it into its present state (p. 84). Referencing a letter to the editor sent by a community member in her ethnographic case study, Mackey writes, "by linking the 'hard work' performed by settlers to making the 'land what it is today', they mobilize the idea that productive labour provides entitlement to land in the past, present, and future ('the future of families to continue building on that land')" (Mackey, 2016, p. 102).

In *An Indigenous Peoples' History of the United States*, Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz evokes Anishinaabe (Ojibwe) scholar Jean O'Brien's articulation of "firsting and lasting", where the settler narrative is one of celebrating the firsts: "first school, first dwelling, first everything, as if there had never been occupants who thrived in those places before Euro-Americans" (Dunbar-Ortiz, 2014, p. 9) while representing Indigenous expression as the "last" – gesturing towards extinction. In concurrence with Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernandez, I suggest that unless farmland access initiatives are explicit about continuing into a *different* future, one that deliberately contests settler colonial structures, the emphasis on transferring land from generation to generation risks compounding the falsity of these narrative bookends and further fails to acknowledge the settler colonial root of farmland ownership practices and policies.

Protecting and preserving farmland

A second prominent theme found in the values statements of farmland access initiatives is concern for protecting or preserving farmland. In most cases, the source of threat is not explicitly stated; however, a link to urban/suburban development might be inferred. Between 2001 and 2016, 10.9 million acres of agricultural land was converted to highly developed (e.g., urban, commercial, industrial) or low-density residential (e.g., large lot development) land use (American Farmland Trust, 2020). An additional, presumed menace could be enterprise consolidation within the agricultural sector. Between 2012 and 2017, the average farm size increased while the total number of farms declined (National Sustainable Agriculture Coalition, 2019).

The theme of protecting/preserving farmland is articulated in the following ways:

- "We are working to save the land that sustains us by protecting farmland" – American Farmland Trust
- "… protects and stewards threatened farmland across the state" – Farmer to Farmer
- "… protects farmland, supports farmers, and advances the future of farming" – Maine FarmLink
- "We protect farmlands" – Agrarian Trust

While the above examples focus on protecting the *land* itself, other values statements emphasize the protection of a certain *model* of food production (e.g., ecological or family owned) – or of farming itself:

- "…protecting the future of farming in Iowa while promoting sustainable agriculture" – Sustainable Iowa Land Trust
- "… help preserve family farms" – Practical Farmers of Iowa
- "… protect, promote and sustain resilient and economically viable community agricultural systems" – Oregon Farm Link

Some initiatives explicitly link the protection of land with particular social and/or environmental values, including food access, land affordability, or quality of life. For example (with emphases added):

- "…providing communities access to *wholesome and healthy food* by assisting farmers and their communities to find ways to protect agricultural land for long-term affordable agricultural use" – Equity Trust
- "… grow a *healthy local* food community by preserving farmland, teaching new farmers, and *making food accessible* for all" – Farm Link Montana
- "… preserve and enhance the *quality of life* for all people in Northwest Arkansas through the permanent protection of land" – NWA Farmlink
- "… work to protect and enhance farmland so that we, and generations to come, will have *clean air and water, fertile soil, and healthy, delicious food*" – Illinois Farmland Access Initiative

I assert that the narrative of preservation, when examined through the framework of settler colonial theory, echoes the discursive theme of continuance discussed above. It assumes and affirms farmland as the best use of land, thereby implicitly reproducing the logic of settler colonialism. Furthermore, positioning land and farming as threatened, and therefore in need of "protection," erases the historical and ongoing role played by settler agriculture in severing Indigenous peoples' relationships to their homelands.

Agricultural interests played a role in Congress' refusal to ratify treaties with California tribes because settlers "were concerned that lands potentially containing resources or of agricultural worth would be ceded" (Laverty, 2003, p. 53). The USDA Commissioner under Lincoln described the western expansion of agriculture as "planting new empires in the wilderness" (Knobloch, 1996, p. 57), reiterating settler colonialism's foundational trope of "the prospect unused land" (Harris, 2004, p. 171). Dunbar-Ortiz describes how the enclosure movement in 16th and 17th century Europe disenfranchised peasant farmers, driving them to

claim farmland on Indigenous lands in the northern bloc: “this displaced population was available to serve as settlers in the North American British colonies, many of them as indentured servants, with the promise of land. After serving their terms of indenture, they were free to squat on Indigenous land and become farmers again” (Dunbar-Ortiz, 2014, p. 35).

To point to ways in which agriculture is embedded within structures of settler colonialism is not to imply that there are no Indigenous farmers. The 2017 U.S. Census of Agriculture documents over 58,000 Native producers (USDA NASS, 2017a), and the Intertribal Agriculture Council has, since the 1980s, connected marketing and resource strategies with a long history of land-based knowledge (Intertribal Agriculture Council, 2022). Examples of Indigenous agriculture, both preceding and following settler colonialism, are omnifarious, particular to place, and characterized by abundance and innovation. In the 17th century, Native agriculturalists in the Ohio River Valley tended vast orchards of fruit and fields of corn (Sleeper-Smith, 2018) and the Pima engaged in significant wheat production following its introduction to the Southwest (Knobloch, 1996). However, settler agrarianism was a central justification in wresting land away from Indigenous peoples. “It is not merely farming that is labor; it is a particular Eurocentric understanding of the relationship to the land that is actualized in that farming labor” (Burkhart, 2019, p. 41).

While agriculture was not the only driver of Indigenous land dispossession under settler colonialism, it is unique in its associated myth of permanence. Farming, more so than other extractive land pursuits like mining or timber logging, exemplifies settler colonialism’s distinguishing feature whereby “settlers, by definition, stay” (Veracini, 2010, p. 6). In the first decade of California’s statehood, the amount of land under settler cultivation just in Los Angeles increased from 2,648 acres to 20,600 acres, mostly for cattle ranching and wine grapes (Akins &

Bauer, 2021). The dual forces of settler colonialism and capitalist agriculture resulted in a dramatic decline in California's grasslands, wetlands, coldwater tributary habitat, old growth forests (Claire & Surprise, 2022). This loss of habitat prompts consideration of whether land should be conserved *from* farming. A discourse which emphasizes farmland *protection* risks overlooking agriculture's historic assault on Indigenous livelihoods and relationships to land.

Environmental sustainability and ecological stewardship

Sustainability is a prominent discourse among farmland access initiatives, appearing in over half of the values statements. Approximately one-fifth of the farmland access initiatives also refer to ecological values outside of an agricultural context, often in ways that underscore meaningful relationships between humans and the natural world.

Concepts of environmental sustainability and stewardship as descriptors of agricultural practices can be seen in the following examples:

- GA FarmLink "ensures Georgia's best farms continue contributing to the local economy through sustainable farming practices"
- Idaho Farm Link seeks to "foster the success of sustainable small acreage farmers and ranchers"
- Heartland Farmlink is "dedicated to promoting and supporting sustainable, ecological, and healthful food systems"
- Farmland Legacies maintains "a focus on providing long-term, ecologically sound stewardship"
- Vermont Farmland Access Program "advances sustainable food and farming systems in Vermont and beyond"

Values statements which reflect a broader conceptualization of stewardship, extending beyond farming and to elements of the natural world not directly tied to agriculture, include:

- Columbia Land Conservancy “works with our community to conserve the farmland, forests, wildlife habitat, and rural character of Columbia County”
- Northeast Illinois Farmlink seeks “to demonstrate and foster ways for people and nature to thrive together”
- Farm Link Montana “shows respect, integrity, and trust for all people and natural resources”
- South Sound FarmLink fosters “[a] culture of voluntary stewardship of our natural resources built through relationships with individuals, organizations, and governments”
- Oregon Farm Link “envisions a local, diversified, and interconnected agricultural future built by small and mid-size farms where people, animals, communities and ecosystems thrive, and equitable policies improve lives and land for Oregonians”

While principles of sustainability are not uniformly defined (de Burgh-Woodman & King, 2013), the concept is generally understood to describe a system maintained in a manner such that it is not depleted and its ability to recover from disruption is preserved (D’Souza & Ikerd, 1996). Discourse around sustainability is rooted in the social and environmental movements of the 1970s and often adopts a posture that counters, or at least tempers, capitalism (Knox & Miller, 2022). Interest in sustainability within agricultural systems emerged in response to increased industrialization and corresponding environmental degradation from chemical use and mechanization (Allen, 2004).

In 2017, 75% of young farmers surveyed by the National Young Farmers Coalition described their practices as sustainable (Ackoff et al., 2017), therefore a discursive focus on sustainability on the part of farmland access initiatives is unsurprising, given that new entry farmers are its core constituency. These values also align with the alternative food movement, which emphasizes human and environmental health, in the form of non-chemical growing practices and direct connection to food source (Guthman, 2008).

However, analysis through a settler colonial framework challenges the very notion of sustainability by foregrounding Indigenous land dispossession and ecological disruptions wrought by agriculture. This is persuasively captured by A-dae Romero-Briones (Cochiti/Kiowa) speaking as part of the virtual panel discussion, *Stolen Land: The Struggle for Rematriation*:

> Our mental picture of agriculture informs us of the erasure of everything that came before that. All the farmland in America was once Indigenously owned, but even beyond the land piece there are food systems and ways of existing in the world that don't require row cropping… Agriculture is a very colonial term and it was used to draw the line between those who are civilized and those who are not – but we have to get beyond that. Because part of the solution to whatever crisis we're living in right now is thinking about those mental images we have, we carry about agriculture and challenging them, so even when we talk about annual crop agriculture, that is not a sustainable practice… *(Marya et al., 2021)*

Indeed, in their examination of hydrologic infrastructure in California, Claire & Surprise (2022) argue that "the expansion of agriculture and other capitalist industry in California has resulted in extensive environmental change" (p. 155).

Environmental justice scholar Kyle Powys Whyte (enrolled member of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation) argues that settler colonialism is characterized by maladaptive environmental strategies which seek to disrupt the preexisting Indigenous ecologies. "Likely due in part to settlers' lack of experience in that land, as well as cultural and economic values associated with their expectations for a certain quality of life, the settler homeland engenders collective capacities through rather unsustainable means: deforestation, extraction, water and air pollution, commodity agriculture, urban sprawl, widespread automobile adoption, and so on" (Whyte, 2015, pp. 17–18). "Collective capacities" refers to strategies by which a group decides for themselves how to adapt and respond to "metascale forces" such as climate change, invasion, etc. (K. P. Whyte, 2015). Settlers "seek to incise their own ecologies required for their own collective capacities to flourish in the landscapes they seek to occupy permanently" (Whyte et

al., 2018, p. 159). In other words, settler colonialism is the process by which settler ecologies overwrite (and override) Indigenous ecologies. This process, which Whyte refers to as "homeland-inscription" (K. P. Whyte, 2015, p. 15), has the impact of disrupting Indigenous ecologies. An example of this can be found in the Klamath River Basin where, during the Allotment era, in order to receive ownership title to land, the Karuk were required to demonstrate agricultural use, something that was difficult to do in the region's forested and mountainous terrain (Norgaard, 2019). The result was loss of Indigenous territorial jurisdiction, along with corresponding ecological degradation and interference with the Karuk Tribe's collective capacities.

In northern bloc countries, ecological disruption is linked to the convergence of settler colonialism with capitalism. Yet despite this entwined dynamic, contestation of capitalism does not necessarily equate to a refusal of settler colonialism. Geographer Cole Harris describes how settlers in British Columbia pursued farming or homesteading as a way of escaping conscription into capitalism's wage labor, and had the effect of displacing Indigenous peoples in the process: "They had found a little land on the basis of which they hoped to get by, avoid the work relations of industrial capitalism, and leave their progeny more than they had known themselves. (…) Such stories are at the heart of settler colonialism" (Harris, 2004, p. 173). This example makes clear how refusals of capitalism can still reproduce settler colonialism. Similarly, embrace of environmental values doesn't equate to a rejection of settler colonialism, as Whyte points out regarding environmental justice activism related to the Dakota Pipeline: "when people forget about settler colonialism, they tend to isolate our environmental issues as just one-off items and forget that we're in a much longer and deeper struggle than that" (Young, 2020).

In the values statements of farmland access initiatives, the theme of environmental sustainability is most frequently evoked as a desirable characteristic of agricultural practices or food systems. However, some of the initiatives frame their stewardship values in ways that extend to the broader ecosystem. For example, Farmland Legacies describes one of its guiding principles as "caring for the system as a whole – understanding the fundamental roles and values of natural systems, building up biological fertility in the soil, incorporating an understanding of the ecological cycles of the landscape (water, energy, nutrients) and how land-use practices can either benefit, be in harmony with, or negatively impact these cycles and other land-users, flora and fauna." Agrarian Trust's first values principle states: "Our land is the foundation of society, our economy, and all humanity. It is also home to all ecosystems and wild creatures." In evoking flora and fauna and wild creatures, these initiatives discursively include the "more-than-human." This echoes Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg scholar and writer Leanne Betasamosake Simpson's explanation of the Anishinaabe word 'aki' to mean land/earth in a way that includes "all aspects of creation: land forms, elements, plants, animals, spirits, sounds, thoughts feelings, energies and all of the emergent systems, ecologies and networks that connect these elements" (Simpson, 2014, p. 15).

Many Indigenous scholars emphasize a framework of reciprocity and responsibility towards the natural world which goes beyond simply sustaining ecological systems. Philosopher Brian Burkhart (citizen of the Cherokee Nation) writes about land as *source* of ontology and epistemology, giving rise to an intertwined duality of "being-in-the-land" and "being-from-the-land" (Burkhart, 2019). Land is more than its physical reality; it is the basis of familial and spiritual relationship extending to plants and animals and the sun and moon in ways that are reciprocal and relational rather than static and observational. Scholar Vanessa Watts (Anishnaabe

and Haudenosaunee) articulates a paradigm of Place-Thought, in which the land co-creates our understanding of the world: “the land is alive and thinking and that humans and non-humans derive agency through the extensions of these thoughts" (Watts, 2013, p. 21). Both Burkhart and Watt critique Western settler paradigms for constructing an “unbridgeable chasm” (B. Y. Burkhart, 2019, p. 26) between being and land, wherein humans perceive themselves as separate from the natural world. Similarly, Simpson situates the source of Indigenous knowledge and epistemology in the land, which is “both context and process” for learning (Simpson, 2014). Knowledge comes from engaging with animals, plants, and the natural world – and with the land, practicing respectful “mutuality” with other beings. In this way, Simpson emphasizes both the relational nature of land and the significance of this relationship in informing Indigenous political, intellectual and cultural sovereignty (Simpson, 2014).

While some of the values statements evoke the natural world in ways that extend beyond the functional role of sustainability in agriculture, notions of reciprocity and embodied land pedagogy such as those found in Indigenous thought are not strongly reflected. The emphasis on sustainability, which corresponds with the beginning farmer and alternative food movements and centers the environment as a key concern, counters the most extractive forces of capitalism. However, ecological stewardship on its own does not necessarily confront structures of settler colonialism, which is maintained via dispossession of land and disruption of Indigenous collective capacities and self-determination.

Community benefit / Community engagement

For many of the farmland access initiatives, the emphasis on ecological values is intertwined with an endorsement of community. In my analysis, I distinguish three nuances in

how the theme of community is framed: one, as a beneficiary of the organizational goals – i.e., that agriculture and land preservation *produce* thriving communities – two, a qualifier or c*haracteristic* of the type of farming systems promoted by the initiatives, and three as an agent or stakeholder in *accomplishing* the organizational goals.

Examples of community as *beneficiary* include:

- "Entire communities will benefit from increased farming opportunity, healthy lands, and a more secure food supply…" – Land for Good
- "… to foster an ethic of stewardship for farmland, to promote sustainable agriculture, and to develop healthy communities" – Land Stewardship Project
- "… enhancing community life through regenerative agriculture" – Farmland Legacies
- "Equipping farmers to build resilient farms and communities" – Practical Farmers of Iowa
- "… supporting and sustaining a strong and vibrant rural community, where agriculture plays a central role in the economy" – Columbia Land Conservancy
- "… resilient local food systems, healthier communities, and a vibrant future for local agriculture" – Colorado Land Link

Examples of community as *characteristic* include:

- "… community-based food systems in which every farmer has the opportunity to protect our environment by growing food in a sustainable manner and every person has access to local, nutritious foods" – Illinois Farmland Access Initiative
- "… protect, promote and sustain resilient and economically viable community agricultural systems in Oregon" – Oregon Farm Link
- "… Iowa sustained by wholesome food grown on community-based farms" – Sustainable Iowa Land Trust
- "… sustainable community-based conservation and restoration of natural resources" – South Sound FarmLink

Examples of community as *agent* include:

- "… works with our community to conserve the farmland, forests, wildlife habitat, and rural character of Columbia County" – Columbia Land Conservancy

- "Empowering people to build and strengthen their communities by providing access to ideas, capital and technical assistance" – Equity Trust
- "… prioritizes engagement with community members from all backgrounds" – Farm Link Montana
- "A resilient community responding to a changing climate" – South Sound FarmLink

Each of the three nuances within the community narrative is differently implicated in structures of settler colonialism. The notion of agriculture as bedrock for community – community as beneficiary – is a common trope of the Jeffersonian agrarian ideal (Park & Deller, 2021). "Farmers are presented as *civilization's caretakers*, or those who understand the essentials required for its continuation" (Peterson, 1990, p. 14, emphasis in original). This portrayal of democratic agrarianism was deployed by the U.S. merchant class as a way of fueling western colonial expansion (Calo, 2020). Cultural narratives presenting the "frontier" as wild and uncultivated fused with ideals of Jeffersonian agrarianism to position the farmer as custodian of democratic society (Peterson, 1990). "Farming has long been presented as a supremely heroic profession with the uncommon capacity to "save" our society. The belief that God intended all land to be suitable for farming pervaded agricultural theory, for those who farmed the land brought salvation to the wilderness" (Peterson, 1990, p. 16). While farmland access initiatives don't employ themes of salvation or advocate for wresting land from wilderness, they do echo the trope of agrarian exceptionalism by positioning farming as a keystone of community, as evidenced by Columbia Land Conservancy's goal "supporting and sustaining a strong and vibrant rural community, where agriculture plays a central role in the economy."

The second thread within this theme situates community as a qualifier: a descriptor for a certain type of agriculture. As was the case with the environmental values discussed above, this value positions itself as a counter to the most industrial, capitalist manifestations of agriculture.

This is seen in Sustainable Iowa Land Trust's endorsement of "Iowa sustained by wholesome food grown on community-based farms." Other qualifiers that differentiate non-industrial characteristics of farms include "small-scale" and "family." For example, Idaho Farm Link seeks to "foster the success of sustainable small acreage farmers and ranchers" and Oregon Farm Link aims to "help Oregon grow the next generation of family farmers."

Advocates of alternative food systems focus on community-oriented agriculture as a critical rebuke of the globalized, industrialized food system. Evoking the Jeffersonian ideal, Lyson & Guptill (2004) use the term "civic agriculture" to refer to a model of food production that is "tightly linked to a community's social and economic development" (Lyson & Guptill, 2004, p. 371). Civic agriculture is characterized by its "decentralized nature, (…), its geographic specificity, and its relatively small scale" (2004, p. 383), generating what the authors refer to as "relocalization." However, the localized activities are expressed in largely economic terms: direct market in contrast to large-scale commodity agriculture, fresh products as opposed to mass market. Indigenous philosophy, on the other hand, asserts the 'locality' of land *itself*, the inherent and immutable characteristics of the land, which are source of knowledge and meaning (Burkhart, 2016).

In a piece appearing in the anthology, *The Multispecies Salon*, the authors describe how harvesting and processing acorns affirms Pomo community and continuance (Noel et al., 2014). Acorns contain a bitter tannin removed through leeching to avoid digestive distress. The theme of bitterness, representing both loss and connection to traditional foodways and relationship to place, is also medicine "to heal (…) the legacy of settler violence" (p. 156). In addition to outlining steps for drying, dehulling, grinding, leaching, and cooking acorns, this piece describes the significance of acorns to Pomo culture, history and family life, and current work undertaken

to reestablish oak trees in the landscape via a "a Pomo-oak alliance" (Noel et al., 2014, p. 160). Here, community relations are enacted between humans and more-than-humans through a 'locality' that goes beyond the discourse of community-based civic agriculture.

. The final nuance I find within the farmland access initiatives' emphasis on community is that of community members as stakeholders, whereby the community propels the organization's goals. For example, Equity Trust is engaged in "[e]mpowering people to build and strengthen their communities by providing access to ideas, capital and technical assistance." Columbia Land Conservancy "works with our community to conserve the farmland, forests, wildlife habitat, and rural character of Columbia County." Participatory engagement is a hallmark of democratic processes and collective endeavors, and the involvement of community is a worthy value. However, delineating community can also be used to inscribe or maintain social boundaries. In an ethnographic analysis of settler resistance to Indigenous land claims in Canada and the U.S., Mackey shows how notions of community were used to justify Indigenous exclusion by settlers "asserting their *local* identity and heritage as the site of community authenticity that must be protected from the dangers of land claims" (Mackey, 2016, p. 79).

When examined through the lens of settler colonialism, the discourse of community-based farming models still upholds settler entitlement to land, despite their friendlier appearance. In her interviews with Canadian settler food activists, Kepkiewicz (2020) underscores the ways in which advocacy on behalf of small-scale or family farmers tends to ignore settler agriculture as a tool of dispossession:

> I also want to underline that this colonial violence is not limited to industrial forms of agriculture or a few 'bad seeds,' but extends to small-scale sustainable agriculture. I believe that within settler food sovereignty movements – where there is much focus on the inherent goodness and progressiveness of small-scale sustainable settler farms – that it is necessary for settlers to understand that settler agriculture of many shapes and sizes

> has and continues to facilitate colonial land appropriation, literally occupying Indigenous lands and food systems (Kepkiewicz, 2020, p. 254).

Thus, we see again that challenging dominant paradigms in terms of industrial agriculture or capitalism are not necessarily synonymous with dismantling settler colonialism.

According to Burkhart, Western property law is grounded in European philosophy's preoccupation with abstraction and thus erases locality from the land by rendering it universal, unitizing it (Burkhart, 2019). The conduit for this 'delocalizing,' which Burkhart traces back to the British philosopher John Locke, is farming: "Locke's intention is to define the land in a particular way as to erase the locality and make appropriation itself, defined by settler colonization, the most fundamental civilized human (humans no longer in the state of nature) relationship to land. The civilizing labor that creates a property relationship to land, however, is the labor of agriculture" (Burkhart, 2019, p. 40). Burkhart goes on to describe how the Indigenous labor that had shaped the land for thousands of years was not recognized as agriculture, just as the agency of the land itself was erased.

The preceding two narrative themes – environmentalism and community – correspond with Peterson's claim that "[t]he agrarian enterprise has a special character because of its association with both nature and traditional society" (Peterson, 1990, p. 13). Yet while these discourses evoke positive values of stewardship and relationship, they also uphold settler colonial structures by centering agriculture as a basis for settler entitlement to land.

Food, economic viability, and affordability

As with the other discursive values, the farmland access initiatives elicit themes of food, economic viability and land affordability to substantiate the benefits they offer and/or problems

they seek to address: connecting people to quality food, promoting farmers' economic success, mediating the barrier of land prices.

The theme of food serves to reinforce linkages between farming and community. That food is mentioned in less than one-third of the farmland access initiatives is surprising, given that this is a core function of agriculture.

- "… community-based food systems in which every farmer has the opportunity to protect our environment by growing food in a sustainable manner and every person has access to local, nutritious foods" – Illinois Farmland Access Initiative
- "… grow a healthy local food community by preserving farmland, teaching new farmers, and making food accessible for all" – Farm Link Montana
- "Our programs and initiatives have emphasized the connection between farming, food, conservation, and healthy communities" – Northeast Illinois FarmLink

The qualifiers used to describe food emphasize values around health, accessibility, and equity, as well as environmental merits. This narrative reflects themes also found in alternative food discourse.

Roughly one quarter of the farmland initiatives either proclaim support for ensuring farmers' economic viability or extol farms for their economic contribution. Emphasis on financial viability and affordability of land reflects the economic realities faced in agriculture.

- "… supporting and sustaining a strong and vibrant rural community, where agriculture plays a central role in the economy" – Columbia Land Conservancy
- "… assisting farmers in creating a profitable farming future and informing the public on the importance of local farms to our overall economy" – Maryland FarmLINK
- "Our programs and initiatives have emphasized the connection between farming, food, conservation, and healthy communities" – Northeast Illinois FarmLink

References to land affordability are connected to mediating the challenges typically faced by new entry farmers. When land is structured as private property and exchanged on the real

estate market as commodity, this tends to privilege the highest bidder, which – as stated earlier – often disadvantages the new entry farmer.

- "[T]he high cost of land as a significant barrier" – BC Land Matching Program
- "… to preserve the affordability of farms for farmers" – Equity Trust
- "… creating affordable land access for Iowa's sustainable food farmers" – Sustainable Iowa Land Trust
- "keep farmland in production in the South Sound region for generations to come in such a way that is affordable and accessible to all interested farmers" – South Sound FarmLink

When examined through a settler colonial framework, the themes of food, economic viability and land affordability do not present any insights that have not already been discussed.

Other themes: Racial equity and land acknowledgement

Several of the land access initiatives address racial equity in their values statements:

- Land Stewardship Project "believes that by working together, culturally and racially diverse rural and urban people can take practical steps that result in greater stewardship of the land, more family farmers, healthy food for all and resilient, racially just communities"
- "The Illinois Farmland Access Initiative consists of five interlocking and mutually-reinforcing core elements as a comprehensive solution, all guided by the values of justice, diversity, equity, and belonging"

This is a critical area of emphasis, particularly given the tremendous disparity in land ownership discussed earlier. However, as Tuck & Yang (2012) point out, solidarity with social justice issues is not commensurate with decolonization or support for Indigenous sovereignty. "Colonial equivocation," (p. 17) occurs when the specific positionality of different oppressed groups under settler colonialism is blurred. Sandy Grande also argues the importance of distinguishing Indigenous calls for sovereignty from advocacy around racial equality; unlike "other subjugated groups struggling to define their place within the larger democratic project [. …American

Indians] do no seek greater 'inclusion' but, rather, are engaged in perpetual struggle to have their legal and more claims to sovereignty recognized" (Grande, 2009, pp. 194–195).

Among the land access initiatives surveyed, I did not find frequent recognition that Indigenous land dispossession exists as a *distinct* feature of settler colonialism, deserving of attention apart from the racial and gender inequalities also perpetuated via the present system of racial capitalism. Two exceptions include Oregon Farm Link and Agrarian Trust. Oregon Farm Link recognizes that their work is located "on the traditional lands of the Indigenous communities who have lived and continue to live on the land we now call Oregon" and "pledges to invest in our programs in ways that right historical wrongs and provide equitable access to land" (Oregon Farm Link, 2021). Agrarian Trust acknowledges "[c]olonization, enclosure, dispossession, and land loss" on the part of "Indigenous people, Black people, Latino/a and Latinx people, Asian people, and people of color" (Agrarian Trust, 2022) among their core values principles. In a 2022 blog post, Agrarian Trust describes the organization's collaboration with the Eastern Woodlands Rematriation Collective and efforts to return land to Indigenous control in the form of the Black Swamp Agrarian Commons (Wurtz, 2022).

These same two land access initiatives – Oregon Farm Link and Agrarian Trust – include land acknowledgements on their websites. Oregon Farm Link's about page reads:

> Oregon Farm Link (a program of Friends of Family Farmers) works to connect farmers and landholders on the traditional lands of the Indigenous communities who have lived and continue to live on the land we now call Oregon. As part of a deliberate attempt to eradicate Native people, they were forcibly removed from their original homeland in areas where we now work, live and farm.

The page goes on to "honor and acknowledge Oregon's nine federally recognized tribes" by name, as well as "all the other indigenous communities who have not been federally recognized."

The Agrarian Trust is structured around locally situated and independently-governed Agrarian Commons. As of this writing there are twelve Agrarian Commons, land-holding entities under the umbrella of the national Agrarian Trust. On Agrarian Trust's website, each separate Agrarian Commons has a land acknowledgement. For example, the Montana Agrarian Commons names twelve tribes "who have lived in relationship with these lands since time immemorial" and recognizes that "the landownership structure that currently exists in Montana has come about through generations of genocide and displacement of Indigenous peoples." Some of the land acknowledgement language is repeated across the different Agrarian Commons with the variation of specific tribal names for each region.

Theresa Stewart-Ambo (Tongva/Luiseño) & K. Wayne Yang (2021) situate land acknowledgements as a social justice practice, not necessarily an Indigenous one – though in some ways acknowledgments correspond with Indigenous protocols whereby the speaker identifies themselves and their relationship to the land. The authors trace the emergence of land acknowledgements to universities in Canada, following the 2015 final report of Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Asher et al. (2018) point out "[e]arly proponents of territorial acknowledgments in settler spaces claimed they serve as subversive ways of unsettling terra nullius" (p. 318), but as the practice has become more widespread, both Indigenous and settler scholars have also pointed out its limitations.

Land acknowledgements can function as a settler move to innocence by giving the impression of having checked the box on colonial awareness without a corresponding action. Or, they can be a performative demonstration towards reconciliation that is not necessarily in support of Indigenous goals. Asher et al. (2018) describe the adoption of "territorial acknowledgements" by a group of student activists in Canada as a "pedagogical intervention"

which raised awareness, but never moved beyond the abstract. "[S]ometimes acknowledging Native nations is conveniently understood to be the action in and of itself, as if recognition is itself a decolonizing act. It is not. It is a first step," argue Stewart-Ambo & Yang (2021, p. 31). The authors also critique land acknowledgements that fail to situate the speaker and their relationship to land; in doing so, they perpetuate the invisibilized norm of settler omnipresence.

Stewart-Ambo and Yang emphasize the "need to go beyond land acknowledgement," which manifests as the enactment of responsibilities. They describe "beyond" as achieved and characterized by Indigenous futurity, decolonial sovereignty, and land relationships. Citing Klamath-Modoc scholar Angela Morrill, they write that "land acknowledgments are meaningless unless you are in relationship with the tribes being acknowledged" (Stewart-Ambo & Yang, 2021, p. 35).

It is not clear from my limited website review whether the land acknowledgements of Oregon Farm Link and Agrarian Trust's twelve affiliated Agrarian Commons were developed in consultation with the tribes mentioned or not. If not, developing those relationships in place would be an important next step. As they currently stand, the land acknowledgements by these land access initiatives appear to fit neatly within the "common rhetorical approach [of] honoring, respecting, and thanking Native peoples, their histories, and their stewardship as the traditional/original inhabitants of a territory. Such discourse simultaneously un-erases Native histories and reinforces the trope of Native peoples as historical and romantic ecological Indians" (Stewart-Ambo & Yang, 2021, p. 29). Here, it is worth underlining Kwaymullina's assertion that "respecting Indigenous sovereignty requires far more than a simple acknowledgement that we were here before others came to our homelands. It requires a fundamental shift in the way non-Indigenous peoples orient themselves in the world" (Kwaymullina, 2018, p. 200).

The Northeast Farmers of Color Land Trust was not included in my final survey sample; however, they offer a useful counterpoint in this scenario: the first words on the "About" page of their website read "Honoring Indigenous Sovereignty" and the text is explicit about affirming Indigenous sovereignty: "Our aim as a land trust is to repair that harm [of stolen land], not replicate it, by working alongside Indigenous communities to listen and learn through open conversations with respect to their wishes for land in their territories" (Northeast Farmers of Color Land Trust, 2022). The Northeast Farmers of Color Land Trust approaches their work by way of "Indigenous Community Consultation and Partnerships" and states their goal of "acquiring and returning land to Indigenous nations and respectfully connecting Black, Asian, and Latinx and other POC farmers and land stewards to land while centering and respecting Indigenous sovereignty" (Northeast Farmers of Color Land Trust, 2022).

DECOLONIZING APPROACHES TO LAND

In my analysis of the farmland access initiatives' narrative themes, I have used the theoretical framework of settler colonialism to think through the ways in which the movement's discourse affirms "a settler pedagogy that shores up historical-spatial imaginaries serving to rationalize, justify, and ultimately reproduce the on-going displacement of Indigenous peoples" (Hiller, 2017, p. 415). With some notable exceptions, the majority of the initiatives do not explicitly situate their goal of claiming land for agriculture within the context of Indigenous land dispossession, wrought in part by settler agriculture. This narrative affirmation of the settler agricultural imaginary serves to reproduce the social structure of settler colonialism, thereby narratively and materially impeding Indigenous jurisdiction over ancestral territories.

My research relies on settler colonial theory as a framework for critique, allowing me to expose where farmland access initiatives' values statements conform to settler colonial narratives and structures. At the same time, I am mindful of Kwaymullina's prompt to "respect Indigenous sovereignty and meaningfully enact this respect, including through the layered process of *listening* to the voices of Indigenous women" (Kwaymullina, 2018, p. 193, emphasis added). While settler colonial theory can clarify the contours of hegemonic structure, it does not itself deconstruct. Nor does it necessarily present pathways to sovereignty, center Indigenous voices, or envision a different present and future. "Discontinuing settler colonial forms requires conceptual frames and supporting narratives of reconciliation that have yet to be fully developed and narrated" (Veracini, 2010, p. 115). I posit that the examples of Indigenous land rematriation presented as background and context for this research *do* develop this narrative. Thus, in seeking to discontinue the settler colonial conceptual frame, I bring in rematriation as a theoretical framework to consider another set of values statements: those of organizations which "support different paths towards decolonization and rematriation of land" (Land Relationships Super Collective, n.d.).

While introducing a second theoretical framework following the primary analysis may be uncommon, it aligns with Fairclough's (2012) methodology for Critical Discourse Analysis whereby the final stage of critique involves presenting new narrative possibilities which refute or replace the existing, dominant discourse. Mackey's *Unsettled Expectations: Uncertainty, Land, and Settler Decolonization* devotes the first two sections in the book to detailing legal, legislative and community enactments of settler colonialism, before closing with a section on "Imagining Otherwise" which describes examples of settler affirmation of Indigenous land rights. Similarly, the final section of Veracini's book is titled "Telling the end of the settler colonial story." Settler

colonial theory and rematriation are discursively distinct, but as I show below, rematriation as a theoretical framework represents an important contestation of settler colonial discourse.

Rematriation as framework

In drawing on rematriation as a theoretical framework I look to scholar Robin R. R. Gray's (Ts'msyen and Mikisew Cree) assertion that rematriation is "an *analytical frame* to recast questions about ownership, access, and control, and understandings of Indigenous law, property, and nationhood" (Gray, 2022, p. 2, emphasis added). Gray presents a theory of rematriation within an academic context, a task she accomplishes by tracing the origin of the term (to an Indigenous feminist writer in the late 80s to mid-90s) and by showing its enactment as applied to culturally significant songs of the Ts'msyen Nation (British Columbia).

At its core, rematriation is about recovery, return, revitalization, and reclamation of ways of Indigenous "ways of knowing, being, and doing" (Gray, 2022, p. 5). Burkhart (2019), Watts (2013), and others argue that Indigenous ontology and epistemology are informed by land, therefore it follows that reclaiming knowledge and identity would be closely tied with recovery of land. In the context of food sovereignty work by an Indigenous-led land trust in the Bay Area, Sogorea Te' Land Trust, rematriation is defined as "returning the land to its original stewards and inhabitants" (Wires & LaRose, 2019, p. 31). The term 'land back' is also used to advocate for the just return of land to Indigenous jurisdiction. In her discussion of land recovery projects by two non-federally recognized Indigenous communities in California, scholar Cheyenne Reynoso (2022) links land rematriation and 'land back' as intertwined frameworks and applied strategies: "Indigenous communities' interaction and history with colonization ensures that land rematriation and 'land back' are interconnected" (Reynoso, 2022, p. 4).

While restitution of relationships to land is core to the concept of rematriation, it goes beyond a singular preoccupation with land return. Rematriation represents the restoration of a wide range of Indigenous "needs, priorities, values, and actions" (Gray, 2022, p. 4) unified under practices of self-determination. Rematriation involves recovery of land, both relationally and materially, but is not only about land. "Depending on who you are speaking to or what community you are engaged with, "land back" can refer to language revitalization, repatriation efforts, stewardship of ancestral lands, waters, foods, and cultures" (Reynoso, 2022, p. 3). To the extent that settler colonialism is maintained through Indigenous erasure, rematriation is expressed through the affirmation of Indigenous culture and identity. Gray underlines the importance of relational processes and protocols within practices of rematriation. "Rematriation, as an embodied praxis of recovery and return, is about revitalizing the relationship between Indigenous lands, heritage, and bodies" (Gray, 2022, p. 5).

Both Reynoso and Gray establish rematriation as a fundamentally feminist paradigm. The embedded word root "matri-" relates to the word "mother." The feminist orientation is partly a function of the land as the "literal embodiment of the feminine" (Watts, 2013, p. 23) and partly because the dismantling of colonial structures also involves challenging settler constructs of gender and gender hierarchy. Therefore, "when Indigenous communities start to discuss, address, advocate, and implement "land back," they are also critically interrogating and rejecting the societal foundations of patriarchy, thus potentially engaging with, and practicing land rematriation in the process" (Reynoso, 2022, p. 4).

'Land back' as a social movement traces its inception to 2010 (Pieratos et al., 2021). NDN Collective, an Indigenous-led activist organization, describes the LANDBACK Campaign as "a political, organizing and narrative framework" oriented around "the reclamation of

everything stolen from the original peoples" (NDN Collective, 2021b). This includes land, but also "language, ceremony, education, food, housing, healthcare, governance, medicine, kinship". The movement also includes a commitment to the liberation of all peoples oppressed under structures of white supremacy (NDN Collective, 2021a).

Tuck & Yang (2012) argue that return of land is essential to decolonization, which itself is incommensurable to other social justice projects because it "wants something different" (p. 2). Distinct from movements of racial equality or class oppression, decolonization is accomplished by "repatriating land to sovereign Native tribes and nations" (Tuck & Yang, 2012, p. 31). Tuck & Yang's framing of decolonization, like Gray's description rematriation, assigns the subjectivity to the concept: decolonization '*wants*', rematriation '*takes*': "Non-Indigenous people who utilize the term likely will not fully account for what rematriation is, what it does, what it wants, *and what it takes*" (Gray, 2022, pp. 4–5).

Acknowledging that my positionality as a white settler will inhibit me from full, embodied understanding, I next seek to explore the discursive themes of some initiatives engaged in rematriation. How are the narratives resonate or dissonant with those of the farmland access movement? What might we learn about new narrative possibilities and ways of refuting the settler colonial discourse?

Land as relationship

> What does it mean to understand "land" – as a system of reciprocal social relations and ethical practices – as a framework for decolonial critique?
>
> M. Wildcat et al., "Learning from the land: Indigenous land based pedagogy and decolonization", 2014

The Land Relationships Super Collective is a "network of land and water-based projects (…) to support different paths towards decolonization and rematriation of land." It is organized

by aforementioned scholars Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang. As of 2022, there are five participating collaborators, both in the United States and Canada: Sogorea Te' Land Trust (Oakland, CA), The Underground Center (Saugerties, NY), Black/Land Project (Amherst, MA), Ogimaa Mikana (Toronto, Ontario), and Métis in Space (Edmonton, Alberta). As with the farmland access initiatives, I visited the websites for each of the five land relationship collaborators and gathered their values statements (Table 3), either explicitly identified as mission and/or vision statements or inferred as such. Since I had based my sample selection for farmland access initiatives on a compilation of lists from relevant third-party organizations, looking to the Land Relationships Super Collective as a source list for relationship-based land initiatives was consistent with this approach.

What I found was a set of narrative themes distinct from those identified in the values statements of the farmland access initiatives. The themes included land rematriation/land back, the notion of resistance and repair of past harms, linguistic affirmation and naming, and explicit storytelling. Whereas the farmland access initiatives discursively present agriculture as a basis for building relationships with and around land, the Land Relationships Super Collective initiatives underscore engagements with land that are broader and, in many ways, unconcerned with agriculture. Indeed, reflecting on land purchased following an anonymous donation, one of the collaborators, Métis in Space, write: "Much of Lac Ste. Anne county is *hilariously unsuited to farming*, with muskeg, dense forest, and flooding being commonplace throughout the area. This also means that the county (and even our small piece of it) is absolutely bursting with ecological diversity" (Métis in Space, n.d., emphasis added).

Table 3: Land Relationship Super Collective collaborators' values statements

Land Relationships Super Collective		a network of land and water-based projects. It is a contingent collaboration of autonomous efforts to decolonize and heal relationships to land.
Black/Land Project	Amherst, MA	Black/Land gathers and analyzes stories about the relationship between Black people, land and place. We identify and amplify conversations happening inside Black communities (including African-Americans, Caribbean-Americans and African immigrants) about the relationship between Black people, land, and place in order to share their powerful traditions of resourcefulness, resilience and regeneration.
Métis In Space	Edmonton, Alberta	OTIPÊYIMISIW-ISKWÊWAK KIHCI-KÎSIKOHK. UNAPOLOGETICALLY INDIGENOUS, UNABASHEDLY FEMALE & UNBLINKINGLY NERDY.
Ogimaa Mikana Project	Toronto, Ontario	The Ogimaa Mikana Project is an effort to restore Anishinaabemowin place-names to the streets, avenues, roads, paths, and trails of Gichi Kiiwenging (Toronto) - transforming a landscape that often obscures or makes invisible the presence of Indigenous peoples.
Sogorea Te' Land Trust	Oakland, CA	Sogorea Te' Land Trust cultivates rematriation. We envision a Bay Area in which Ohlone language and ceremony are an active, thriving part of the cultural landscape, where Ohlone place names and history is known and recognized and where intertribal Indigneous communities have affordable housing, social services, cultural centers and land to live, work and pray on.
The Underground Center	Saugerties, NY	fostering a movement for social change from the bottom up by empowering marginalized peoples to create economic and social power through mutual aid and interconnectedness with the land.

As evidenced in the name, a core assertion made by collaborators within the Land Relationships Super Collective is that engagement with land is both relational and generative of relationships:

- "Learn about efforts to relate differently to land" – Land Relationships Super Collective

- "The purpose of the project is to identify and amplify the current critical dialogues surrounding the relationship between Black people and land" – Black/Land Project
- "… to restore a people to their rightful place in sacred relationship with their ancestral land" – Sogorea Te' Land Trust
- "… transforming a landscape that often obscures or makes invisible the presence of Indigenous peoples" – Ogimaa Mikana Project
- "… fostering a movement for social change from the bottom up by empowering marginalized peoples to create economic and social power through mutual aid and interconnectedness with the land – The Underground Center

To understand land *as* relational is to affirm, as Burkhart does, that "land has power" (Burkhart, 2019, p. 42). Land is a source of "being, knowing, and morality" (Burkhart, 2019, p. 227), derived from its grounded specificity in place. To be in relationship with land is to "engage in conversations with the land and on the land in a physical, social and spiritual sense" (Wildcat et al., 2014, p. II). In this way, the discursive position expressed by the initiatives above is that land isn't merely a boundaried parcel transferred from one generation to generation; Land *itself* is generative – of relationships, knowledge, identity.

Two of the collaborators' websites – Métis in Space and Sogorea Te' Land Trust – describe and manifest their efforts around returning land to Indigenous control. This core aspect of Sogorea Te' Land Trust's work is articulated in their values statement: "Sogorea Te' Land Trust is an urban Indigenous women-led land trust that facilitates the return of Indigenous land to Indigenous people." Métis in Space, on the other hand, is an "Indigenous feminist science fiction" podcast and blog. While their immediate purpose does not appear to be about land (and as a creative media endeavor, Métis in Space does not appear to have a values statement as such), the leading post on their blog (dated Oct 26, 2020) reads: "WE GOT LAND, BABY!" (Métis in Space, n.d.). The "unabashedly female & unblinkingly nerdy" creators, Molly Swain

and Chelsea Vowel, are clear about the direct connection between their work as science fiction commentators and their pursuit of land: both actions dismantle colonial constructs and assert "Indigenous futurisms." As they explain in a piece appearing in the Sept/Oct 2020 issue of Briarpatch Magazine, "Land Back is Métis futurism in a very material sense – it's how we build, remember and reclaim our relationships with one another and the land" (Métis in Space, 2020).

This theme of rematriation is apparent among the land relationship collaborators, and it is expressed not only as recovery of physical land, but also through the affirmation of Indigenous language. For example, the Ogimaa Mikana Project is "an effort to restore Anishinaabemowin place-names to the streets, avenues, roads, paths and trails of Gichi Kiiwenging (Toronto) – transforming a landscape that often obscures or makes invisible the presence of Indigenous peoples." In this way, the initiative is about accessing land by calling it by its rightful name, an act that establishes both authority and intimacy. Sogorea Te' Land Trust also asserts language revitalization in their vision of "a Bay Area in which Ohlone language [is a] thriving part of the cultural landscape, where Ohlone place names [are] known and recognized." For Indigenous communities, affirming ancestral names is linked not only to countering a history of erasure, but also to establishing respect for and connection with the land (Schreyer et al., 2014). By centering linguistic affirmation, these projects serve to advance rematriation through cultural reclamation.

This reclaiming of culture and knowledge is also seen in the mission of The Black/Land Project, which "gathers and analyzes stories about the relationship between Black people, land and place." Here, the emphasis is on personal stories of lived experience as a form of affirmation, education, and healing: "The Black/Land Project gathers these stories in order to share the powerful traditions of resourcefulness, resilience and regeneration they contain." Earlier, I examined the discursive motifs embedded within the values statements of farmland

access initiatives. By contrast, I find the land relationship collaborators to be more explicit in their deployment of discourse; in the case of Métis in Space (a podcast) and The Black/Land Project (a story repository), narratives are a modality by which they accomplish their work. This echoes the assertion of Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg scholar and writer Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, who situates story as a form of knowledge conveyance and land as teacher (Simpson, 2014). Furthermore, personal stories emerging from relationships to land, like those captured by The Black/Land Project, are specific to people and place. In this way they counter the colonial hegemony whereby humans are seen as having a generalizable relationship to land, without any "particular relationship or manifestation in particular places or land" (B. Burkhart, 2019, p. 34).

Another difference in the discursive strategies used by the land relationship collaborators compared with the farmland access initiatives is a centering of social positioning. The initiatives involved with the Land Relationships Super Collective – albeit only five – acclaim their respective identities as Black, Ohlone, Métis, and Anishinaabe. This approach represents another example of affirming lived experience and resisting the settler colonial narrative. Only one, The Underground Center, is unstated, though it does call out "social systems that challenge systemic racism, privilege, and power."

All five of these land-based initiatives emphasize the need for repair as well as assert the capacity for healing, grounded in relationship to land. For example:

- "It is a contingent collaboration of autonomous efforts to decolonize and heal relationships to land" - Land Relationships Super Collective
- "Acknowledge and transcend the effects of historical trauma on their relationships to land, place, and community" – Black/Land Project
- "… calls on us all to heal and transform the legacies of colonization, genocide, and patriarchy and to do the work our ancestors and future generations are calling us to do" – Sogorea Te' Land Trust

Centering recovery and healing is a quality of rematriation (Gray, 2022), as well as restoration of relationship to land, in both material and spiritual ways. Sogorea Te' Land Trust's website reads: "The loss of land plays out in our everyday lives and it shapes how we look at things and how we feel about ourselves (…) An honestly, all the issues we're struggling with come down to land. You know, the land was taken and that was such a deep soul wound. The taking of the land, the heart of the people, was the cause of a lot of problems" (Sogorea Te' Land Trust, 2022). The Black/Land Project seeks to "[o]ffer to all people genuine cultural models for regeneration of land; reinvestment in place; and cultivating resilience as a form of resistance to oppression."

Whereas the farmland access initiatives evoke rural land more frequently than urban land, the Land Relationship collaborators discursively straddle *all* land. The Black/Land Project references "a neighborhood in Detroit, a public park, a church filled with local history." Drawing on website data, the initiatives appear to be based in cities large and small – Toronto, Oakland, Edmonton, Amherst, Saugerties (although the land back project of Métis in Space takes place in rural Alberta). As Tuck & Yang point out "[u]rban land (indeed all land) is Native land" (Tuck & Yang, 2012, p. 23). To emphasize only rural land as the context for land relationships is to be distracted by the romanticism of an agrarian narrative. Furthermore, the varied activities referenced by the organizations above – art, education, culture, spirituality, food, and medicine – demonstrate the manifold ways in which relationships to land are generative and can generate.

My discussion of the examples above is not extensive, since the objective of my research was to critically interrogate the discursive themes of farmland access initiatives, rather than examine projects for rematriation. Nonetheless, taken together these initiatives provide an important example of the kinds of discourses that serve to contest dominant settler colonial narratives. These projects demonstrate that rematriation is connected to, yet extends beyond, land

in ways that affirm relationship, heritage, place, and connection, countering settler colonialism in multiple manifestations.

CONCLUSION

To end, I go back to the beginning.

For new entry farmers, the farmland access movement plays a role in mediating the most stringent dynamics of capitalism, responding to trends of increasing land prices and investor ownership which put land out of reach for many (Moran, 2022), especially those engaged in a low margin, capital intensive enterprise like farming. Some organizations prioritize land access for BIPOC farmers, addressing persistent racial inequalities in who owns farmland.

In countries like the United States and Canada, settler colonialism spurred (and is practiced through) capitalism and white supremacy with agriculture as one of its key enactments. The frameworks structuring how land is held *and understood* are shaped by settler colonialism, and underpinned by the unjust procuration of land.

Given this, my research sought to explore the question: how are initiatives for farmland access narratively positioned with respect to the maintenance of settler colonial social structures? While scholars have examined discourses of the alternative agriculture movement (Allen, 2004; Calo, 2020; Niewolny & Wilson, 2007), research examining connections between alternative agriculture and settler colonialism is still relatively underdeveloped. Building on the critiques of settler agriculture and food systems by Claire & Surprise (2022), Daigle (2019), Kepkiewicz (2020) and others, my aim was to interrogate the farmland access movement's relationship to settler colonial themes: how do they correspond?

I sought answers through a discursive examination of the values (mission/vision) statements of farmland access initiatives. Values statements are a primary way that an organization tells its story – how they articulate what they see as important. Cultural narratives can serve to uphold hegemonic social structures, such as settler colonialism, often in ways that are unnoticed or unconsidered. Narratives can also disrupt. Drawing on Fairclough's (2012) methodology for critical discourse analysis, I grounded my approach in the 'social wrong' (p. 13) of Indigenous land theft as perpetuated by settler colonialism. In doing so, I endeavored to present an argument for why the farmland access movement must consider its complicity and responsibility in relation to Indigenous land dispossession. I conceived of the audience for this work as my counterparts in the alternative agriculture movement, particularly fellow settler beneficiaries of dominant social and spatial structures. As someone long affiliated with the alternative farming movement, I employed settler colonial theory as "a tool of self-critique" (Barker, 2021).

Overall, my findings suggest that while the discourses of the farmland access movement are positioned in contrast to the harms of industrial agriculture, they assert entitlement to land in ways that often fail to rebuke Indigenous land dispossession. I identify themes of generational futurity, farmland preservation, sustainability, stewardship, community, and others. In my discussion, I examine these themes alongside a settler colonial past and present, and bring them into juxtaposition with Indigenous thinkers and frameworks.

Concepts of sustainability are narrow when placed alongside Indigenous frameworks, wherein land is a source of knowledge, identity, and reciprocal relationship. Discourses that affirm sustainability, community, and intergenerational transfer can challenge capitalism's most extractive tendencies while still leaving settler colonial structures – namely, Indigenous

separation from land – intact. Emphasis on land transfer from one generation to the next reproduces a "knowable future" which leaves Indigenous land dispossession unchallenged within the context of settler colonialism. Agriculture is situated within an unequal past *and present* – 95% of farmers and 98% of farmland owners are white (Horst & Marion, 2019; USDA NASS, 2017a) – therefore evoking themes of continuance and legacy leaves dispossession and disenfranchisement unquestioned.

Additionally, representing farmland as threatened, and in need of protection, fails to acknowledge that agrarian land-grabs were a mechanism for Indigenous land *loss*. In the United States, nearly 11 million acres were lost to development (urban, commercial, industrial) in the 15 years between 2001 and 2016 (American Farmland Trust, 2020), an area equivalent to roughly double the size of New Jersey. In comparison, 90 million acres of Indigenous-held land was lost in the 47 years between 1887 and 1934, during the Allotment era (Graddy-Lovelace, 2017; Tsosie, 2001). To highlight farmland preservation is to reproduce "actions that reaffirm settler rights to Indigenous territories" (Kepkiewicz, 2020, p. 247). A narrative of farmland protection also overlooks the ways in which agriculture itself is destructive, of ecological systems and Indigenous lifeways.

While this paper explores relationships between settler colonialism and the farmland access movement, there are many elements that remain undeveloped, or outside of the scope. My analysis paints a broad stroke, but leaves areas of nuance between settler and Indigenous land stewardship and relationships largely unexplored. The land conservation movement has connections to both the farmland access movement and efforts towards Indigenous land rematriation, but I do not investigate this discourse or its positioning relative to settler colonialism. I do not directly interrogate private property frameworks, though they are essential

to the enactment of settler colonialism and land access. I do not speculate about the effectiveness of farmland access initiatives' strategies, though I notice that the approach of linking – connecting individual landowners and farmers – aligns with a neoliberal tendency to rely on individual solutions over structural ones. The farmland access initiatives included in this paper represent a core – but not sole – component of the movement. Increasingly, organizations are centering land justice and Indigenous land return, and there is important and emergent work not reflected in my sample due to my approach of using source lists.

Ultimately, I have attempted to demonstrate why initiatives for farmland access are accountable to calls for Indigenous land return. Settler colonialism was emplaced through agriculture: it enabled the settlers to *stay*. Agrarian settlement was a device that converted "untouched" land into private property for settlement (B. Burkhart, 2019). While colonialism is defined by its large-scale extraction (Glenn, 2015; Veracini, 2010); settler colonialism is characterized by small-scale landholders who established their livelihoods at the cost of Indigenous lifeways and collective capacities (Dunbar-Ortiz, 2014; K. Whyte et al., 2018).

In the words of settler scholar Benjamin Kapron (2016), "We need to come to understand the illegitimacy of settler claims to land and the rightfulness of Indigenous claims to land and sovereignty, and work to return land and (re)affirm Indigenous sovereignty" (p. 4). Land is central to the reproduction of settler colonialism, therefore I maintain that initiatives for farmland access have a responsibility to histories of Indigenous land dispossession and affirming movements for Indigenous land rematriation.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Table of farmland access initiatives, source list(s), and website URLs

Organization or Initiative	Greenhorns	Green New Deal	NYFC Land Link	Farmland Information Center	Does the organization have a functional website?	Website URL
Agrarian Trust	Y	Y			Y	https://www.agrariantrust.org/
Alaska FarmLink			Y	Y	Y	https://akfarmland.com/farmlink/
Alberta Land Access Support	Y				Y	https://youngagrarians.org/
American Farmland Trust	Y				Y	https://farmland.org/
BC Land Matching Program	Y				Y	https://youngagrarians.org/
California FarmLink	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	https://www.californiafarmlink.org/
Colorado Land Link			Y	Y	Y	https://guidestonecolorado.org/colorado-land-link/
Columbia Land Conservancy	Y		Y		Y	https://clctrust.org/
Connecticut FarmLink	Y		Y	Y	Y	https://www.ctfarmlink.org/
Equity Trust	Y				Y	http://equitytrust.org/
Farm Link Montana			Y	Y	Y	https://www.farmlinkmontana.org/
Farmer to Farmer			Y	Y	Y	https://farmtofarmer.org/
Farmland for a New Generation New York			Y		Y	https://nyfarmlandfinder.org/
Farmland Legacies	Y				Y	http://www.farmlandlegacies.org/
FarmLink (Minnesota)			Y	Y	Y	https://www.mda.state.mn.us/business-dev-loans-grants/farmlink
FarmLINK.net	Y				Y	https://farmlink.net/
GA FarmLink			Y	Y	Y	https://gafarmlink.org/
Heartland FarmLink			Y	Y	Y	https://heartlandfarmlink.org/
Idaho Farm Link			Y	Y	Y	https://idahofarmlink.org/
Illinois Farmland Access Initiative			Y	Y	Y	https://thelandconnection.org/view-ads/

Organization or Initiative	Greenhorns	Green New Deal	NYFC Land Link	Farmland Information Center	Does the organization have a functional website?	Website URL
Land for Good	Y				Y	https://landforgood.org/
Land Link Montgomery			Y		Y	http://www.mocolandlink.org/
Land Stewardship Project	Y		Y	Y	Y	https://landstewardshipproject.org/farmland-clearinghouse/
Maine FarmLink	Y		Y	Y	Y	https://mainefarmlink.org/
Maryland FarmLINK			Y	Y	Y	https://marylandfarmlink.com/
MiFarmLink (Michigan)			Y	Y	Y	https://www.mifarmlink.org/
NC FarmLink			Y	Y	Y	https://ncfarmlink.ces.ncsu.edu/
Nebraska Land Link				Y	Y	https://cap.unl.edu/landlink
New England Farmland Finder	Y		Y	Y	Y	https://newenglandfarmlandfinder.org/home
New England Land Link	Y		Y	Y	Y	http://www.smallfarm.org/main/for_new_farmers/new_england_landlink/
New Jersey Land Link	Y		Y	Y	Y	https://njlandlink.org/
Northeast Illinois FarmLink			Y	Y	Y	https://www.illinoisfarmlink.org/
NWA Farmlink				Y	Y	https://nwafarmlink.org/
Oregon Farm Link			Y	Y	Y	https://oregonfarmlink.org/
PA Farm Link	Y		Y	Y	Y	https://pafarmlink.org/
Practical Farmers of Iowa			Y	Y	Y	https://practicalfarmers.org/programs/beginning-farmers/find-a-farmer/
Renewing the Countryside			Y		Y	https://www.renewingthecountryside.org/
RI Farmland Access Clearinghouse				Y	Y	https://dem.ri.gov/natural-resources-bureau/agriculture-and-forest-environment/agriculture/farmland-preservation
SC Farm Link			Y	Y	Y	https://agriculture.sc.gov/divisions/external-affairs-economic-development/sc-farm-link/
South Sound FarmLink			Y	Y	Y	https://www.thurstoncd.com/working-lands/south-sound-farmlink
Sustainable Iowa Land Trust		Y	Y	Y	Y	https://silt.org/
TN Farm Link			Y	Y	Y	https://tnfarmlink.org/

Organization or Initiative	Greenhorns	Green New Deal	NYFC Land Link	Farmland Information Center	Does the organization have a functional website?	Website URL
Vermont Farmland Access Program			Y		Y	https://www.uvm.edu/extension/sustainable agriculture/land-access-program
Vermont Land Link			Y	Y	Y	https://vermontlandlink.org/
Virginia Farm Link			Y	Y	Y	https://virginiafarmlink.org/

Duplicates (removed)

Organization or Initiative	Greenhorns	Green New Deal	NYFC Land Link	Farmland Information Center	Does the organization have a functional website?	Website URL
Ag Link -> Iowa State University (DUP)				Y		https://beginningfarmer.iastate.edu/links
Farm to Farmer -> Washington FarmLink (DUP)			Y			
Hudson Valley Farmland Finder -> NY Farmland Finder (DUP)			Y	Y		https://nyfarmlandfinder.org/
iFarm Oregon -> Oregon Farm Link (DUP)				Y		
Land Link-Up -> Marbleseed (DUP)				Y		https://marbleseed.org/
National Farm Transition Network -> International Farm Transition Network	Y			Y		
New England Small Farm Institute -> New England Land Link (DUP)	Y					
Ohio FarmLink Program -> Countryside (DUP)				Y		https://countrysidefoodandfarms.org/farmer-resources/
Ontario, Canada FarmLink -> FarmLINK (Canada)	Y					

No website found						
Organization or Initiative	**Greenhorns**	**Green New Deal**	**NYFC Land Link**	**Farmland Information Center**	**Does the organization have a functional website?**	**Website URL**
Central New Mexico LandLink Initiative -> LandLink NM	Y				N	
Farm Asset Builder Program	Y				N	
Finger Lakes LandLink			Y		N	
Grass Link (Montana)				Y	N	
Landshare Canada	Y				N	
New Mexico LandLink -> LandLink NM			Y		N	
Organic Farm Succession Program	Y				N	
South Dakota Farm Link			Y		N	

No evidence of land linking							
Organization or Initiative	**Greenhorns**	**Green New Deal**	**NYFC Land Link**	**Farmland Information Center**	**Does the organization have a functional website?**	**Website URL**	**Comments / Notes**
Beginning Farmer and Rancher Development Program	Y				Y	https://www.nifa.usda.gov/grants/funding-opportunities/beginning-farmer-rancher-development-program	
California Farmer Justice Collaborative		Y			Y	https://www.farmerjustice.com/	Racial equity, no land access programming
Center for Agroecology and Sustainable Food Systems at the University of California, Santa Cruz		Y			Y	https://agroecology.ucsc.edu/	

Organization or Initiative	Greenhorns	Green New Deal	NYFC Land Link	Farmland Information Center	Does the organization have a functional website?	Website URL	Comments / Notes
Center for Rural Affairs' Land Link -> Center for Rural Affairs	Y				Y	https://www.cfra.org/	Farm lending, but not land
Environmental Working Group	Y				Y	https://www.ewg.org/	Information, not programmatic
FarmFolk/City Folk	Y				Y	https://farmfolkcityfolk.ca/	Sustainable food systems, but no land access
Farmshare Land Link (Texas) -> Farmshare Austin Land Link			Y	Y	N	https://www.farmshareaustin.org/land-link	Taking a pause to re-design our services.
Florida FarmFinder			Y		Y	https://floridafarmfinder.com/	Local farm listings, not land access
IDA program -> Beginning Farmer and Rancher Development Program	Y				Y	https://www.beginningfarmers.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/08/BFRDP-IDA.pdf	Grants program
Iowa State University Ag Link			Y	Y	Y	https://beginningfarmer.iastate.edu/links	Pausing AgLink to conduct an overall assessment of the program
National Family Farm Coalition	Y	Y			Y	https://nffc.net/	
National Farmers Union	Y				Y	https://nfu.org/	
National Sustainable Agriculture Coalition	Y				Y	https://sustainableagriculture.net/	Policy
New England Farmers Union	Y				Y	https://newenglandfarmersunion.org/	
New Entry Sustainable Farming Project	Y				Y	https://nesfp.nutrition.tufts.edu/about	Farmer training, not land access specific enough
Northeast Beginning Farmer Project	Y				Y	https://nebeginningfarmers.org/	Farmer training, not land access specific enough
Ontario Farmland Trust	Y				Y	https://ontariofarmlandtrust.ca/	Farmland protection

Organization or Initiative	Greenhorns	Green New Deal	NYFC Land Link	Farmland Information Center	Does the organization have a functional website?	Website URL	Comments / Notes
RAFI-USA	Y				Y	https://www.rafiusa.org/	Farming issues but no land access
Rodale Institute's New Farm Classifieds -> Rodale Institute	Y				Y	https://rodaleinstitute.org/	Organic research and education
Southwest Badger RC&D Grazing Broker -> Grazing Broker			Y		Y	https://www.grazingbroker.org	Website has been temporarily decommissioned
Stone Barns Center for Food and Agriculture		Y			Y	https://stonebarnscenter.org/	
The Carrot Project	Y				Y	https://www.thecarrotproject.org/	Business advising, loans
The Intervale Center	Y				Y	https://www.intervale.org/	Farming incubator
University of Wisconsin's Land Tenure Center	Y				Y	https://minds.wisconsin.edu/handle/1793/21862	Land policy working papers and briefs, not access
UVM Center for Sustainable Agriculture/New Farmer Project	Y				Y	https://www.uvm.edu/extension/newfarmerproject	Leads to Vermont Land Link (already included)
Wisconsin Farm Center			Y		Y	https://datcp.wi.gov/Pages/AgDevelopment/FarmCenterOverview.aspx	Links to other orgs
Women Food and Agriculture Network	Y				Y	https://wfan.org/	

Less clear evidence of land linking (excluded)							
Organization or Initiative	**Greenhorns**	**Green New Deal**	**NYFC Land Link**	**Farmland Information Center**	**Does the organization have a functional website?**	**Website URL**	**Comments / Notes**
A Growing Culture	Y				Y	https://www.agrowingculture.org/	BIPOC loan fund
MOSES Land Link-Up -> Marbleseed	Y		Y	Y	Y	https://marbleseed.org/	Sparse land listings in classified section along with other for sale items; full website launching summer 2022
National Young Farmers Coalition		Y			Y	https://www.youngfarmers.org/	Land access highlighted, policy more than programming
New York Farm Net	Y				Y	https://www.nyfarmnet.org/	Farm business support including business transfer
Peninsula Open Space Trust		Y			Y	https://openspacetrust.org/	Farmland protection
Soul Fire Farm		Y			Y	https://www.soulfirefarm.org/	Topic: Reparations
Sustainable Agriculture Land Tenure Initiative	Y				Y	https://www.sustainablefarmlease.org/	Focus on leasing
The International Farm Transition Network	Y			Y	Y	https://www.farmtransition.org/	Transition, not so much linking

Appendix B: Values statements by theme

Values statement	Organization or Initiative	Theme
caring for the health of the land for future generations and long-term economic stability	Farmland Legacies	Generational continuity
connect the next generation of farmers to landowners with available farmland	Alaska FarmLink	Generational continuity
ease the transition of land to the next generation	American Farmland Trust // Keeping Farmers on the Land	Generational continuity
ensure the future of farming in New England by putting more farmers more securely on more land	Land for Good	Generational continuity
ensures Georgia's best farms continue contributing to the local economy through sustainable farming practices and farm business development strategies	GA FarmLink	Generational continuity
For some landowners, they simply do not have the next generation available to take over their operation	Nebraska Land Link	Generational continuity
for the next generation of farmers and ranchers	Agrarian Trust	Generational continuity
growing a vibrant agricultural future	Colorado Land Link	Generational continuity
help maintain family farms and vibrant rural communities by facilitating the transfer of land from one generation to the next	Practical Farmers of Iowa // Find a Farmer	Generational continuity
help Oregon grow the next generation of family farmers.	Oregon Farm Link	Generational continuity
help shepherd prime farmland from its current stewards into the hands of the next generation	MiFarmLink (Michigan)	Generational continuity
helps farmers seeking land and landowners wanting to keep their land in farming	Farmland for a New Generation New York	Generational continuity
keep land in production by making it accessible to a new generation of farmers	Farmer to Farmer	Generational continuity
keep our farmers farming	Alaska FarmLink	Generational continuity
keeping farmers on the land	American Farmland Trust // Keeping Farmers on the Land	Generational continuity
management of natural resources for the benefit of present and future generations	Sustainable Iowa Land Trust // New Farmers Seeking Land	Generational continuity

Values statement	Organization or Initiative	Theme
offers resources and tools to help make land transfer successful and grow the next generation of farmers	Heartland Farmlink	Generational continuity
one of several methods utilized by Rhode Island farmland owners and seekers to ensure farmland is retained for future agricultural use	RI Farmland Access Clearinghouse	Generational continuity
Protecting the future of farming in Iowa while promoting sustainable agriculture.	Sustainable Iowa Land Trust // New Farmers Seeking Land	Generational continuity
protects farmland, supports farmers, and advances the future of farming	Maine FarmLink	Generational continuity
provides land access to a new generation of farmers	Farmer to Farmer	Generational continuity
purpose is to support farms and the future of agriculture in Southern Maryland	Maryland FarmLINK	Generational continuity
Resilient farms now and for future generations	Practical Farmers of Iowa // Find a Farmer	Generational continuity
resilient local food systems, healthier communities, and a vibrant future for local agriculture	Colorado Land Link	Generational continuity
searching for next generation farmers to continue Vermont's farming legacy	Vermont Land Link	Generational continuity
support to ranchers, farmers, landowners & land seekers in order to secure agriculture's future on the land	Colorado Land Link	Generational continuity
Supporting Land Access For Next Generation Farmers	Agrarian Trust	Generational continuity
The family farm is rarely passed down as it once was generation to generation. Today, new farmers need help navigating their journey to farm as do farmland owners planning a farm legacy	NWA Farmlink	Generational continuity
the transition between generations of landowners with the goal of keeping farmland in production	Connecticut FarmLink	Generational continuity
There is a new generation of farmers who want to be tomorrow's stewards of the land today, but they need land to work	Connecticut FarmLink	Generational continuity
We connect the next generation of sustainable farmers and ranchers with land and financing	California FarmLink	Generational continuity
We strive to create economic and environmental resilience for the next generation of California farmers and ranchers	California FarmLink	Generational continuity
work to protect and enhance farmland so that we, and generations to come, will have clean air and water, fertile soil, and healthy, delicious food	Illinois Farmland Access Initiative	Generational continuity
working to "Link Farmers to the Future".	PA Farm Link	Generational continuity

Values statement	Organization or Initiative	Theme
works to keep farmland in production in the South Sound region for generations to come in such a way that is affordable and accessible to all interested farmers.	South Sound FarmLink	Generational continuity
young people, new Canadians and second career farmers from all backgrounds are looking for new paths into agriculture	FarmLINK.net	Generational continuity
Gaining ground for farmers	Land for Good	Farmland preservation / protection
grow a healthy local food community by preserving farmland, teaching new farmers, and making food accessible for all	Farm Link Montana	Farmland preservation / protection
help maintain family farms and vibrant rural communities by facilitating the transfer of land from one generation to the next	Practical Farmers of Iowa // Find a Farmer	Farmland preservation / protection
help preserve family farms	Practical Farmers of Iowa // Find a Farmer	Farmland preservation / protection
help to keep the region's farmland productive	Maryland FarmLINK	Farmland preservation / protection
helps farmers access and protect important farmland	GA FarmLink	Farmland preservation / protection
keep land in production	Farmer to Farmer	Farmland preservation / protection
Our goal is to protect Maine farmland and to revitalize Maine's rural landscape by keeping agricultural lands working and helping farmers and communities thrive	Maine FarmLink	Farmland preservation / protection
permanently protect Iowa land to grow nature-friendly table food	Sustainable Iowa Land Trust // New Farmers Seeking Land	Farmland preservation / protection
preserve and enhance the quality of life for all people in Northwest Arkansas through the permanent protection of land	NWA Farmlink	Farmland preservation / protection
protect, promote and sustain resilient and economically viable community agricultural systems in Oregon	Oregon Farm Link	Farmland preservation / protection
Protected in Perpetuity	Agrarian Trust	Farmland preservation / protection
Protecting the future of farming in Iowa while promoting sustainable agriculture.	Sustainable Iowa Land Trust // New Farmers Seeking Land	Farmland preservation / protection
protects and stewards threatened farmland across the state	Farmer to Farmer	Farmland preservation / protection
protects farmland, supports farmers, and advances the future of farming	Maine FarmLink	Farmland preservation / protection
provide sellers of Rhode Island farmland incentive to see their land remain in farming upon transfer to new ownership	RI Farmland Access Clearinghouse	Farmland preservation / protection
Providing communities access to wholesome and healthy food by assisting farmers and their communities to find ways to protect agricultural land for long-term affordable agricultural use	Equity Trust	Farmland preservation / protection

Values statement	Organization or Initiative	Theme
the transition between generations of landowners with the goal of keeping farmland in production	Connecticut FarmLink	Farmland preservation / protection
We are working to save the land that sustains us by protecting farmland	American Farmland Trust // Keeping Farmers on the Land	Farmland preservation / protection
We help protect farms and ranches that will be available more affordably for incoming farmers	American Farmland Trust // Keeping Farmers on the Land	Farmland preservation / protection
We Protect Farmlands	Agrarian Trust	Farmland preservation / protection
work to protect and enhance farmland so that we, and generations to come, will have clean air and water, fertile soil, and healthy, delicious food	Illinois Farmland Access Initiative	Farmland preservation / protection
works to keep farmland in production in the South Sound region for generations to come in such a way that is affordable and accessible to all interested farmers.	South Sound FarmLink	Farmland preservation / protection
A culture of voluntary stewardship of our natural resources built through relationships with individuals, organizations, and governments	South Sound FarmLink	Environmental Values
a focus on providing long-term, ecologically sound stewardship	Farmland Legacies	Environmental Values
advances sustainable food and farming systems in Vermont and beyond	Vermont Farmland Access Program	Environmental Values
as Ohio farmers age, people interested in sustainable and organic agriculture must be encouraged to become farm owners and existing organic farmers must have the incentives necessary to transfer their land	Heartland Farmlink	Environmental Values
community-based food systems in which every farmer has the opportunity to protect our environment by growing food in a sustainable manner and every person has access to local, nutritious foods	Illinois Farmland Access Initiative	Environmental Values
dedicated to promoting and supporting sustainable, ecological, and healthful food systems.	Heartland Farmlink	Environmental Values
educate the public by providing courses, seminars, workshops, and counselling about agriculture, farming, food processing, entrepreneurship, community economic development and environmental sustainability	Alberta Land Access Support	Environmental Values
enhancing community life through regenerative agriculture	Farmland Legacies	Environmental Values

Values statement	Organization or Initiative	Theme
ensures Georgia's best farms continue contributing to the local economy through sustainable farming practices and farm business development strategies	GA FarmLink	Environmental Values
Entire communities will benefit from increased farming opportunity, healthy lands, and a more secure food supply	Land for Good	Environmental Values
foster the success of sustainable small acreage farmers and ranchers	Idaho Farm Link	Environmental Values
help new and existing farmers find the land they need to sustainably grow crops and raise livestock while building financial viability	Vermont Farmland Access Program	Environmental Values
increased sustainability in Montana's local food system	Farm Link Montana	Environmental Values
promoting sound farming practices	American Farmland Trust // Keeping Farmers on the Land	Environmental Values
Stewardship of land and resources	Practical Farmers of Iowa // Find a Farmer	Environmental Values
support for sustainable endeavors, connecting people interested in sustainable rural development to each other	Renewing the Countryside // Farmland Access Hub	Environmental Values
sustain the ecological integrity of land and our relationship to it through farming	Agrarian Trust	Environmental Values
Sustainable community-based conservation and restoration of natural resources	South Sound FarmLink	Environmental Values
sustainable farmers and ranchers	California FarmLink	Environmental Values
sustainable food production, ecological stewardship	Agrarian Trust	Environmental Values
to foster an ethic of stewardship for farmland, to promote sustainable agriculture, and to develop healthy communities	Land Stewardship Project // Farmland Clearinghouse	Environmental Values
train farmers in resilient, restorative farming techniques	Illinois Farmland Access Initiative	Environmental Values
We seek to demonstrate and foster ways for people and nature to thrive together. We have done so in many ways but have given particular attention to advancing soil-rejuvenating and life-sustaining agriculture in northeastern Illinois	Northeast Illinois FarmLink	Environmental Values
We strive to create economic and environmental resilience for the next generation of California farmers and ranchers	California FarmLink	Environmental Values
work to protect and enhance farmland so that we, and generations to come, will have clean air and water, fertile soil, and healthy, delicious food	Illinois Farmland Access Initiative	Environmental Values

Values statement	Organization or Initiative	Theme
Working for a more just, vibrant and sustainable rural America	Renewing the Countryside // Farmland Access Hub	Environmental Values
works to alleviate hunger, holds farmland in trust, links land with farmers and works with other organizations to promote and communicate sustainable values, thereby enhancing community life through regenerative agriculture	Farmland Legacies	Environmental Values
Caring for the system as a whole - understanding the fundamental roles and values of natural systems, building up biological fertility in the soil, incorporating an understanding of the ecological cycles of the landscape (water, energy, nutrients) and how land-use practices can either benefit, be in harmony with, or negatively impact these cycles and other land-users, flora and fauna	Farmland Legacies	Ecological Values Beyond Agriculture
envisions a local, diversified, and interconnected agricultural future built by small and mid-size farms where people, animals, communities and ecosystems thrive, and equitable policies improve lives and land for Oregonians	Oregon Farm Link	Ecological Values Beyond Agriculture
Maintaining, building and enhancing stability in Nature - maintaining and encouraging natural biological diversity and complexity; maintaining natural areas and functions on the land (i.e., wildlife habitat conservation);	Farmland Legacies	Ecological Values Beyond Agriculture
People of Thurston County enjoy healthy soils, water, air, and ecosystems; Sustainable community-based conservation and restoration of natural resources	South Sound FarmLink	Ecological Values Beyond Agriculture
promote sound economic, land-use and transportation policies that preserve the natural environment, open spaces and rural lands	Land Link Montgomery	Ecological Values Beyond Agriculture
shows respect, integrity, and trust for all people and natural resources	Farm Link Montana	Ecological Values Beyond Agriculture
The landscape, with balanced soils and healthy ecosystems, will be home to farmers of all ages	Farmland Legacies	Ecological Values Beyond Agriculture
We seek to demonstrate and foster ways for people and nature to thrive together. We have done so in many ways but have given particular attention to advancing soil-rejuvenating and life-sustaining agriculture in northeastern Illinois	Northeast Illinois FarmLink	Ecological Values Beyond Agriculture
where there are accessible open spaces and abundant, healthy natural lands and wildlife habitats.	Columbia Land Conservancy // Farmland Matching and Advising	Ecological Values Beyond Agriculture

Values statement	Organization or Initiative	Theme
works with our community to conserve the farmland, forests, wildlife habitat, and rural character of Columbia County	Columbia Land Conservancy // Farmland Matching and Advising	Ecological Values Beyond Agriculture
A resilient community responding to a changing climate	South Sound FarmLink	Community engagement / benefit
An Iowa with healthy soil, healthy food, clean air, clean water, resilient farms and vibrant communities	Practical Farmers of Iowa // Find a Farmer	Community engagement / benefit
benefits for all in light of wider community needs	Equity Trust	Community engagement / benefit
community vitality	Agrarian Trust	Community engagement / benefit
community-based food systems in which every farmer has the opportunity to protect our environment by growing food in a sustainable manner and every person has access to local, nutritious foods	Illinois Farmland Access Initiative	Community engagement / benefit
community-held land and agrarian property	Agrarian Trust	Community engagement / benefit
conserves, empowers and sustains communities through responsible and visionary land use	GA FarmLink	Community engagement / benefit
cultivate partnership, support innovative research and practices, and inform policy to benefit Vermont communities and the UVM campus	Vermont Farmland Access Program	Community engagement / benefit
culturally and racially diverse rural and urban people can take practical steps that result in greater stewardship of the land, more family farmers, healthy food for all and resilient, racially just communities	Land Stewardship Project // Farmland Clearinghouse	Community engagement / benefit
educate the public by providing courses, seminars, workshops, and counselling about agriculture, farming, food processing, entrepreneurship, community economic development and environmental sustainability	Alberta Land Access Support	Community engagement / benefit
Empowering people to build and strengthen their communities by providing access to ideas, capital and technical assistance	Equity Trust	Community engagement / benefit
enhancing community life through regenerative agriculture	Farmland Legacies	Community engagement / benefit
Entire communities will benefit from increased farming opportunity, healthy lands, and a more secure food supply	Land for Good	Community engagement / benefit
Equipping farmers to build resilient farms and communities	Practical Farmers of Iowa // Find a Farmer	Community engagement / benefit
grow a healthy local food community by preserving farmland, teaching new farmers, and making food accessible for all	Farm Link Montana	Community engagement / benefit
growing a vibrant agricultural future through education, community building, and partnerships	Colorado Land Link	Community engagement / benefit

Values statement	Organization or Initiative	Theme
Iowa sustained by wholesome food grown on community-based farms	Sustainable Iowa Land Trust // New Farmers Seeking Land	Community engagement / benefit
Linking farms to people and people to farms	PA Farm Link	Community engagement / benefit
Our goal is to protect Maine farmland and to revitalize Maine's rural landscape by keeping agricultural lands working and helping farmers and communities thrive	Maine FarmLink	Community engagement / benefit
Our programs and initiatives have emphasized the connection between farming, food, conservation, and healthy communities	Northeast Illinois FarmLink	Community engagement / benefit
prioritizes engagement with community members from all backgrounds	Farm Link Montana	Community engagement / benefit
promoting a viable and profitable agricultural farming community	Maryland FarmLINK	Community engagement / benefit
protect, promote and sustain resilient and economically viable community agricultural systems in Oregon	Oregon Farm Link	Community engagement / benefit
Providing communities access to wholesome and healthy food by assisting farmers and their communities to find ways to protect agricultural land for long-term affordable agricultural use	Equity Trust	Community engagement / benefit
resilient local food systems, healthier communities, and a vibrant future for local agriculture	Colorado Land Link	Community engagement / benefit
strengthens rural areas by championing and supporting rural communities, farmers, artists, entrepreneurs, educators, activists and other people who are renewing the countryside through sustainable and innovative initiatives, businesses, and projects	Renewing the Countryside // Farmland Access Hub	Community engagement / benefit
supporting and sustaining a strong and vibrant rural community, where agriculture plays a central role in the economy	Columbia Land Conservancy // Farmland Matching and Advising	Community engagement / benefit
Sustainable community-based conservation and restoration of natural resources	South Sound FarmLink	Community engagement / benefit
to foster an ethic of stewardship for farmland, to promote sustainable agriculture, and to develop healthy communities	Land Stewardship Project // Farmland Clearinghouse	Community engagement / benefit
works with our community to conserve the farmland, forests, wildlife habitat, and rural character of Columbia County	Columbia Land Conservancy // Farmland Matching and Advising	Community engagement / benefit
build a strong local food system	Land Link Montgomery	Food

Values statement	Organization or Initiative	Theme
community-based food systems in which every farmer has the opportunity to protect our environment by growing food in a sustainable manner and every person has access to local, nutritious foods	Illinois Farmland Access Initiative	Food
culturally and racially diverse rural and urban people can take practical steps that result in greater stewardship of the land, more family farmers, healthy food for all and resilient, racially just communities	Land Stewardship Project // Farmland Clearinghouse	Food
dedicated to promoting and supporting sustainable, ecological, and healthful food systems.	Idaho Farm Link	Food
empowering all Montanans as we work together toward a more just and equitable food system	Farm Link Montana	Food
Food Security (core value)	Agrarian Trust	Food
grow a healthy local food community by preserving farmland, teaching new farmers, and making food accessible for all	Farm Link Montana	Food
if individuals are exposed to experiences on local farms and ranches, that exposure results in a growing appreciation for where our food comes from and the commitment and resources needed to produce food locally	Colorado Land Link	Food
inform the public about the sources of our food and why that matters	Illinois Farmland Access Initiative	Food
Iowa sustained by wholesome food grown on community-based farms	Sustainable Iowa Land Trust // New Farmers Seeking Land	Food
Our programs and initiatives have emphasized the connection between farming, food, conservation, and healthy communities	Northeast Illinois FarmLink	Food
permanently protect Iowa land to grow nature-friendly table food	Sustainable Iowa Land Trust // New Farmers Seeking Land	Food
supports sustainable food production	Agrarian Trust	Food
thriving local food markets that will give Alaskans access to fresh, healthy food	Alaska FarmLink	Food
To help local groups increase community access to locally produced food.	Equity Trust	Food
work to protect and enhance farmland so that we, and generations to come, will have clean air and water, fertile soil, and healthy, delicious food	Illinois Farmland Access Initiative	Food

Values statement	Organization or Initiative	Theme
works to alleviate hunger, holds farmland in trust, links land with farmers and works with other organizations to promote and communicate sustainable values, thereby enhancing community life through regenerative agriculture	Farmland Legacies	Food
helping to grow the state's agriculture industry	NC FarmLink	Economic contribution / viability
assisting farmers in creating a profitable farming future and informing the public on the importance of local farms to our overall economy	Maryland FarmLINK	Economic contribution / viability
caring for the health of the land for future generations and long-term economic stability	Farmland Legacies	Economic contribution / viability
ensures Georgia's best farms continue contributing to the local economy through sustainable farming practices and farm business development strategies	GA FarmLink	Economic contribution / viability
farmland access and farm viability	American Farmland Trust // Keeping Farmers on the Land	Economic contribution / viability
help new and existing farmers find the land they need to sustainably grow crops and raise livestock while building financial viability	Vermont Farmland Access Program	Economic contribution / viability
invest in the prosperity of farmers	California FarmLink	Economic contribution / viability
Offering individuals and institutions a vehicle for the responsible investment and/or divestment of wealth.	Equity Trust	Economic contribution / viability
promoting a viable and profitable agricultural farming community	Maryland FarmLINK	Economic contribution / viability
protect, promote and sustain resilient and economically viable community agricultural systems in Oregon	Oregon Farm Link	Economic contribution / viability
supporting and sustaining a strong and vibrant rural community, where agriculture plays a central role in the economy	Columbia Land Conservancy // Farmland Matching and Advising	Economic contribution / viability
supports the growth of Rhode Island's agricultural economy	RI Farmland Access Clearinghouse	Economic contribution / viability
We strive to create economic and environmental resilience for the next generation of California farmers and ranchers	California FarmLink	Economic contribution / viability
all guided by the values of justice, diversity, equity, and belonging	Illinois Farmland Access Initiative	Equity
culturally and racially diverse rural and urban people can take practical steps that result in greater stewardship of the land, more family farmers, healthy food for all and resilient, racially just communities	Land Stewardship Project // Farmland Clearinghouse	Equity
empowering all Montanans as we work together toward a more just and equitable food system	Farm Link Montana	Equity

Values statement	Organization or Initiative	Theme
envisions a local, diversified, and interconnected agricultural future built by small and mid-size farms where people, animals, communities and ecosystems thrive, and equitable policies improve lives and land for Oregonians	Oregon Farm Link	Equity
equitable land access	Agrarian Trust	Equity
promote equity in the world by changing the way people think about and hold property.	Equity Trust	Equity
Working for a more just, vibrant and sustainable rural America	Renewing the Countryside // Farmland Access Hub	Equity
works to create an inclusive farm and food economy with equitable access to opportunity for farmers and ranchers	California FarmLink	Equity
works to integrate equity and inclusiveness in all that we do	Farm Link Montana	Equity
Access to affordable farmland can be one of the main barriers for both beginning and growing farmers	Idaho Farm Link	Affordability of land
addresses the high cost of land as a significant barrier for those seeking to enter the B.C. agriculture industry.	B.C. Land Matching Program	Affordability of land
Affordability (core value)	Agrarian Trust	Affordability of land
creating affordable land access for Iowa's sustainable food farmers	Sustainable Iowa Land Trust // New Farmers Seeking Land	Affordability of land
Land access is one of the biggest challenges facing aspiring and beginning farmers	Nebraska Land Link	Affordability of land
To help local land trusts and others to preserve the affordability of farms for farmers	Equity Trust	Affordability of land
We help protect farms and ranches that will be available more affordably for incoming farmers	California FarmLink	Affordability of land
works to keep farmland in production in the South Sound region for generations to come in such a way that is affordable and accessible to all interested farmers.	South Sound FarmLink	Affordability of land
opportunities for those working to improve rural America, and fostering connections between urban and rural people	Renewing the Countryside // Farmland Access Hub	Rural
Our goal is to protect Maine farmland and to revitalize Maine's rural landscape by keeping agricultural lands working and helping farmers and communities thrive	Maine FarmLink	Rural

Values statement	Organization or Initiative	Theme
promote sound economic, land-use and transportation policies that preserve the natural environment, open spaces and rural lands	Land Link Montgomery	Rural
strengthens rural areas by championing and supporting rural communities, farmers, artists, entrepreneurs, educators, activists and other people who are renewing the countryside through sustainable and innovative initiatives, businesses, and projects	Renewing the Countryside // Farmland Access Hub	Rural
supporting and sustaining a strong and vibrant rural community, where agriculture plays a central role in the economy	Columbia Land Conservancy // Farmland Matching and Advising	Rural
works with our community to conserve the farmland, forests, wildlife habitat, and rural character of Columbia County	Columbia Land Conservancy // Farmland Matching and Advising	Rural
92% of farmers who are looking to downsize or retire don't have successors	FarmLINK.net	Aging farmers
as Ohio farmers age, people interested in sustainable and organic agriculture must be encouraged to become farm owners and existing organic farmers must have the incentives necessary to transfer their land	Heartland Farmlink	Aging farmers
opportunities to connect land seekers with retiring landowners	Nebraska Land Link	Aging farmers
We help aging farmers and ranchers consider options for their property	American Farmland Trust // Keeping Farmers on the Land	Aging farmers
A culture of voluntary stewardship of our natural resources built through relationships with individuals, organizations, and governments	South Sound FarmLink	Relationality
strengthening connections between people and the land.	Columbia Land Conservancy // Farmland Matching and Advising	Relationality
sustain the ecological integrity of land and our relationship to it through farming	Agrarian Trust	Relationality
We understand it to be in our collective interest to support the kinds of relations, economic and social	Agrarian Trust	Relationality

Appendix C: Values statements by theme (matrix)

Website text	Organization // Initiative	1 Future	2 Preserve	3 Enviro	3.1 Eco beyond Ag	4 Comm	5 Food	6 Econ	7 Equity	8 Afford	9 Rural	10 Aging	11 Relate
Affordability [as a core value]	Agrarian Trust									Y			
community vitality	Agrarian Trust					Y							
community-held land and agrarian property	Agrarian Trust					Y							
equitable land access	Agrarian Trust								Y				
Food Security (core value)	Agrarian Trust						Y						
for the next generation of farmers and ranchers	Agrarian Trust	Y											
Protected in Perpetuity	Agrarian Trust		Y										
Supporting Land Access For Next Generation Farmers	Agrarian Trust	Y											
supports sustainable food production	Agrarian Trust						Y						
sustain the ecological integrity of land and our relationship to it through farming	Agrarian Trust			Y									
sustainable food production, ecological stewardship	Agrarian Trust			Y									
We Protect Farmlands	Agrarian Trust		Y										
We understand it to be in our collective interest to support the kinds of relations, economic and social	Agrarian Trust												Y

Website text	Organization // Initiative	1 Future	2 Preserve	3 Enviro	3.1 Eco beyond Ag	4 Comm	5 Food	6 Econ	7 Equity	8 Afford	9 Rural	10 Aging	11 Relate
connect the next generation of farmers to landowners with available farmland	Alaska FarmLink	Y											
keep our farmers farming	Alaska FarmLink	Y											
thriving local food markets that will give Alaskans access to fresh, healthy food	Alaska FarmLink						Y						
educate the public by providing courses, seminars, workshops, and counselling about agriculture, farming, food processing, entrepreneurship, community economic development and environmental sustainability	Alberta Land Access Support			Y		Y							
ease the transition of land to the next generation	American Farmland Trust // Keeping Farmers on the Land	Y											
farmland access and farm viability	American Farmland Trust // Keeping Farmers on the Land							Y					
keeping farmers on the land	American Farmland Trust // Keeping	Y											

	Farmers on the Land												
Website text	**Organization // Initiative**	**1 Future**	**2 Preserve**	**3 Enviro**	**3.1 Eco beyond Ag**	**4 Comm**	**5 Food**	**6 Econ**	**7 Equity**	**8 Afford**	**9 Rural**	**10 Aging**	**11 Relate**
promoting sound farming practices	American Farmland Trust // Keeping Farmers on the Land			Y									
We are working to save the land that sustains us by protecting farmland	American Farmland Trust // Keeping Farmers on the Land		Y										
We help aging farmers and ranchers consider options for their property	American Farmland Trust // Keeping Farmers on the Land											Y	
We help protect farms and ranches that will be available more affordably for incoming farmers	American Farmland Trust // Keeping Farmers on the Land		Y										
… addresses the high cost of land as a significant barrier for those seeking to enter the B.C. agriculture industry.	B.C. Land Matching Program									Y			
invest in the prosperity of farmers	California FarmLink							Y					
sustainable farmers and ranchers	California FarmLink			Y									
We connect the next generation of	California FarmLink	Y											

sustainable farmers and ranchers with land and financing													
Website text	**Organization // Initiative**	**1 Future**	**2 Preserve**	**3 Enviro**	**3.1 Eco beyond Ag**	**4 Comm**	**5 Food**	**6 Econ**	**7 Equity**	**8 Afford**	**9 Rural**	**10 Aging**	**11 Relate**
We help protect farms and ranches that will be available more affordably for incoming farmers	California FarmLink									Y			
We strive to create economic and environmental resilience for the next generation of California farmers and ranchers	California FarmLink	Y		Y				Y					
works to create an inclusive farm and food economy with equitable access to opportunity for farmers and ranchers	California FarmLink								Y				
growing a vibrant agricultural future through education, community building, and partnerships	Colorado Land Link	Y				Y							
if individuals are exposed to experiences on local farms and ranches, that exposure results in a growing appreciation for where our food comes from and the commitment	Colorado Land Link						Y						

and resources needed to produce food locally													
Website text	**Organization // Initiative**	**1 Future**	**2 Preserve**	**3 Enviro**	**3.1 Eco beyond Ag**	**4 Comm**	**5 Food**	**6 Econ**	**7 Equity**	**8 Afford**	**9 Rural**	**10 Aging**	**11 Relate**
resilient local food systems, healthier communities, and a vibrant future for local agriculture	Colorado Land Link	Y				Y							
support to ranchers, farmers, landowners & land seekers in order to secure agriculture's future on the land	Colorado Land Link	Y											
strengthening connections between people and the land.	Columbia Land Conservancy // Farmland Matching and Advising												Y
supporting and sustaining a strong and vibrant rural community, where agriculture plays a central role in the economy	Columbia Land Conservancy // Farmland Matching and Advising					Y		Y			Y		
where there are accessible open spaces and abundant, healthy natural lands and wildlife habitats.	Columbia Land Conservancy // Farmland Matching and Advising				Y								
works with our community to conserve the farmland, forests, wildlife habitat, and	Columbia Land Conservancy // Farmland Matching and Advising			Y	Y								

rural character of Columbia County													
Website text	**Organization // Initiative**	**1 Future**	**2 Preserve**	**3 Enviro**	**3.1 Eco beyond Ag**	**4 Comm**	**5 Food**	**6 Econ**	**7 Equity**	**8 Afford**	**9 Rural**	**10 Aging**	**11 Relate**
works with our community to conserve the farmland, forests, wildlife habitat, and rural character of Columbia County	Columbia Land Conservancy // Farmland Matching and Advising										Y		
the transition between generations of landowners with the goal of keeping farmland in production	Connecticut FarmLink	Y	Y										
There is a new generation of farmers who want to be tomorrow's stewards of the land today, but they need land to work	Connecticut FarmLink	Y											
benefits for all in light of wider community needs	Equity Trust					Y							
Empowering people to build and strengthen their communities by providing access to ideas, capital and technical assistance	Equity Trust					Y							
Offering individuals and institutions a vehicle for the responsible investment and/or divestment of wealth.	Equity Trust							Y					

Website text	Organization // Initiative	1 Future	2 Preserve	3 Enviro	3.1 Eco beyond Ag	4 Comm	5 Food	6 Econ	7 Equity	8 Afford	9 Rural	10 Aging	11 Relate
promote equity in the world by changing the way people think about and hold property.	Equity Trust								Y				
Providing communities access to wholesome and healthy food by assisting farmers and their communities to find ways to protect agricultural land for long-term affordable agricultural use	Equity Trust		Y			Y							
To help local groups increase community access to locally produced food.	Equity Trust						Y						
To help local land trusts and others to preserve the affordability of farms for farmers	Equity Trust									Y			
empowering all Montanans as we work together toward a more just and equitable food system	Farm Link Montana						Y		Y				
grow a healthy local food community by preserving farmland, teaching new farmers, and making food accessible for all	Farm Link Montana		Y			Y	Y						

Website text	Organization // Initiative	1 Future	2 Preserve	3 Enviro	3.1 Eco beyond Ag	4 Comm	5 Food	6 Econ	7 Equity	8 Afford	9 Rural	10 Aging	11 Relate
increased sustainability in Montana's local food system	Farm Link Montana			Y									
prioritizes engagement with community members from all backgrounds	Farm Link Montana					Y							
shows respect, integrity, and trust for all people and natural resources	Farm Link Montana				Y								
works to integrate equity and inclusiveness in all that we do	Farm Link Montana								Y				
keep land in production by making it accessible to a new generation of farmers	Farmer to Farmer	Y	Y										
protects and stewards threatened farmland across the state	Farmer to Farmer		Y										
provides land access to a new generation of farmers	Farmer to Farmer	Y											
helps farmers seeking land and landowners wanting to keep their land in farming	Farmland for a New Generation New York	Y											
… a focus on providing long-term, ecologically sound stewardship	Farmland Legacies			Y									
caring for the health of the land for future	Farmland Legacies	Y						Y					

generations and long-term economic stability													
Website text	**Organization // Initiative**	**1 Future**	**2 Preserve**	**3 Enviro**	**3.1 Eco beyond Ag**	**4 Comm**	**5 Food**	**6 Econ**	**7 Equity**	**8 Afford**	**9 Rural**	**10 Aging**	**11 Relate**
Caring for the system as a whole - understanding the fundamental roles and values of natural systems, building up biological fertility in the soil, incorporating an understanding of the ecological cycles of the landscape (water, energy, nutrients) and how land-use practices can either benefit, be in harmony with, or negatively impact these cycles and other land-users, flora and fauna	Farmland Legacies				Y								
enhancing community life through regenerative agriculture	Farmland Legacies			Y		Y							
Maintaining, building and enhancing stability in Nature - maintaining and encouraging natural biological diversity and complexity; maintaining natural areas and functions on	Farmland Legacies				Y								

the land (i.e., wildlife habitat conservation);													
Website text	**Organization // Initiative**	**1 Future**	**2 Preserve**	**3 Enviro**	**3.1 Eco beyond Ag**	**4 Comm**	**5 Food**	**6 Econ**	**7 Equity**	**8 Afford**	**9 Rural**	**10 Aging**	**11 Relate**
The landscape, with balanced soils and healthy ecosystems, will be home to farmers of all ages	Farmland Legacies				Y								
works to alleviate hunger, holds farmland in trust, links land with farmers and works with other organizations to promote and communicate sustainable values, thereby enhancing community life through regenerative agriculture	Farmland Legacies			Y			Y						
92% of farmers who are looking to downsize or retire don't have successors	FarmLINK.net											Y	
young people, new Canadians and second career farmers from all backgrounds are looking for new paths into agriculture	FarmLINK.net	Y											
conserves, empowers and sustains communities through	GA FarmLink					Y							

responsible and visionary land use													
Website text	**Organization // Initiative**	**1 Future**	**2 Preserve**	**3 Enviro**	**3.1 Eco beyond Ag**	**4 Comm**	**5 Food**	**6 Econ**	**7 Equity**	**8 Afford**	**9 Rural**	**10 Aging**	**11 Relate**
ensures Georgia's best farms continue contributing to the local economy through sustainable farming practices and farm business development strategies	GA FarmLink	Y		Y				Y					
helps farmers access and protect important farmland	GA FarmLink		Y										
as Ohio farmers age, people interested in sustainable and organic agriculture must be encouraged to become farm owners and existing organic farmers must have the incentives necessary to transfer their land	Heartland Farmlink				Y							Y	
dedicated to promoting and supporting sustainable, ecological, and healthful food systems.	Heartland Farmlink			Y			Y						
offers resources and tools to help make land transfer successful and grow the next generation of farmers	Heartland Farmlink	Y											

Website text	Organization // Initiative	1 Future	2 Preserve	3 Enviro	3.1 Eco beyond Ag	4 Comm	5 Food	6 Econ	7 Equity	8 Afford	9 Rural	10 Aging	11 Relate
Access to affordable farmland can be one of the main barriers for both beginning and growing farmers	Idaho Farm Link									Y			
foster the success of sustainable small acreage farmers and ranchers	Idaho Farm Link			Y									
… all guided by the values of justice, diversity, equity, and belonging	Illinois Farmland Access Initiative								Y				
community-based food systems in which every farmer has the opportunity to protect our environment by growing food in a sustainable manner and every person has access to local, nutritious foods	Illinois Farmland Access Initiative			Y		Y	Y						
inform the public about the sources of our food and why that matters	Illinois Farmland Access Initiative						Y						
train farmers in resilient, restorative farming techniques	Illinois Farmland Access Initiative			Y									
work to protect and enhance farmland so that we, and generations to come, will have clean air and	Illinois Farmland Access Initiative	Y	Y	Y			Y						

water, fertile soil, and healthy, delicious food													
Website text	**Organization // Initiative**	**1 Future**	**2 Preserve**	**3 Enviro**	**3.1 Eco beyond Ag**	**4 Comm**	**5 Food**	**6 Econ**	**7 Equity**	**8 Afford**	**9 Rural**	**10 Aging**	**11 Relate**
ensure the future of farming in New England by putting more farmers more securely on more land	Land for Good	Y											
Entire communities will benefit from increased farming opportunity, healthy lands, and a more secure food supply	Land for Good			Y		Y							
Gaining ground for farmers	Land for Good		Y										
build a strong local food system	Land Link Montgomery						Y						
promote sound economic, land-use and transportation policies that preserve the natural environment, open spaces and rural lands	Land Link Montgomery				Y						Y		
culturally and racially diverse rural and urban people can take practical steps that result in greater stewardship of the land, more family farmers, healthy food for all and resilient,	Land Stewardship Project // Farmland Clearinghouse					Y	Y		Y				

racially just communities													
Website text	**Organization // Initiative**	**1 Future**	**2 Preserve**	**3 Enviro**	**3.1 Eco beyond Ag**	**4 Comm**	**5 Food**	**6 Econ**	**7 Equity**	**8 Afford**	**9 Rural**	**10 Aging**	**11 Relate**
to foster an ethic of stewardship for farmland, to promote sustainable agriculture, and to develop healthy communities	Land Stewardship Project // Farmland Clearinghouse			Y		Y							
Our goal is to protect Maine farmland and to revitalize Maine's rural landscape by keeping agricultural lands working and helping farmers and communities thrive	Maine FarmLink		Y			Y					Y		
protects farmland, supports farmers, and advances the future of farming	Maine FarmLink	Y	Y										
assisting farmers in creating a profitable farming future and informing the public on the importance of local farms to our overall economy	Maryland FarmLINK							Y					
help to keep the region's farmland productive	Maryland FarmLINK		Y										
promoting a viable and profitable agricultural farming community	Maryland FarmLINK					Y		Y					

Website text	Organization // Initiative	1 Future	2 Preserve	3 Enviro	3.1 Eco beyond Ag	4 Comm	5 Food	6 Econ	7 Equity	8 Afford	9 Rural	10 Aging	11 Relate
purpose is to support farms and the future of agriculture in Southern Maryland	Maryland FarmLINK	Y											
help shepherd prime farmland from its current stewards into the hands of the next generation	MiFarmLink (Michigan)	Y											
… helping to grow the state's agriculture industry	NC FarmLink							Y					
opportunities to connect land seekers with retiring landowners	Nebraska Land Link											Y	
For some landowners, they simply do not have the next generation available to take over their operation	Nebraska Land Link	Y											
Land access is one of the biggest challenges facing aspiring and beginning farmers	Nebraska Land Link									Y			
Our programs and initiatives have emphasized the connection between farming, food, conservation, and healthy communities	Northeast Illinois FarmLink					Y	Y						

Website text	Organization // Initiative	1 Future	2 Preserve	3 Enviro	3.1 Eco beyond Ag	4 Comm	5 Food	6 Econ	7 Equity	8 Afford	9 Rural	10 Aging	11 Relate
We seek to demonstrate and foster ways for people and nature to thrive together. We have done so in many ways but have given particular attention to advancing soil-rejuvenating and life-sustaining agriculture in northeastern Illinois	Northeast Illinois FarmLink			Y	Y								
preserve and enhance the quality of life for all people in Northwest Arkansas through the permanent protection of land	NWA Farmlink		Y										
The family farm is rarely passed down as it once was generation to generation. Today, new farmers need help navigating their journey to farm as do farmland owners planning a farm legacy	NWA Farmlink	Y											
envisions a local, diversified, and interconnected agricultural future built by small and mid-size farms where people, animals, communities	Oregon Farm Link				Y				Y				

and ecosystems thrive, and equitable policies improve lives and land for Oregonians													
Website text	**Organization // Initiative**	**1 Future**	**2 Preserve**	**3 Enviro**	**3.1 Eco beyond Ag**	**4 Comm**	**5 Food**	**6 Econ**	**7 Equity**	**8 Afford**	**9 Rural**	**10 Aging**	**11 Relate**
help Oregon grow the next generation of family farmers.	Oregon Farm Link	Y											
protect, promote and sustain resilient and economically viable community agricultural systems in Oregon	Oregon Farm Link		Y			Y		Y					
Linking farms to people and people to farms	PA Farm Link					Y							
working to "Link Farmers to the Future".	PA Farm Link	Y											
An Iowa with healthy soil, healthy food, clean air, clean water, resilient farms and vibrant communities	Practical Farmers of Iowa // Find a Farmer					Y							
Equipping farmers to build resilient farms and communities	Practical Farmers of Iowa // Find a Farmer					Y							
help maintain family farms and vibrant rural communities by facilitating the transfer of land from one generation to the next	Practical Farmers of Iowa // Find a Farmer	Y	Y	Y				Y					
help preserve family farms	Practical Farmers of Iowa // Find a Farmer		Y										

Resilient farms now and for future generations	Practical Farmers of Iowa // Find a Farmer	Y											
Website text	**Organization // Initiative**	**1 Future**	**2 Preserve**	**3 Enviro**	**3.1 Eco beyond Ag**	**4 Comm**	**5 Food**	**6 Econ**	**7 Equity**	**8 Afford**	**9 Rural**	**10 Aging**	**11 Relate**
Stewardship of land and resources	Practical Farmers of Iowa // Find a Farmer			Y									
opportunities for those working to improve rural America, and fostering connections between urban and rural people	Renewing the Countryside // Farmland Access Hub										Y		
strengthens rural areas by championing and supporting rural communities, farmers, artists, entrepreneurs, educators, activists and other people who are renewing the countryside through sustainable and innovative initiatives, businesses, and projects	Renewing the Countryside // Farmland Access Hub					Y					Y		
support for sustainable endeavors, connecting people interested in sustainable rural development to each other	Renewing the Countryside // Farmland Access Hub			Y									
Working for a more just, vibrant and	Renewing the Countryside //			Y					Y				

sustainable rural America	Farmland Access Hub												
Website text	**Organization // Initiative**	**1 Future**	**2 Preserve**	**3 Enviro**	**3.1 Eco beyond Ag**	**4 Comm**	**5 Food**	**6 Econ**	**7 Equity**	**8 Afford**	**9 Rural**	**10 Aging**	**11 Relate**
one of several methods utilized by Rhode Island farmland owners and seekers to ensure farmland is retained for future agricultural use	RI Farmland Access Clearinghouse	Y											
provide sellers of Rhode Island farmland incentive to see their land remain in farming upon transfer to new ownership	RI Farmland Access Clearinghouse		Y										
supports the growth of Rhode Island's agricultural economy	RI Farmland Access Clearinghouse							Y					
A culture of voluntary stewardship of our natural resources built through relationships with individuals, organizations, and governments	South Sound FarmLink			Y									Y
A resilient community responding to a changing climate	South Sound FarmLink					Y							
People of Thurston County enjoy healthy soils, water, air, and ecosystems; Sustainable community-based conservation and	South Sound FarmLink				Y								

restoration of natural resources													
Website text	**Organization // Initiative**	**1 Future**	**2 Preserve**	**3 Enviro**	**3.1 Eco beyond Ag**	**4 Comm**	**5 Food**	**6 Econ**	**7 Equity**	**8 Afford**	**9 Rural**	**10 Aging**	**11 Relate**
Sustainable community-based conservation and restoration of natural resources	South Sound FarmLink			Y		Y							
works to keep farmland in production in the South Sound region for generations to come in such a way that is affordable and accessible to all interested farmers.	South Sound FarmLink	Y	Y							Y			
creating affordable land access for Iowa's sustainable food farmers	Sustainable Iowa Land Trust // New Farmers Seeking Land									Y			
Iowa sustained by wholesome food grown on community-based farms	Sustainable Iowa Land Trust // New Farmers Seeking Land					Y	Y						
management of natural resources for the benefit of present and future generations	Sustainable Iowa Land Trust // New Farmers Seeking Land	Y											
Protecting the future of farming in Iowa while promoting sustainable agriculture.	Sustainable Iowa Land Trust // New Farmers Seeking Land	Y	Y										
permanently protect Iowa land to grow	Sustainable Iowa Land Trust //		Y				Y						

nature-friendly table food	New Farmers Seeking Land												
Website text	**Organization // Initiative**	**1 Future**	**2 Preserve**	**3 Enviro**	**3.1 Eco beyond Ag**	**4 Comm**	**5 Food**	**6 Econ**	**7 Equity**	**8 Afford**	**9 Rural**	**10 Aging**	**11 Relate**
… advances sustainable food and farming systems in Vermont and beyond	Vermont Farmland Access Program			Y									
cultivate partnership, support innovative research and practices, and inform policy to benefit Vermont communities and the UVM campus	Vermont Farmland Access Program					Y							
searching for next generation farmers to continue Vermont's farming legacy	Vermont Land Link	Y											

Fin!