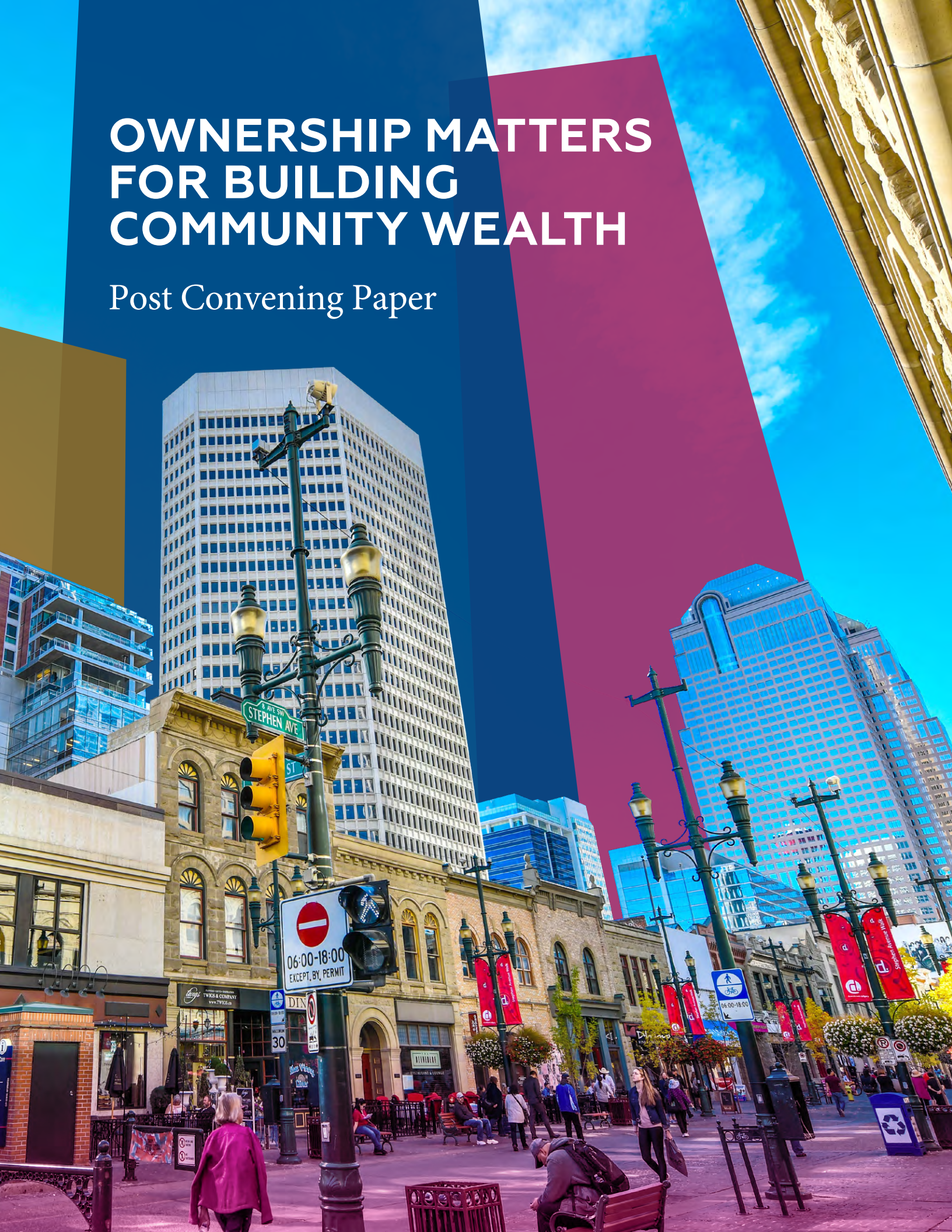


# OWNERSHIP MATTERS FOR BUILDING COMMUNITY WEALTH

Post Convening Paper





## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

To the many original thinkers for sharing your hopes, experiences, and ideas to imagine and realize alternative and better futures. Thank you to our panelists, keynotes, and moderators for giving your time and sharing your insights. We hope that we have honoured your valuable contributions. To all of the participants, thank you for attending and for sharing your questions, reflections, and time. To Elders Shirley Alphonse and Butch Dick, thank you for your traditional welcome to the traditional lands of the Lekwungen-speaking peoples, now known as the Songhees and Esquimalt First Nations, and for your closing prayer to guide us in our pursuits of building a better economy for all. To the research assistants and note-takers (Emma Chapman, Emily Mulroney, Kathy Jerritt), table hosts and facilitators (Michelle Colussi and Stacy Barter), and team at Scale Collaborative, thank you for all of your work behind the scenes.

As authors, we take responsibility for any errors or omissions.



## AUTHORS

**Heather Hachigian**

Royal Roads University

**Elly Green**

Graduate Research Assistant, Royal Roads University

## DESIGNER

Daniel Yu

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To learn more about this event and the overarching project: <https://ownershipmatters.ca>

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# LAND ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Royal Roads University acknowledges and respects the Lekwungen-speaking peoples on whose traditional territory the university stands. It is with respect and gratitude that we work, live, and learn on these traditional Lands. This Land was, and continues to be, part of the fabric of life of Indigenous communities. The Xwsepsum (Esquimalt) and Lekwungen (Songhees) families have lived, hunted and gathered on these Lands for thousands of years. Attitudes, practices, and beliefs associated with colonization have dramatically altered Indigenous Peoples' relationships with the Land on which Royal Roads University is located.

As immigrants, immigrant descendants and visitors to these Lands, we have a responsibility to consider our individual and collective roles in addressing and redressing damaging impacts. Actions we commit to range from respecting the people of these Lands, increasing understanding of Indigenous ways of knowing and being, learning about the past and its impact on Indigenous Peoples and celebrating Indigenous cultures.

As we reflect on the importance of this place, and in the context of the Ownership Matters Conference, we are reminded to do this work in a way that establishes strong relationships built on reciprocity, respect, and Royal Roads University's commitment to undo the legacies of colonialism, repair the effects of oppression, promote equity and to support the sovereignty of Indigenous Peoples.

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# 1. INTRODUCTION & CONTEXT SETTING

*“ The old is dying and the new is not yet born.”*

– Neil McInroy

Ownership matters, perhaps now more than it has ever before as it becomes increasingly concentrated, in Canada and around the world. Who owns an enterprise or real estate asset, and what rights are associated with that ownership, influences who controls and benefits from the economy. While often assumed to be an American problem, recent research reveals that wealth inequality at this magnitude also exists in Canada.<sup>1</sup> Community wealth building (CWB) responds to wealth inequality by encouraging a transformative shift away from an extractive economic system toward a more democratic economic system where communities have more ownership and control over wealth-generating assets. As a framework, CWB engages across five pillars that seek to transform the way we - as a society - invest, work, use land, buy goods and services, and own wealth-generating assets.<sup>2</sup>

In Canada, we are making progress on some of these pillars. For example, many local governments are experimenting with procurement strategies that integrate consideration for social value and community well-being.<sup>3</sup> We have legal and regulatory changes that make transitioning to employee ownership easier as a result of the advocacy work of the Canadian Employee Ownership Coalition and the leadership of Social Capital Partners. The \$1.5 Billion rental protection fund provides money to non-profits to acquire existing affordable housing to ensure these assets stay affordable.

What we do not yet have are coordinated and strategic efforts to advance from siloed and one-off experiments to widespread adoption across these pillars and in ways that put community well-being at

the center of their design. We also need more critical reflection on the concept of ownership in reference to alternative concepts such as stewardship.

The Ownership Matters for Building Community Wealth convening invited participants to coordinate and strengthen efforts to advance an ambitious, integrated, and innovative public policy agenda that puts community economies at the center of their design. Establishing a CWB policy agenda for Canada is a massive undertaking with many possible starting points and approaches that depend on understanding of the economy and problems we are trying to solve. We cannot wait for government to lead. But we also cannot achieve this transformation without participation and support from governments. It is also critical that non-Indigenous leaders of these policy initiatives reflect on their responsibility to ensure that efforts to transform systems and policy are relational, respectful, and inclusive of local Indigenous people and their principles and wisdom.<sup>4</sup>

This post-convening paper is intended to explore and connect different ideas and perspectives shared by participants and highlight and celebrate work that participants are doing to build strong inclusive economies and imagine alternative futures. In the words of our closing keynote, thank you for expecting more, for showing up, and for bringing your imagination and active solutions. We hope we have honoured your contributions while recognizing that there is so much more to say than what can be captured in this summary paper. We are encouraged by the many conversations that are continuing across the country in these areas.

1 Social Capital Partners (2024) Billionaire Blindspot: How official data understates the severity of Canadian wealth inequality. <https://www.socialcapitalpartners.ca/billionaire-blindspot>

2 The Democracy Collaborative Community Wealth Building Framework. <https://www.democracycollaborative.org/>

3 Henriques, I., Colbourne, R., Ana Maria Peredo, Anderson, R., & Wanuch, R. (2024). Transforming Indigenous Procurement: Empowerment, Challenges, and the Road Ahead. *Journal of Aboriginal Economic Development*, 14(1), 2–15. <https://doi.org/10.29173/jaed9>

4 Sxwpilemaát Siyám (Chief Leanne Joe, Squamish Nation) and Lily Raphael (2022). Step Into the River: A framework for economic reconciliation. <https://www.sfu.ca/fenv/sea-land-and-sky/framework-for-economic-reconciliation.html>

## 2. WHO WAS THERE, AND WHO WAS MISSING?

*“ Who invited you in and who do you need to extend the invitation to”*

– Colette Murphy

The convening set out to build a shared understanding of community wealth building as a foundation of a transformed economy that produces regenerative outcomes for people and the environment, as an alternative to the status quo that advances depletion and destruction. The community ownership models, research, and work shared by participants provided a window into what our world could be.

Invited attendees included people who are deeply thinking about these issues and working to build strong and inclusive community economies, and bringing multiple perspectives to this work. These perspectives include Indigenous worldviews, regeneration, systems innovation, place-based investment, community economies, and democratic and shared ownership, among many others.

The convening intentionally aimed to include people who are typically not in the same room, including local government politicians, staff, community-sector leaders, impact investors, funders, ecosystem actors, academics, and students. In contrast to many other convenings in the social sector, this convening did not take as its starting point a focus on a specific tool for solving the problem (e.g., social procurement, social finance, impact investing, social enterprise) but instead, was organized around outcomes – specifically, Building Community Wealth - that we are collectively working toward from many different starting points, perspectives, and resource allocations.

We are also aware that many working in the community sector, those enacting this work, and those pushed to the margins by long-standing design of projects, institutions, and systems, were not included in this conversation and were not provided the opportunity to contribute their voices and experiences.

As such, the collective ideas and pathways forward identified within are incomplete and less powerful than they could and should be. It was therefore fitting that our closing keynote asked us to consider who invited us into the conversation and in turn, who we need to extend the invitation to.

# 3. WHAT DID WE DO TOGETHER?

Ownership Matters invited attendees to consider how they might work together across sectors to advance community ownership and build wealth for communities in a Canadian context. The purpose of the event was to (1) engage, educate, and galvanize community leaders around the concept of community ownership, (2) build a shared understanding of community wealth and community ownership, (3) identify policy and other systemic barriers and opportunities, and (4) connect across sectors to support relationships and collaboration.

## DAY 1 – FOCUS ON PUBLIC POLICY

The first day focused on the role of public policy to coordinate and strengthen efforts to advance an ambitious, integrated public policy agenda - both vertically and horizontally – in ways that put community economies at the center of their design.

The first panel shared existing community ownership and community wealth-building examples in Canada. A second panel explored ways to transform local economic development through policymaking. The keynote presentation and discussion explored how we might transcend the *wealth supremacy problem*<sup>5</sup> and included timely new policy proposals in the Canadian context. A framework with pathways for strategic policy development were shared and attendee breakouts explored proposed pathways. Research on community-owned enterprises and other wealth-generating assets was presented through a bold policy showcase, seeding possibilities for the future. Concluding reflections and calls to action closed the day, setting the context for the second day focused on practice.

## DAY 2 – FOCUS ON PRACTICE

Designed with a focus on practice, the second day engaged community scholars, funders, nonprofit leaders, and an ecosystem of CWB actors to explore how they might engage with the transformation of policy to the practice in social innovation and change-making while supporting each other in this work. Attendees considered how they might experiment, connect, and coordinate their work in the community sector, to strategic policy frameworks that respond to both the uniqueness of place and local context while also ensuring they are robust against global forces of financialization. Canadian and global perspectives and examples were explored, sector-specific conversations held around housing, energy, health care, and food systems, and opportunities for future collaboration to collectively scale the practices where supported.

Detailed overview of sessions and presentations is available [here](#).

See the appendix for table discussion themes and agenda

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<sup>5</sup> See Kelly, M. (2023). *Wealth Supremacy: How the Extractive Economy and the Biased Rules of Capitalism Drive Today's Crises*. Berrett-Koehler Publishers.

## 4. WHAT THEMES EMERGED

While a key starting point is that **ownership of the economy matters** for understanding wealth creation and inequality and potential solutions, emerging from the conversations was the insight that **many other mechanisms and infrastructures also matter for transforming the economy**. For instance, in addition to more diverse and plural forms of ownership, we need new stories about the economy, new leadership and mentorship approaches, innovative governance arrangements to uphold democratic principles and systems thinking to identify new opportunities and mitigate unintended and negative consequences of this work. In the sections below, we summarize key themes that emerged from discussions across the community wealth building policy and practice days.

### 4.1 Stories we use matter

**“ There is a narrative that the big company is going to save the day, but we all know how that story actually ends...”**

– Audrey Jamal

Multinational companies have no investment in place, they come and go. The reality of building an economy in place requires the people who live there because they have a stake in where they live.<sup>6</sup> However, the community is often not a part of the story. The narrative of the last 40+ years has been dominated by **neoliberal ideology** with **no alternative narrative that is clear and loud enough to replace the mantra that ‘what is good for big business is good for the community’**.

The Keynote discussion explored opportunities to transcend and replace this narrative, by

positioning both offensively (through activism, getting political) and defensively (exposing the losses caused by the pursuit of neoliberal economic policies in our communities). It was suggested that **an education leveling of everyday economics is required so communities can see and understand how the money keeps flowing out of their community, ‘out into the ether’**. We also need to do a better job of **helping journalists and academics write the right stories and tell new stories about the economy** and how it works.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Jamal, Audrey. “Transforming Local Economic Development Policymaking Panel”. Royal Roads University, May 2, 2024.

<sup>7</sup> Shell, John. “Transforming Local Economic Development Policymaking Panel”. Royal Roads University, May 2, 2024.



## IN PRACTICE...

CHEK Media opened in 1956 as the first privately owned television station and affiliate of the CBC network.<sup>8</sup> Throughout the years the ownership of this company shifted and at one point when bought out by a private large company the organization further declined. **“It seemed to be that every sector was being bought up by national and international conglomerates,”** explained Rob Germain, current CEO. With another notice of closure in 2018, the employees self-organized to secure the company with an employee-owned structure. The process was long, tense and uncertain. Minutes before the official closure, a decision held entirely within the control of the private big company, a resolution was reached. After rebuilding the company **CHEK has grown and is now fully sustainable, which Germain attributes to their “employees who are the shareholders at CHEK”.**<sup>9</sup> (<https://www.cheknews.ca/>)

### Resources

For examples of how some are seeking to build new narratives about the economy, see:

- Social Capital Partners A Positive Vision for the Future of Canadian Competition Policy <https://www.socialcapitalpartners.ca/competition-act-review>
- Kelly, M. (2023). *Wealth Supremacy: How the Extractive Economy and the Biased Rules of Capitalism Drive Today's Crises*. Berrett-Koehler Publishers.

## 4.2 Mindset matters

**“ We need to shift in our thinking from managing poverty to managing prosperity”**

– Ğńsłąġýłs (Gary) Wilson

The need for a change in mindset among the community sector was emphasized by multiple speakers across several panels.<sup>10</sup> Small communities have limited capacity, they need to partner in the work, and they need new mindsets, to foster empowered communities and citizens.<sup>11</sup> Fostering opportunities for people to connect to place, to make positive attachments to place, to shift in space and mind, moving out of isolation and into connection – this is how we make a real difference in our communities.<sup>12</sup>

Invested in place and understanding where the money is flowing within our communities precedes solutions for tethering money to the community.<sup>13</sup> When community members are engaged and contributing to economic decision-making, they are intertwining the communities’ principal values, their laws, and their vision. It was suggested that this engagement is a means and strategy to “bring people back home<sup>14</sup>” to place, to community, to prosperity.

8 CHECK News. July 2024, <https://www.cheknews.ca/about-us/>.

9 Germain, Rob. “Understanding Community Ownership and Community Wealth Building”. Royal Roads University, May 2, 2024.

10 Rowe, Mary. and Wilson, Gary. “Transforming Local Economic Development Policymaking Panel”. Royal Roads University, May 2, 2024.

11 Wilson, Gary. “Transforming Local Economic Development Policymaking Panel”. Royal Roads University, May 2, 2024.

12 Rowe, Mary. “Transforming Local Economic Development Policymaking Panel”. Royal Roads University, May 2, 2024.

13 Rowe, Mary. “Transforming Local Economic Development Policymaking Panel”. Royal Roads University, May 2, 2024.

14 Wilson, Gary. “Transforming Local Economic Development Policymaking Panel”. Royal Roads University, May 2, 2024.

## IN PRACTICE...

When new opportunities present themselves, leaning further into the exploration of historical process and policy can change the way we respond. When an opportunity came up in 2023 for the **Community Foundation of South Okanagan Similkameen** to accept a **gift of private company shares**, without intentions of selling the portfolio, **Aaron McRann (CEO)** knew this could be the first of its kind for a CF in Canada – if only it *could* be possible. With a supportive board and two innovative real estate projects behind them, they had momentum in their shift from a constrained mindset to one of potential as they explored this opportunity. **“Everyone we talked to said it couldn’t be done, but eventually we found someone who said yes, and we took the steps to make it happen.”** After many roadblocks, the nuances required to advance the project were discovered they learned that while a charity can actively run the business or hold the investment they just can’t manage or run the business directly. Yet a separate board of directors could hold the investment so that is the model they pursued. Aaron emphasized that **“mindsets need to shift away from ‘we don’t do that’ – our mission has changed multiple times over the years, it is not set in stone.”** If an organization is willing to change its mission, the potential exists to modify other mandates, processes, or policies and chip away at internal and external barriers that limit a foundation’s ability to maximize community benefit. At the Community Foundation of South Okanagan Similkameen, they have shifted from **“making grants to making impact” and from “building the endowment to building the community”**.<sup>15</sup> (<https://www.cfso.net/>)

## 4.3 Missing voices, community participation matters

**“Historically, there are two identified actors; the market actor (business) and state actor (government) and then the third pillar - the community - is often missing from the conversation.”**

– Dallas Gislason

This theme intertwined its way through all sessions and breakout discussions. The critical importance of not just consulting communities but bringing them in, giving them a meaningful seat at the table was emphasized across various models of community ownership. “Participation matters, community engagement, matters!”<sup>16</sup>

Panelists emphasized that meaningful community participation requires innovative governance arrangements. Some examples of what these innovative governance models look like in practice include the South Island Prosperity Partnership and Thrive Prince Edward County (see, in Practice).

<sup>15</sup> McRann, Aaron. “Ownership Matters Scaling Community Ownership Panel”. The Dock Centre for Social Impact, May 3, 2024.

<sup>16</sup> MacArthur, Julie. “Ownership Matters Scaling Community Ownership Panel”. Royal Roads University, May 2, 2024.

**“ We can’t solve the issues unless we democratize ourselves”**

– Neil McInroy

It was also emphasized that in considering who represents community, we must ensure those living in community - not just business or government, but those who have been historically excluded from the economic development process – are invited in, engaged and empowered. Citizens who have been pushed to the margins, stripped of power– Indigenous people, black people, people of colour, 2SLGBTQIA, youth and more. Academics and journalists need opportunities to build relationships, to be brought in to write the right stories, the stories of our communities,<sup>17</sup> to capture the ways in which communities are thriving.<sup>18</sup>

### IN PRACTICE...

**THRIVE Prince Edward County (PEC)**<sup>19</sup> applied **an innovative approach that allowed for community voices to be shared**. Asset-based mapping looked at what was in place, not what had been extracted, to see the region differently, to see existing opportunities. When the economy was explored, no one was certain how to respond to who owned it, or truly shaped it. This awareness established a series of opportunities where **the communities self-organized various economic development pilots in a new way**, from a new place, with voices from municipal, business, and community citizens. (<https://thrivepec.ca/>)

#### Resources

- Jamal, A. & Gordon, R. (2024). Grappling with governance: Emerging approaches to build community economies. *Journal of Rural Studies*.
- Another innovative partnership model that is leading meaningful work to build community economies on Vancouver Island is the South Island Prosperity Partnership ([www.sipp.ca](http://www.sipp.ca))



17 Busaan, Lorin. "Ownership Matters for Building Community Wealth". Royal Roads University, May 2, 2024.

18 Jamal, Audrey. "Transforming Local Economic Development Policymaking Panel". Royal Roads University, May 2, 2024.

19 "TRIVE PEC", accessed July 2024, <https://thrivepec.ca/>

## 4.4 How we engage with power matters

**//** *In our sector, we have been a bit fluffy, too bloody nice, we need to get arsy, serious, ambitious, less compliant, more political, less beholden to big finance.*  
– Neil McInroy

Power belongs to the problem solvers, yet the barriers they are facing are both structural and cultural. To address the barriers, **“we need to innovate and experiment like mad [because] we don’t go fast enough, deep enough.”**<sup>21</sup>

And then at times we can, and do – Employee Ownership Trusts (EOT) have recently been established in Canadian law with the passage of Bills C59 and C69. Employee ownership leads to more productive, higher-growth firms, and keeps companies more democratically owned and rooted in their local communities. This model is a meaningful pathway for workers to generate wealth and has secured bipartisan support. Incentives for businesses that sell to their employees will ensure that the policy changes lead to a more meaningful chance of uptake by addressing power dynamics of current succession decisions that tend to lead owners to sell to private equity investors and competitors.

We also heard examples of communities who are hijacking wealth-building strategies of the wealthy elite and the systems from which they benefit. What if community could own and hold a portfolio of wealth-generating assets, just like we see private equity investors doing? What would it mean if the community was a landlord - and so much more than just a landlord - including a valuable resource for tenants, rather than an absent landlord only interested in maximizing profits.<sup>22</sup>

This will require new legal forms, regulatory guidelines and incentives **and a new generation of legal and accounting experts to support these transitions.** But as we see the increasing encroachment of private equity-backed investments into critical sectors of the economy like senior care and childcare<sup>23</sup> communities **must get ‘serious and ambitious, less compliant, more political, less beholden to big finance.’**<sup>24</sup>

### IN PRACTICE...

Community Impact Real Estate is a social enterprise with a mission to advance complete neighbourhoods through commercial real estate<sup>25</sup> and has become what it is today because **“power was leveraged at every step”** shared Shaughn Schwartz. **“For non-profits, acquiring space is scary”**, so they built a team of professionals that knew leasing, bylaws, permits, and then partnered with Buy Social Canada who supported them though to contract with BC Housing of commercial and mixed-use property. Today the organization is accountable to the local community and it manages various properties and assets along with the distribution of dividends that offers attachment to space. **Their model is grounded on local control where the money is circulated in the community, where it can generate community benefits** and is not just held by landlords maximizing profit (<https://www.communityimpactrealestate.ca/>)

#### Resources

- Thriving Non-profits (2024) Social Enterprise Acquisition Course [https://www.thrivingnonprofits.ca/courses/social-enterprise-acquisition?utm\\_source=eblast&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_campaign=SEALaunch](https://www.thrivingnonprofits.ca/courses/social-enterprise-acquisition?utm_source=eblast&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=SEALaunch)

21 McInroy, Neil. “Transcending the Wealth Supremacy Problem, Global Lessons for Canada”. Royal Roads University, May 2, 2024.

22 Campbell, Sean. Ownership Matters for Building Community Wealth”. Royal Roads University, May 2, 2024.

23 Armine Yalnizyan, Walking with Giants: How economic thought and policy evolves.” Galbraith Prize in Economics lecture, 2024.

24 McInroy, Neil. “Transcending the Wealth Supremacy Problem, Global Lessons for Canada”. Royal Roads University, May 2, 2024.

25 “Community Impact Real Estate”, accessed July 2024, <https://www.communityimpactrealestate.ca/>.



## 4.5 Relationships matter

**“ Notice what you care about, be brave enough to start a conversation that matters, talk to people you know, talk to those you don’t, expect to be surprised.”**

– Colette Murphy

Resilient communities are relational, they include the missing third pillar of community as a key actor. Relationships matter because they bring people back into real material relationships with a world they can encounter with all senses.<sup>26</sup> In contrast, transactional relationships that currently underpin much of our economic interactions remove people, land, and all that requires respect - they don’t actually move

anything forward.<sup>27</sup> The canoe, it only goes the direction everyone is rowing, an analogy offered by Ğnísłáğyłís (Gary) Wilson. So many things we do in the social economy are fundamental to a decent life, and livelihood.<sup>28</sup> Seeking buy-in and participation in partnerships between public institutions, existing businesses, and the community organizations who are already in our communities, this is relationship building.<sup>29</sup>

### IN PRACTICE...

**Just Like Family Home Care** is changing how people live and age at home since 2010. As a certified social enterprise, the majority of its profits are reinvested into its mission of **“providing care, community connection, education, and advocacy, [they] strive to support and enhance the lives of everyone [they] touch”**. Just Like Family operates as a non-profit with 41 franchises between Ontario and BC, they are the third largest franchise in Canada. The success of this enterprise is the people, because **“franchising is deeply relational when owned and operated by community members living in the communities they are in”** outlined Carla Leon. When the initiative was bought the existing 29 franchises had one goal, sales, with the ownership transition and aligning mission applied, measurement goals immediately moved to people served, partnerships and collaborations achieved, both preceding sales. An **“advantage over the extractive capitalist model, in the non-profit you have all these champions, for us revenue jumped dramatically because the company was made up of champions, and people are excited to run things the right way”** shared Sarah Bowder. (<https://justlikefamily.ca>)

26 Geobey, Sean. Ownership Matters for Building Community Wealth”. Royal Roads University, May 2, 2024.

27 Wilson, Gary. “Transforming Local Economic Development Policymaking Panel”. Royal Roads University, May 2, 2024.

28 McInroy, Neil. “Transcending the Wealth Supremacy Problem, Global Lessons for Canada”. Royal Roads University, May 2, 2024.

29 McArthur, Julie. “Research on Community-Owned Enterprise Paper Presentation”. Royal Roads University, May 2, 2024.

## 4.6 Leadership, mentorship, and menteeship matter

*“ They are leaders, they need their voices back, they ask the tough questions, they push and challenge the current leaders towards a better future.”*

– Ğńıslağŷlıs (Gary) Wilson

Panelists emphasized the intentionality that has been missing to engage youth and emerging leaders, not to impose expertise, gained knowledge and relationships but to discover new perspectives that the future generations now see and will bring into existence. Listen and learn from and with the mentee, then apply the resources and power of the mentor to collaboratively enact the future together. It was suggested by one speaker that this is how a multi-generational, long-term, iterative process of restoring empowerment

and creating a shared vision will be realized.<sup>30</sup> Examples of applying this approach in education were highlighted, and speakers emphasized the importance of creating an environment where young people know there are different models, interdisciplinary approaches, and other ways to do things – so they can apply, use, and champion the new.<sup>31</sup> Students need the opportunity to better understand and engage with alternative ownership options like co-operatives, employee ownership, and regenerative business models.

### IN PRACTICE...

**The Map Shop at the University of Victoria** is a community-campus initiative dedicated to collaborative place-based learning and mapping, and **brings students into partnership with community organizations** to conduct geographic research. Funded by the Victoria Foundation, supported by Crystal Tremblay co-chair of the Map Shop at UVic and community partners at **Scale Collaborative** the **Non-Profit Assets** project focused on mapping non-profit-owned assets to understand the current status of community assets, and determine if those assets are at risk of privatization, and options for maintaining such assets in the hands of the community. Students explored 900+ local organizations, many that were founded between 1900-1930, many at risk of closing due to property value surpassing land value. Considering a new model **Assets and Businesses for Community** with a goal to create an innovative solution to **“plug and play”** because **“one by one we are not going to solve this problem”** stated Kristi Fairholm Mader (community partner at Scale Collaborative).

#### Resources and other examples

- Scale Institute Society (2024, July). Non-profit assets at risk in South Vancouver Island Project <https://scaleinstitute.ca/non-profit-owned-assets/>
- [University of Waterloo’s Community Wealth Lab](#)
- [Royal Roads University BBA in Innovation and Sustainability](#)

30 Wilson, Gary. “Transforming Local Economic Development Policymaking Panel”. Royal Roads University, May 2, 2024.

31 Jamal, Audrey. “Transforming Local Economic Development Policymaking Panel”. Royal Roads University, May 2, 2024.

## 4.7 How we conceptualize community matters

Panelists emphasized that community extends beyond the boundaries of houses, neighbourhoods, and where people live; community includes the ocean, the forest, all the beings beyond - it's an all-encompassing community. It's not just about us, it's about the ecosystem as a whole, Indigenous communities are always thinking about community - they think more broadly than the communities themselves; always trying to find ways not to leave anybody behind, thinking about seven generations ahead.; Our efforts and success including the ability to attract people to work and maintain community-based economic development, brings back local economies, brings people back into community.<sup>32</sup> This expansive view of community necessitates a reconsideration of how we define wealth in relation to communities. **Wealth is not just our economies and the money they generate – to be sure, economies are critically important to communities but we must hold the well-being of people, land and economy in balance.**



### IN PRACTICE...

Christina Clarke former **executive director of the Indigenous Prosperity Centre** highlighted the origin story of **Salish Sea Industrial Services Ltd**, built on honesty, transparency and a shared dream for the community to have access to employment opportunities and to care for the harbor together. Founded in 2012 by Chief Andrew Thomas of the Esquimalt Nation, the late Chief Robert Sam of the Songhees Nation, and Ian Maxwell of the Ralmax Group of Companies<sup>33</sup> – a three way partnership that held the wellbeing of the people, the land, and the economy in balance. This business allowed the nations to acquire a new asset that is 51% owned by the Nations and became a legacy from both chiefs. Christina Clarke emphasized the ownership and economic piece in this story and the importance of any **“project or collaboration with a First Nation to include some kind of meaningful equity involvement, i.e. a community benefit agreement, or equity partner opportunity”**.

(<https://www.songheesdevco.com/economic-initiatives/business-partnerships/salish-sea-industrial-services-ltd>)

32 Wilson, Gary. “Transforming Local Economic Development Policymaking Panel”. Royal Roads University, May 2, 2024.

33 “Business Partnerships”, Songhees Development Corporation, accessed July 2024, <https://www.songheesdevco.com/economic-initiatives/business-partnerships>.

## 5. PRODUCTIVE TENSIONS

While participants shared goals around transforming local economies from extractive to democratic and community-focused, different perspectives and tensions emerged around tactics, strategies, and leverage points for shifting systems. It is tempting to seek to resolve these tensions in favour of one clear pathway forward. But there is value in holding space for these tensions and using them to reveal productive opportunities to strengthen our work by examining our own biases, to bring awareness to unintended and negative consequences, and to invite in new and diverse perspectives as an on-going source of innovation that is needed alongside learning from this innovation to scale its impacts.

### 5.1 Scaling Up vs. Horizontal Connectivity

**“ We have to wake up and participate in the paradigm shift; we are not set up to scale, we are not big enough; we have to think bigger; faster, and stronger.”**

Some participants started from the perspective that a significant challenge facing CWB is that we are too focused on pilots and small-scale interventions and not focused enough on scaling these models in ways that allow communities to meaningfully compete with extractive models and engage in deeper systems change work. Many of our CWB models are born out of necessity and seek incremental fixes to problems. But if we don't pay attention to scaling these models, how can we expect to compete with the power of extractive finance?

Yet discussions also surfaced important nuances around the concept of scale, including paradoxes in scaling an innovative model or solution vs. scaling impact and that these are not necessarily the same thing. As one speaker asked, *“why aren't there more of these examples? Because we are using the “master's” tools to dismantle the “master's house!”*<sup>34</sup> Scaling a model or organization does not guarantee that the impact of the organization

will be scaled in the same magnitude. Some participants pointed to the widely recognized limitations of the language of scaling that draws on industrial economic metaphors that are less suitable to complex social systems.

Others challenged the usefulness of the concept of scaling, arguing that instead, we need to think and act horizontally, joining up connective tissues, recognizing that **people are indelibly attached to place, so we must make sure it's a positive attachment to place – not isolation, but connectedness because this is what makes a real difference for people where they are.** We need to unleash the power of our neighbours, our communities, to do horizontal well, **we need to quickly create an interconnected system of connective tissue because people's lives in our communities are at stake here, too many are experiencing hardship.**<sup>35</sup>

34 Sean Geobey, Transforming Local Economic Development Policymaking Panel”. Royal Roads University, May 2, 2024.

35 Rowe, Mary. “Transforming Local Economic Development Policymaking Panel”. Royal Roads University, May 2, 2024.



Sitting with the tension between a vertical scaling up vs horizontal connectivity encourages a healthy balance between pushing back against power of the wealthy elite interested in protecting status quo, while also remaining adaptive and responsive to local communities. By holding space for this tension, organizations and movements might avoid the pitfalls of unchecked scaling, such as losing touch with local needs or becoming too centralized, while still amplifying their impact.

#### Resources

- [Community Economies Pilot - Shorefast](#)
- [Scaling Up Renewable Energy Co-Operatives Can Help Energize Canada](#)
- [Applying complexity science to real world problems | Waterloo Institute for Complexity & Innovation](#)
- WICI is a member-led and member-driven research and networking hub that promotes innovative training and application of complex systems tools and theories to address challenges essential to human well-being, including those at the intersection of society, health, and environment.
- [Community R&D - Equila](#)

## 5.2 Points of intervention: Systems work

*“ We have deep problems; systemic problems need systemic solutions.”*

The problems identified throughout the various panels are systemic in nature. Some participants emphasized the natural tendency of actors to continue to act following their existing beliefs, ideas, and norms. But as many speakers also reminded us, another key challenge to systems change work is that the powerful elite benefit from maintaining the status quo and will block intentional efforts by the marginalized and oppressed to change systems either directly or sometimes indirectly through co-option, goal grafting, and suppression of new ideas.<sup>36</sup>

*“ The only way a system changes is when the change happens at the ground level and tips the system.”*

Others cautioned that we must avoid overestimating our abilities to intervene in complex systems and change them in ways that are intended without also causing **unintended consequences**. How then, can we move forward, and where should we focus our efforts on changing systems? If system change does not happen by directly intervening in a system, but instead by people changing on the ground, then how might we support people to change and lead? How do we engage in financing systems change interventions?

We do not attempt to answer these questions here but wish to recognize the many brilliant and dedicated people in attendance - both panelists and audience/participants - who are thinking deeply about systems change.

<sup>36</sup> Scholars have also drawn attention to issues of power in systems change work. See for example, Hehenberger, L., Mair, J., & Metz, A. (2019). The assembly of a field ideology: An idea-centric perspective on systemic power in impact investing. *Academy of Management Journal*, 62(6), 1672-1704 and Grodal, S., & O'Mahony, S. (2017). How does a grand challenge become displaced? Explaining the duality of field mobilization. *Academy of Management Journal*, 60(5), 1801-1827.

Some examples of resources are highlighted below.

#### Resources

For an in-depth series on unintended consequences and systems thinking, see:

- Moy, Kirsten. (July 2024). [Unintended consequences: Why good intentions go bad, and how to make positive change in an unpredictable world | by Island Press](#)

## 5.3 Ownership vs. Stewardship

*“De-fetishize ‘ownership’, we need to be stewards –we need to move away from ownership and move to stewardship”*

If we understand communities as more than human-created boundaries that define where people live, and instead as ecosystems that include the natural land and environment, the concept of stewardship becomes more relevant than ownership. This emphasis on moving beyond an ownership economy toward stewardship underpinned many panelists’ comments, paper presentations, and discussions. For example, academic presenters noted limits to our knowledge and understanding of the impact of community ownership, pointing out, for example, that we cannot take for granted that employee forms of ownership necessarily lead to more environmentally and socially sustainable businesses.<sup>37</sup> Another presenter emphasized that **all ownership models have negative externalities, noting that ‘different ownership models are going to produce different negative externalities.’**<sup>38</sup>

*“The more local community ownership you have, the more you have strength in the community.”*

At the same time, it was evident from the many stories of community impact shared by panelists and participants that ownership does matter in the context of the immediate threats facing our community economies. In the face of increasing wealth concentration and extractive investors moving into increasingly critical enterprises for community well-being,<sup>39</sup> community ownership represents a meaningful protection against further extraction of communities. We heard stories of nonprofit ownership that presented businesses with a viable alternative to selling to absent and extractive investors and the resilience and empowerment that these enterprises offered to their communities.

However, this focus on ownership in the intermediate term must not be an excuse for inaction on reconciliation with Indigenous communities and commitments to addressing social injustices and deeply entrenched racial inequalities in our societies. **In other words, we must be careful not to reproduce the inequalities and historical patterns of colonialism in pursuing a community ownership agenda.** Our long-term ambitions should be moving toward a different kind of economy that does not divide and attempt to code in law assets like land, water, and people so that they can be owned in perpetuity.

This requires moving toward a stewardship economy, with new business models, financial infrastructure, and innovative governance to support this transition. In the intermediate term, as we build this new infrastructure and legal forms, community ownership offers a bulwark against further extraction of wealth – in all of its forms - from communities.

37 Busaan, Lorin. “Ownership Matters for Building Community Wealth”. Royal Roads University, May 2, 2024.

38 Geobey, Sean. “Ownership Matters for Building Community Wealth”. Royal Roads University, May 2, 2024.

39 Fairholm-Mader, Kristi “Ownership Matters for Building Community Wealth”. Royal Roads University, May 2, 2024.

## 6. POLICY INNOVATIONS & CALL TO ACTION - WHERE TO FROM HERE?

*" We need to shift our ambitions from leveling the playing field to changing the playing"*

The social change sector is often focused on building bottom-up solutions, experimenting, and engaging in the demanding and resource-intensive work of piloting and testing new models and processes. This experimenting is critical work. It gives us **'a window into the world that could be', the alternative, possible, and better futures**. But participants emphasized that we need to also be thinking about vertical policies to enable the scaling of these innovations. The community sector rarely engages in the political process and policy innovations that can change the playing field, and not just level it.

The community sector also needs to set its sights on transforming political orders and systems in ways that are needed to strengthen and revitalize democracy, creating healthy contexts for community wealth building initiatives to thrive.

Changing the playing field means not just making it easier for more people to participate in wealth-building and profit-generating activities but also changing the objectives of the game and how it is played. It means **shifting from profit maximization to a focus on social purpose and community well-being, and away from winner-take-all, making room for cooperation and partnership alongside productive forms of competition**. This transformation requires a more expansive view and practice of social innovation to incorporate political innovation, to engage in changing policies and political institutions to build capacity that can outlast short-term political election cycles.<sup>40</sup>

The convening was an invitation to explore how we can make engaging with this transformation of political orders central to the practice of social innovation and change-making, and how we can better support each other in this work, as community-engaged scholars, researchers, funders, community-sector leaders, governments, political leaders, and ecosystem actors.

How can we connect and coordinate our work, to advance strategic policy frameworks that attend to both the uniqueness of place and local context while also ensuring they are robust against negative global forces of financialization? How can we also remain open to benefiting from the advantages of global and diverse connectedness? As we are engaging with experiments, how can we also be thinking about creating durable solutions that are meaningfully representative of the community and not at risk of becoming diluted over time, suppressed, or co-opted by powerful elites interested in maintaining the status quo?

Some of the answers to these questions that emerged in the two-day convening are summarized below. While not claiming to offer an uncontested roadmap for a policy agenda for Canada, what was clear after the convening is that we need bold policy action supported by community-engaged research, educational transformation, and new stories about the economy that recognize our current economic system is the result of choices about what is prioritized – and that we can make different choices to prioritize different things that align with new and emerging realities.

40 Mair, J., Kindt, J. & Mena, S. (2024). The emerging field of political innovation. Stanford Social Innovation Review. [https://ssir.org/articles/entry/the\\_emerging\\_field\\_of\\_political\\_innovation](https://ssir.org/articles/entry/the_emerging_field_of_political_innovation)

## 6.1 Policy Innovations

Presenters reflected on the public policy barriers that currently exist in Canada to scaling community ownership of wealth-generating assets and identified policy priorities including new approaches to local economic development that give meaningful voice and leadership to communities, new legal structures, policy incentives, capacity-building supports and increased access to financing. Throughout the convening specific policy innovations were presented to expand community wealth

building models such as a comprehensive policy framework to advance employee ownership, community-owned infrastructure and housing. A common thread across presentations is the need for strategically coordinated efforts and not just one-off policy mechanisms designed to address isolated problems.

For detailed policy innovation proposals that could support community ownership in Canada, see the resources below.

### Resources

- [Unlocking the Power of Community-Owned Housing](https://www.vahaf.ca/unlocking-the-potential-of-community-owned-housing/), Vancity Community Foundation. Available at: <https://www.vahaf.ca/unlocking-the-potential-of-community-owned-housing/>
- [Expanding democratic employee ownership in Canada: policy options](#) Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives.
- [Ownership Matters for Building Community Wealth](http://www.ownershipmatters.ca) [www.ownershipmatters.ca](http://www.ownershipmatters.ca)
- Mandelson, M. (2023). [Supporting Community Economies A Program Agenda for Canada](#). Shorefast Community Economies Pilot. Available at: [Supporting Community Economies | Shorefast](#)
- [Tapestry \(2024\) Moving Community Bonds Forward Research - Tapestry Capital.](#)

## 6.2 Movement building

*“ There is no greater power than a community discovering what is possible, not what is wrong”*

Community wealth building is emerging as a social movement in Canada, gaining traction as a response to economic inequality and the limitations of traditional economic models to deliver wealth for communities. In regions across the country, communities are increasingly adopting strategies that prioritize local needs or place-based investment and plural forms of ownership to ensure that wealth generated within a community stays within it, benefiting local residents, land and the multitude of living beings existing in community. Initiatives such as community land trusts, employee ownership trusts

and community-led and owned development projects are being embraced as tools to build resilient local economies that are also more inclusive and equitable. As more cities and regions explore and implement community wealth building practices, the movement is contributing to a broader re-thinking of economic development in the country that prioritizes social justice and long-term sustainability. But this must continue to be an intentional choice to ensure the alternative futures we are moving toward are indeed better and that unintended consequences of this work are recognized and meaningfully addressed.





# REFLECTIONS

Aligned with the themes of mentorship and being a mentee reflected on by many of the panelists, we conclude this post-convening paper with some reflections from our notetakers. These Royal Roads University students and alumni engaged in meaningful and attentive listening throughout the two days and deep reflection following the event. They are each on inspiring paths and leading initiatives and careers identified in this paper as essential to realizing alternative and better futures.

## **ELLY GREEN, Faculty, Coach, Consultant and RRU Graduate Researcher**

Ownership Matters was dynamic, and illuminated significant work and perspectives. Conversations from the event reverberate today, for instance this one with peers:

*I am a new homeowner and it has been an epic step for me. When I think about class, and people's lived experience and story, ownership shows up very differently. For me, **it has provided new stability and a foundation.** When I heard other perspectives - **stewardship, abandon ownership** - I wanted to ask: **is this coming from a place of privilege, steady paycheck, savings, longstanding home, solid family, and without the constant worry of being without a home and support?***

ELLY

*You can't **opt out as a poor person. It does come from an immense amount of privilege to be able to be so radical in that thought.***

EM

***I'm conflicted about ownership.** Yes, it helps people weather storms. And in the current environment we're in, **it's a necessary evil.** Recognizing that wealth accumulation is **part of the colonial mindset**, in that you're just taking more from different areas, or trying to own different parts of different things to serve yourself. **But there's actually a natural order and a natural balance to the way this world works, when we all have what we need there is still enough.***

EMILY

***When we all have what we need, we don't need ownership.***

KATHY

Has radical innovation in our work spiraled out of touch? Has it skipped learning from the past? Has it surpassed those just getting by, trying to make a living? Is the grit, community, and resistance that makes up a movement at the root of community wealth building, or has it transcended to thrive in places of privilege? Are we in relationship with each other and rowing in the same direction as partners, or are we competing for accolades and impact? Why isn't the next generation leading the way already? How are the current champions making space and inviting others to lead?

We were asked to consider who invited us in and who we are inviting in, and this resonated deeply for me. To refocus on meaningful relationships with the next generations and with those that continue to be systemically pushed out, even in our community wealth building space. I'm imagining how the next convening might be equally engaging and look a little different too. With our aspiring leaders uplifting and co-presenting with their emerging teams, bringing their emerging coordinators/managers to meet each other strengthening horizontally, with the missing voices and lenses facilitating the discussions, with our Gen Z's taking seats on panels... What do you imagine?

*For me, two key comments from the workshop resonated. First was when Sarah Bowder of Just Like Family Home Care said, "Don't be afraid to make money." In that instant, I felt an immense sense of relief and gratitude. After two days of intense discussions, I had been quietly grappling with feelings of guilt and judgment about being from the private sector. This sentiment brought me back to the closing remarks made on Day 1, where the closing keynote, Colette Murphy, reminded us that different models take hold for different reasons at different times. Both Sara and Colette's words reinforced the idea that we need champions from all sectors, each bringing unique skills and impacting different aspects of change. It highlighted the importance of inclusivity and collaboration in driving meaningful progress.*

*For most of my working life, I've been a small business owner and deeply entrenched in my community through my businesses. Sara's comment struck me because it gave voice to something I've felt for a long time but struggled to articulate: the tools of business can be wielded to make a positive impact, and making money is not inherently evil. Profit and purpose don't have to be mutually exclusive; mixing the two is not only possible but an essential piece of the puzzle for building sustainable communities. It's going to take collaboration across all sectors—private, public, and nonprofit—to drive sustainable change.*

*Recently, I became a mentor for young entrepreneurs through the non-profit organization Futurpreneur and I was encouraged to see that one of the categories they focus on is social enterprise. Seeing social enterprise as a viable option for up-and-coming entrepreneurs gives me hope as I embark on this new journey with a young and vibrant generation, eager to blend business with positive social impact.*

**KATHY JERRITT**  
MBA, KPJ Consulting

*Working with municipal governments, non-profits, and private organizations, I see that we're all profiting or trying to profit from assets – it's all capitalism. What stood out for me at the Ownership Matters conference was how knowledge is an asset in itself. We profit from knowledge all the time. If we're talking about a more collective version of ownership, we need to start reimagining how we are sharing our knowledge, as an asset, alongside land, real estate, businesses, etc. The reality is that we have ownership over our knowledge and it should be shared. If you are an executive, and you care about accessible ownership and wealth building, bringing many people into the conversation and sharing your knowledge needs to be a priority. It is a more abstract version of ownership compared to land and real estate, yet still crucial in the conversation about why Ownership Matters.*

*The conference, as well as my line of work and lived experience, continues to remind me that we need to get our knowledge to the "little guys," the small businesses, the social enterprises, the rural, and the small communities, because it doesn't get to them as easily as those with better access to economic resources. They have to spend time making ends meet, keeping their businesses open, serving their communities and families, yet those are the people who should be benefitting from and owning these assets of knowledge.*

*Right now, we're at the phase where ownership of knowledge as an asset is at the highest level, controlled and owned by academics, executives, universities, and institutions. Change is slow, and right now change is in their hands. I would like to see this transfer of assets to those "little guys" moving forward, where this knowledge can be implemented into small communities and organizations that already do amazing work on the ground.*

**EM CHAPMAN**  
**BUY SOCIAL CANADA**

# APPENDIX

SCHEDULE	THURSDAY, MAY 2, 2024
8:00am – 8:30am	Coffee, tea and light breakfast and registration
8:30am – 9:15am	<b>Welcome Messages &amp; Introductions</b> - Yux'wey'lupton Butch (Clarence) Dick Territorial Welcome, Robert Mittelman, Dean, Faculty of Management
9:15am – 10:15am	<b>Understanding Community Ownership &amp; Community Wealth Building</b> Moderator: Brodie Guy, Island Coastal Economic Trust Panelists: Sean Campbell, Union Sustainable Development Co-operative, Rob Germain, CHEK Media, Kristi Fairholm Mader, Scale Institute
10:15am – 10:30am	Refreshment Break - Coffee & tea
10:30am – 11:30am	<b>Keynote Presentation &amp; Discussion - Transcending the Wealth Supremacy Problem</b> Keynote: Neil McInroy, Global Lead, Democracy Collaborative Discussant: Jon Shell, Social Capital Partners
11:30 am – 12:30 pm	<b>Research on Community-Owned Enterprise</b> Lorin Busaan, University of Victoria, Julie MacArthur, Royal Roads University, Sean Geobey, University of Waterloo
12:30pm – 1:15pm	Lunch
1:15pm – 1:30pm	<b>Context Setting</b> Heather Hachigian, Royal Roads University
1:30pm – 2:15pm	<b>Panel Discussion Transforming Local Economic Development Policymaking</b> Dallas Gislason, South Island Prosperity Partnership Audrey Jamal, University of Guelph, Kevin Jules, Tiičma Enterprises Mary Rowe, Canada Urban Institute, Ğŋislağy'jis Gary Wilson, Tiičma Enterprises
2:15pm – 2:45pm	<b>Breakout Table Discussions - Pathways for Scaling Community Ownership in Canada</b> Facilitated by Shift Collaborative
2:45pm – 3:00pm	Refreshment Break - Coffee & tea
3:00pm – 3:30pm	<b>Strategic Policy Agenda Showcase &amp; Discussion</b> Simon Pek, University of Victoria, Alex Hemingway, Canada Centre for Policy Alternatives and Bryn Sadownik, Vancity Community Foundation
3:30pm – 4:00pm	<b>Breakout Table Discussions (Part 2)</b> Facilitated by Shift Collaborative
4:00pm – 4:30pm	<b>Reflections, Wrap Up and Next Steps</b> Closing reflections from Colette Murphy, Atkinson Foundation Elder THE-LA-ME-YÉ Shirley Alphonse, Royal Roads University Heron Peoples Circle
4:30pm – 5:30pm	<b>Reception &amp; Cash Bar</b> Enjoy canapés and a cash bar, and connect with participants post-conference. Hatley Castle Terrace (indoors and outdoors)



# APPENDIX

SCHEDULE	FRIDAY, MAY 3, 2024
8:30am – 9:00am	Coffee, tea and registration
9:00am – 9:45am	<b>Welcome Messages &amp; Introductions</b>
9:45am – 10:15am	<b>Global Perspectives on the Practice of Community Wealth Building &amp; Discussion</b> Keynote: Neil McInroy, Global Lead, Democracy Collaborative
10:15am – 10:40am	Refreshment Break - Coffee & tea
10:40am – 11:25am	<b>Success Stories of Community Ownership and Wealth Building</b> Sarah Bowder, Just Like Family Homecare, Christina Clarke, Indigenous Prosperity Centre; Shaugn Schwartz, Community Impact Real Estate Society
11:25am – 12:00pm	<b>Breakout Table Discussions</b>
12:00pm – 1:15pm	Lunch
1:15pm – 1:30pm	<b>Sector Deep Dive: Roundtable Discussions</b>
1:30pm – 2:15pm	<b>Scaling Community Ownership and Wealth Building Strategies</b> Aaron McRann, Community Foundation of the South Okanagan Similkameen; Carla Leon, Just Like Family Homecare, Crystal Tremblay, University of Victoria, Kristi Fairholm Mader, Scale Institute
2:15pm – 2:30pm	Refreshment Break - Coffee & tea
2:30pm – 3:30pm	<b>Collaborating to Scale: Roundtable Discussions</b>
3:30pm – 4:00pm	<b>Reflections, Wrap Up and Next Steps</b>
4:30pm – 5:30pm	<b>Informal Drinks at the Drake</b> 517 Pandora Ave, Victoria, BC

# PHOTOS FROM THE CONFERENCE





# FUTURE RESEARCH

## I'd love to see...

ROAD TO SOCIAL ECON. 777  
read data/Metrics solve this -> Mostly labour updating w/ UNSEEN/UNHEARD/UNMET

Employment as a vector for social inclusion: is it possible to our advantage?  
- pre-requisites for comm. eco system?

FinBank  
• Ecological Governance  
• Scalable Play? Play Platform/Framework w/ Integrated legal/finance.

Place based economic development strategies - that require - practice

Technology's role in employment - education - in need to not only - local part or with - shared that - they are - shared - multiple - paper

Non-profit balance sheets

DATA ON IMPACT OF CREATIVE ECON.

Research: How does our relationship to profit create different outcomes?

Research: How does the structural condition of org form impact outcomes that benefit people + planet? or will a Social enterprise vs for-profit form different results?

Land-value tax feasibility study in B.C. please!

- What narrative/paradigm shifts are needed to move away from neoliberal political economy?  
How do we do that - individually? - collectively?

