

Organization & Environment

Evidence of Familiness in Small Scale, Sustainable Farming

Journal:	<i>Organization & Environment</i>
Manuscript ID:	OE-15-0084
Manuscript Type:	Sustainability and Family Business
Keywords:	Sustainability, Farming, Familiness, Agriculture, Family involvement, Qualitative, Multiple case study, Environment, Social capital
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Abstract:

In an inductive examination of the survivability of small scale, sustainable farms in Northern New York, the presence of family involvement in the ownership and control of the farms was observed. Upon further investigation, we observed that many of the farms used their "familiness" to build social capital with employees, with other farms, and with the consumers of local food. The contribution of this article is to provide a rich description of familiness and how it is used in a very challenging business environment where balancing economic, social, and environment goals is a requirement of the market. Familiness may be an important resource in small-scale, sustainable farming.

Introduction

Over the past several years small scale farming has grown substantially in the Adirondack region of northern New York. According to a local farm extension professional, the supply of sustainably farmed, local foods has grown faster than its regional demand and many farms struggle to find new markets (Ivy, 2013). Our research was motivated by the desire to understand how regional farms were coping with such a challenging situation. Our research question explores how small, regional farms balance the environmental, social, and economic pressures associated with sustainable farming. In in-depth interviews conducted with 13 area farms, it emerged that family members are heavily influential in farm operations and decision making, and that the use of family-like mechanisms and language permeate the activities of many of these farms.

As we pursued the involvement of family members on sustainable farms in the region, we observed “family-like” dynamics extending to interactions with non-family farm employees, other sustainable farms, and consumers. Surrounding these regional farms are people and organizations who share the common values and high levels of trust often associated with family relationships (Schulze, Lubatkin, & Dino, 2003). In reviewing the family business literature, the concept of “familiness” was found to aptly describe how family resources and capabilities may influence firm operations (Timothy G. Habbershon, Williams, & MacMillan, 2003; Pearson, Carr, & Shaw, 2008). It appears that family involvement and the creation of family-like dynamics in the organization and community is common among farms addressing the extreme challenges of sustainable farming in Northern New York.

Sustainable farming

Agriculture's profound impact on human, economic, and environmental systems make it a critical issue of sustainability (Horrigan, Lawrence, & Walker, 2002). Sustainable farming is "environmentally sound, productive, economically viable, and socially desirable" (Schaller, 1993, p. 89). Sustainably farmed food competes against an entrenched system of heavily subsidized industrial-scale produced, processed, and distributed food (Reganold et al., 2011). This industrial food system has achieved increased per acre food yields through the use of nonrenewable, polluting petrochemical-based fertilizers and pesticides and the indiscriminant use of pharmaceuticals for controlling diseases associated with the overcrowded and unhygienic living conditions of animals (Horrigan et al., 2002). Agriculture contributes 20% of greenhouse gas emissions related to human activity and is implicated in increasing health problems that are associated with the American diet (Franck, Grandi, & Eisenberg, 2013). However, the environmental and social costs of industrialized agriculture do not immediately impact its producers or consumers (Reganold et al., 2011). Access to large government subsidies, economies of scale, and the externalizing of environmental and social costs in the industrialized food system make it difficult for small, scale sustainable farmers to compete.

Concerns about our food system are driving interest in organic and sustainably produced local foods, which can be seen in the rapid growth in farmers' markets, u-picks, and community supported agriculture (Alkon, 2008). Community supported agriculture (CSA) refers to a partnership between consumers who finance farm operations by paying in advance of the growing season and farmers who try to provide the quantities, variety, and quality of food that meets the high standards of their consumers (Galt, 2013). Consumers of locally grown, sustainably produced foods (foods grown within 100 miles of consumption) are willing to pay

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3 more for local products (Darby, Batte, Ernst, & Roe, 2008) and are called “locavores”.

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5 Increasing interest in local food production and consumption is commonly referred to as a social
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7 movement, and is based upon an intentional appreciation for greater interdependence between
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9 humans and the earth, between locavores and local farmers (Ruth-McSwain, 2012). The CSA
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11 members in Northern New York generally meet the description of locavores.
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16 From a sustainability perspective, local food systems offer many advantages over the
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18 industrial food system and exceed the USDA’s organic food standards (Galt, 2013). However,
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20 organic crop yields are, on average, 20% less than industrial farmed crops, which is a concern
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22 considering rapid population growth (Seufert, Ramankutty, & Foley, 2012). There is some level
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24 of conflict between the goals of generating profits and adhering to higher standards of
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26 sustainability (Diamond, 2013). Farmers and consumers have differing and idiosyncratic views
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28 on the complex trade-offs that might be made between economic, social, and environmental
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30 goals with farmers holding a disadvantaged position (Diamond, 2013). Efforts to contain the
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32 relatively high costs of local food have resulted in farmers sacrificing their own economic
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34 interests, in what Pole and Gray (2013) call an act of self-exploitation. In the current agricultural
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36 market environment it may be difficult for small-scale, sustainable farms to generate profits or
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38 adequately compensate farmers’ labor.
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45 **Family Farms and Sustainability**

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47 We categorize a family farms using criteria from the family business literature: farms that
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49 are owned and controlled by two or more members of a family are considered family farms
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52 (Miller, Le Breton-Miller, & Lester, 2011). While family influence has been traditionally
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54 characterized by blood and marital ties, the colloquial use of the word “family” may refer to
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56 other types of committed relationships that are usually associated with some degree of
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3 cohabitation. Researchers suggest that the influence of family rationale on a firm may be
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5 amenable with organizational goals of sustainability (Berrone, Cruz, Gomez-Mejia, & Larraza-
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7 Kintana, 2010). Family farms that are accustomed to balancing family and farm needs may be
8
9 more adept at balancing the economic, social, and environmental demands of sustainable
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11 farming (cf. Gedajlovic, Carney, Chrisman, & Kellermanns, 2012). The durability of family
12
13 relations and genetic drive for continuance may lead to a longer term view of business activities
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15 that is also a central tenet of the sustainability perspective (Chua, Chrisman, & Sharma, 1999; Le
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17 Breton-Miller & Miller, 2006). Finally, the family's social nature may help make the farm more
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19 sensitive to stakeholders' interests (Cennamo, Berrone, Cruz, & Gomez-Mejia, 2012). Compared
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21 to nonfamily firms, evidence suggests that family firms are more socially responsible (Dyer &
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23 Whetten, 2006), pollute the environment less (Berrone et al., 2010), and that environmental
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25 concern has a more positive impact on innovation and financial performance (Craig & Dibrell,
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27 2006).
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35 **Theory Development**

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38 In answer to our question of how regional farms are coping with the challenges of
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40 sustainable farming, we found evidence of strong family influence on all aspects of most of the
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42 farms we interviewed. The common involvement of family members and the use of family-like
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44 mechanisms to build social capital in their business relationships was compelling enough to
45
46 induce our proposition that family-like dynamics are an important resource for taking on the
47
48 challenges of sustainable farming in the Adirondack region of Northern New York. In a review
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50 of the family business literature we found that the term "familiness" captured what we observed
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52 as the strategic use of family-like resources to build social capital in a very difficult economic
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54 environment. See figure 1 below.
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[Figure 1 about here]

Familiness

Familiness refers to resources and capabilities that are uniquely associated with family ownership and control of a firm and differentiate family from nonfamily firms (Timothy G. Habbershon et al., 2003; Timothy G. Habbershon & Williams, 1999). Described as a black box by Pearson et al. (2008), the conceptual vagueness of familiness is a concern for researchers (Frank, Lueger, Nosé, & Suchy, 2010; Irava & Moores, 2010). Difficulty in clarifying the familiness construct has also plagued the Resource Based View on which familiness is founded (Armstrong & Shimizu, 2007). Several researchers, using the overlapping systems view of family firms (Lansberg, 1983; Tagiuri & Davis, 1996), focus on the efficiencies of familiness in transferring resources between individual family members, the family, and the family firm (Danes, Stafford, Haynes, & Amarapurkar, 2009; Sharma, 2008). However, with these transfer efficiencies come the potential for moral hazard that can have detrimental effects on family firms' performance (Schulze et al., 2003).

One influential theoretical lens on familiness is based on social capital (Frank et al., 2010). Pearson et al. (2008) describe familiness as a bundle of relationships, shared vision and language, trust, norms, obligations, and identifications that can lead to efficient action or exchange and collective goals, collective actions, and emotional support. Arregle, Hitt, Sirmon, and Very (2007) look at the mechanisms by which familiness contributes to the development of organizational social capital. Arregle et al. (2007) suggest that strong family social capital may transfer to a firm through institutional influences, and that strong family identity and rationality can be appropriated by the firm, thereby affecting human resource practices and social networks. The family's stability, interactions, interdependence, and closure are influences social capital

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3 development in the organization (Arregle et al., 2007). Lester and Cannella (2006) explore
4 interlocking family directorates suggesting familiness can help build community-level social
5 capital. Zellweger, Eddleston, and Kellermanns (2010) suggest that family can influence
6 organizational identity, which may impact consumer reactions to family identified firms (Orth &
7 Green, 2009). Through a careful selection of the literature, we have depicted familiness as a
8 resource for building social capital in the family firm, with other organizations, and consumers;
9 placing familiness in a broader environmental context (Timothy G Habbershon, 2006).
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23 We have pieced together a sweeping view of familiness from the literature that fits with
24 our interpretation of the case study data we present below. We are not suggesting that this
25 description implies consensus among researchers regarding the wholeness or reach of familiness.
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27 On the contrary, we see familiness as a broad, umbrella concept that requires a considerable
28 research effort to account for its many possible aspects (Frank et al., 2010). In two articles that
29 use social capital variables Pearson et al. (2008) describe 12 aspects of familiness resources and
30 capabilities, while Arregle et al. (2007) identify nice different mechanisms essential for its use.
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32 Even narrowed to a social capital focus, familiness is an unwieldy construct for researchers to
33 measure.
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47 We see three contributions in this research that add to our appreciation of familiness and
48 its role in the development of new sustainability-oriented business models. First, we find
49 descriptive, case-study evidence of the family resources and capabilities being used to develop
50 social capital in their farms and communities. The fortunate mechanism by which we are able to
51 document the familiness construct is the farmers' explicit use of activities and language that
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3 invoke the familiness concept in their relationships with employees, other organizations, and
4 their CSA members. Only when reviewing the literature on familiness did we find calls for the
5 use of case studies to clarify the familiness construct (Frank et al., 2010; Timothy G Habbershon,
6 2006). Second, we observe the common use of familiness in an unusual context where competing
7 goals create a very challenging business environment, suggesting that familiness may be a
8 resource that is particularly valuable when business challenges are at their greatest (Timothy G
9 Habbershon, 2006). Third, while familiness's influence may extend beyond the family, there
10 may be limiting conditions, for example we observe that familiness was most strongly associated
11 with consumers when a direct distribution system was used.
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28 **Methods**

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30 We approached the question of sustainable farming's growth and success in Northern
31 New York with an open-minded, inductive inquiry that sought the opinions and insights of the
32 farmers (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007). Introductions to sustainable farms in the region were
33 facilitated by a leader in the local agriculture community. In total, we spent approximately five
34 hours on each of 13 farms. **Interviews** often included farm tours and sharing meals, observations
35 and interactions at local farmers markets, volunteering on the farms, and purchasing/using
36 farmers' products. Over 15 weeks our research team of one professor and two undergraduate
37 students collected and analyzed data using NVIVO 10, and periodically discussed interpretations
38 with the farmers. Through repeated categorizations of the data, dominant themes were identified
39 in a collaborative sense making process.
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55 At the conclusion of the interviewing process a family business researcher reviewed data
56 pertaining to family involvement and joined the research team. Following the evidence of heavy
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3 family involvement, the research team reevaluated the data looking for further evidence of
4 family dynamics. To gain further insights, farm websites and newsletters, press clippings, and a
5 book were used to complement the interview data (Yin, 2010). By this method we do not believe
6 that the respondents were influenced by the researchers interests in family involvement, which
7 emerged after the primary data collection. Qualitative, case study research has been suggested
8 for further investigation of the deep structures (Frank et al., 2010) and relationships (Timothy G
9 Habbershon, 2006) of familiness.
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24 While 11 of the 13 farms had family involvement, two of those did not exhibit signs of
25 familiness (cf. Moores, 2009), the data we present is from four of the more successful farms that
26 most explicitly demonstrate the concept of familiness. While we have many observations of
27 familiness, we present most data in the farmers' own words using quotes from their farms'
28 newsletters.
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42 Descriptive Data

43 The farms we explored produce a wide variety of agricultural goods and used a number
44 of different cultivation and distribution methods. Table one, below, outlines basic details for each
45 farm, including acreage, number of employees, product, and distribution data. None of the farms
46 are organically certified by the US Department of Agriculture, though nine of the 13 emphasized
47 that they use organic methods. Several farms follow animal husbandry methods meeting the
48 standards for free-range, naturally raised and/or grass fed certifications, but have not applied for
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3 these costly designations. Of the nine farms emphasizing the pursuit of sustainable farming
4 goals, **eight were family farms** who presented some evidence of familiness in their operations.
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10 11 **Satisfaction with Success in Meeting Sustainability Goals** 12

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15 Table two, below, illustrates the number of farms that claim success at meeting their
16 economic, environmental and social goals. Seven of 13 farms feel successful in their efforts to
17 meet their goals in all three categories while six farms express dissatisfaction in at least one area.
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19 All farms, however, emphasize the persistent challenges associated with achieving balance
20 between economic, social, and environmental goals. With some irony, the owner of R&B Farm
21 commented: *"Our goals are unachievable perhaps, but I feel like setting unachievable goals is*
22 *one secret to our success."* These small farms demonstrate how challenging it is to measure their
23 success on the three goals of sustainability, even when allowing for their own subjective
24 interpretations. The view of the researchers, a cooperative extension professional, and many of
25 the farms was that all the farms faced significant challenges to their survival as small scale,
26 sustainable farms.
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45 **Evidence of Familiness** 46

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48 We observe familiness at four different levels of farming activities that may help farmers
49 negotiate the tensions among economic, social, and environmental objectives. We delineate
50 between levels of familiness in the: 1) Family, which includes involvement and support from
51 parents, spouses and children; 2) Farm-family, which indicates the family-like atmosphere
52 among family and non-family employees on the farm; 3) Inter-farm family, which describes the
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3 unique collaborative arrangements between small, regional farms; and 4) the Locavore-family,
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5 which describes the bonds between the farms and consumers who prefer local foods (Ruth-
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7 McSwain, 2012). (See Figure two below)
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14 Since we believe familiness to be a latent and unobservable construct, what did we
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16 observe that indicates familiness rather than social capital? Frank et al. (2010) make a strong
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18 case that the behaviors and communications of participants are essential for understanding
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20 familiness. First, we saw family and non-family members sharing life-sustaining meals, living
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22 together, and working the earth in sweaty physical and mental cooperation. Then we heard their
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24 own explanations of what they were experiencing. There is an emotionality, vulnerability, and
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26 uncertainty around the sustainability of the planet that serves to unite likeminded people, inspire
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28 hope for the future, and appreciation for what we have now. There is a hint of spirituality in the
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30 discourse that goes beyond notions of fairness, trust, and reciprocity, and a generous infusion of
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32 explicit references to family.
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42 **Family**

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44 All but two of the farms had some degree of family involvement, primarily spouses or
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46 siblings working together. Some farms were second- or later- generation and two employ
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48 multiple generations. Family members were actively and/or passively influential on key
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50 decisions. Many of the families live on the farms and the overlap between family and farm
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52 activities is substantial. There is an “all-in” atmosphere, a proximal and familial closeness, where
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54 thinking is often out loud and decisions become shared over time. Simple Smiles Dairy, owned
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3 and managed by two brothers, recently expanded its herd by 30%. One spouse's objection that
4 the expansion of farm activities would interfere with family-time was outweighed by concern for
5 providing farm-related employment opportunities for their teenage children. Most decisions at
6 Simple Smiles evidence similar family involvement as well as tensions among family and work
7 commitments. Family involvement is high on the farms and manifests itself as the family
8 business literature might suggest, with efforts to find a balance between family and farm
9 objectives. See table three for more examples of familiness at the family level.
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24 **Farm-Family**

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26 Most farms in our sample rely on some seasonal, low-paid non-family employees and
27 volunteers. Many of the farms offer farm-produced meals and housing for their employees and
28 volunteers, resulting in sharing family-style meals and living in close quarters. Living, eating,
29 and working together creates a relaxed, ongoing conversation that often accompanies manual
30 labor and nurtures intimacy. Two non-family employees co-wrote a description, in third person,
31 of the farm-family environment in their farm's weekly newsletter. The quote is interesting on a
32 number of levels, it uses the term siblings to describe a nonfamily relationship and is being
33 shared with the CSA members. The explicit description of employees behaving like family
34 exemplifies isomorphism between family and the farm (Arregle et al., 2007). See table three for
35 more examples of familiness at the farm-family level. Furthermore, if not to build social capital
36 with CSA members, why would a farm communicate in this manner in its newsletter?
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53 Sweet Sage Newsletter: *"Jim opened up and Bill opened up and next thing they knew,*
54 *they were both bickering like young siblings (that is how Jim and Bill show affection).*
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3 ... working side by side everyday allowed the duo to understand each other quickly,
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6 and turn coworkers into friends."
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10 11 **Inter-farm Family**

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15 Many of the farms in our sample reported that they collaborated with other small farms in
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17 the region. Through a variety of mechanisms, farmers work together to achieve economies of
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19 scale and avoid head-to-head competition. A tendency to cooperate rather than compete suggests
20
21 an appreciation of the value in relationships between farms that is central to social capital.
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24 Farmers reported planting complementary crops to increase product variety, sharing labor forces,
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26 and distribution agreements. Sweet Sage farm lists its collaborators as "sister farms" on their
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28 website and we observed farmer-to-farmer discounts at events. There are formal local farming
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30 associations such as Adirondack Harvest and the Farmers Market Association. See table three for
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32 more examples of familiness at the inter-farm family level. Green Thumb Farm explained that
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34 when they started delivering meat to larger customers they reached out to nearby farms for
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36 produce:
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41 *Sunrise Farm field notes: "we carry our stuff and Cold Creek Creamery's and Sweet*
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43 *Sage Farm's stuff. We'll carry anything that is convenient for us to carry ... The*
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45 *customers loved that they could get this variety from all these different farms..."*
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51 52 **Locavore-Family**

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3 We see considerable effort put forth by the local farmers to build strong relationships
4 with their CSA members. Communications frequently invoke family relationships and are often
5 of an intimate in nature. The business model for most regional farms relies heavily on CSA
6 membership, rather than transactional customers. CSA members pay for their food months in
7 advance of the growing season to help the farmers finance production and estimate demand for
8 their crops (c.f. Galt, 2013). Members sharing in the risk of farming by paying in advance for
9 their shares and not demanding certification is an example of the trust in relationships that
10 creates value. In our sample, farmers go to great efforts to personalize and strengthen their
11 relationships with these community members by espousing concern for sustainability, through
12 one-on-one interactions, regular newsletters rich in personal content, holding community events,
13 and extending open invitations for people to visit the farms. See table three for more examples of
14 familiness at the locavore-family level. The following quote from R&B Farm demonstrates a
15 rather large show of community support that is not atypical in spirit:
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34 R&B farm field notes: *Someone gave me \$52,000 three years ago for drainage*
35 *because our fields were wet. They said, "I've never seen the kind of radical*
36 *transformation you've given our town in terms of what you've done to bring*
37 *youth, and energy and vitality back to a place that had none."*
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46 **Discussion of Implications**

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49 Whether intentional or emergent, there is strong evidence of regional farms investing in
50 relationships, shared vision and language, trust, norms, obligations, and identifications built
51 around the ideals of community supported agriculture, and that these activities have led to
52 efficient action or exchange and collective goals, collective actions, and much emotional support
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3 that matches Pearson et al. (2008) description of familiness. The common use of family identity
4 and rationality in human resource practices and social networks match Arregle et al. (2007)
5 description of social capital building. In their own words, the following quotes from R&B and
6 Sweet Sage farms describe the importance of relationships between family, farm, other
7 organizations, and CSA members in intimate terms that we believe depicts its underlying
8 familiness:
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21 R&B Farm newsletter: *The numbers we finally flushed out of all those scraps of*
22 *paper told the story of a farm that has truly become community supported. There*
23 *were entries for generous donations, for in-kind gifts, and for interest-free loans.*
24 *There are places where certain unnamed employees gave back their hard-earned*
25 *paychecks. There were discounts from farmer-friendly suppliers and contractors.*
26 *... The amount of goodwill received – in the form of pies, words of*
27 *encouragement, and expressions of gratitude for food received– is immeasurable.*
28 *Thank you to our members, to the farmers who work hard for little cash, and to*
29 *the friends of the farm for your support. You are what make this farm sustainable.*
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46 Sweet Sage Farm newsletter: *Upon my return last week I quickly found myself*
47 *laughing at the phenomenal state of things on the farm! How incredibly honored I*
48 *feel to have such dedicated people working here at Sweet Sage. How incredibly*
49 *honored I feel to have such a dedicated business partner to manage such a*
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3 *colorful circus. How incredibly honored I feel to have such a dedicated*
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5 *membership [CSA] to keep our farm farming!*
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11 We observe rich, descriptive examples of familiness in an unusual context. The
12 challenging context of small, scale sustainable farming may be extremely difficult without
13 considerable social support. Small farms in northern New York strive for sustainability by
14 balancing their challenging social, environmental, and economic objectives. At this early stage in
15 the market's development, familiness has been essential in starting the farms, attracting
16 employees, relating with sister farms, and reaching out to consumers. However, familiness may
17 have fueled a faster growth in supply than in demand, creating challenges for the local farmers in
18 our sample. This imbalance in the system raises questions about the strength and/or reach of
19 familiness and whether it may weaken and/or change as it moves farther from its family origin.
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34 The value and strength of social relationships, while nurtured and highly valued, are not
35 the same in the four levels of this local food system. Differentiation between family social capital
36 and organizational social capital, with the family variety being a strong version, seems apparent
37 in our data (Arregle et al., 2007). The farm-families, including employees and volunteers, exhibit
38 a strength and nature of social capital most close to the actual families, but are difficult to sustain
39 past three seasons. Relationships between farms are closed/selective, cooperative and trusting yet
40 somewhat less intimate and infused with a strong economic rationale. The locavores exhibit high
41 levels of appreciation, loyalty, and trust in their farmers, but they are fundamentally less
42 committed than the farmers and can and must access other suppliers of food. One obvious break
43 in the interdependence between farmers and locavores is the harsh winters of northern New York
44 that interrupt the adequate supply of food to the local market. Using familiness to build stronger
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3 relationships may be valuable in this context, but blood remains thicker than water and the social
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5 capital is different in each of the four levels; context matters for familiness (Timothy G
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7 Habbershon, 2006). Table four, below, summarizes these differences between the strength and
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9 nature of the social capital at different levels of the local food system.
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23 The challenges faced by small scale sustainable farmers in Northern New York are also
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25 found in other areas of NY and in California. Generally, speaking small scale, farmers make very
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27 little money, even when producing high-value added specialty products for which consumers are
28
29 willing to pay premiums (Galt, 2013). While small scale sustainable farming may just be too
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31 challenging to tackle without the significant support of family and friends, buying industrial
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33 farmed, processed, and distributed food is relatively cheap, easy. CSA members report that they
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35 join for high quality, sustainably produced foods, and not to be part of a community (Pole &
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37 Gray, 2013). Familiness may play an important role in helping a new business model compete
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39 with an entrenched incumbent, but at this time the survival of these farms remain very much in
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41 question.
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46 **Conclusion** 47 48 49

50 This research began as an open-ended, inductive search into the survivability of farms
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52 pursuing sustainable farming practices. Family ownership, control, and involvement first
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54 appeared as a governance influence on the farms. Upon further investigation it was found that
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56 family-like dynamics, mechanisms, and language were common throughout the farms' activities.
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3 Upon reviewing the literature, it became clear that the term “familiness” described how family
4 social capital might be used to develop organizational social capital and community-level social
5 capital that could help the farms cope with the challenges of sustainable farming. The
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8 contributions of this case study are to provide a rich description of familiness that is particularly
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10 strong and visible, present the challenges of small scale, sustainable farming as a situation where
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12 the pursuit of conflicting goals aligns well with family resources, and discuss the enabling and
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14 limiting conditions for familiness. While generalizations are not appropriate in theory building,
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16 these observations of familiness may serve as encouragement for researchers interested in the
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18 painstaking work of collecting data on such a broad concept.
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Figure 1 – Familiness’s use in addressing the challenges of sustainable farming

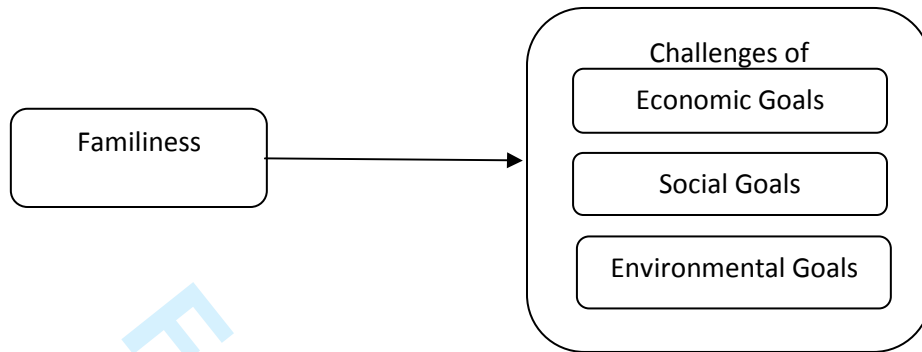
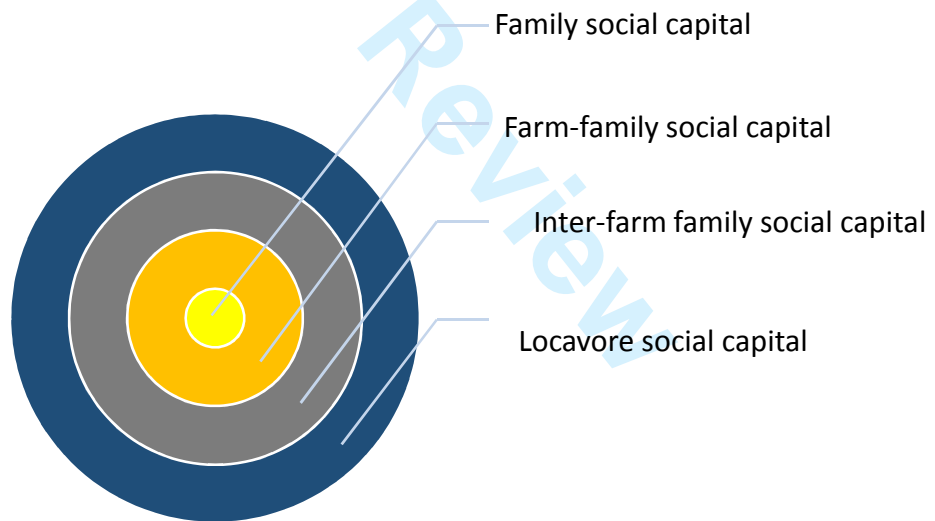


Figure 2. Familiness influence on social capital formation



(See Habershon’s (2007) depiction of familiness in contex)

Table 1. General characteristics of the sample.

	Acreage	Family/Non-family Paid Employees	Products				Distribution Methods			
Farm	Acreage	Non-family Paid Employees	Diverse Vegetables	Fruit	Diverse Meat/Eggs	Dairy Livestock/Products	Commodity Markets	Membership	Farmers' Markets	Wholesale (ex. restaurants)
Sweet Sage Farm	17	2/9	x					x	x	x
Spruce Mountain Farm	27	2/5	x		x			x		
Sunrise Farm	35	2/10	x					x	x	x
Fresh as the Earth Farm	88	2 family co-owners/1	x		x			x	x	
Cold Creek Creamery	112	0/1			x	x			x	x
Green Thumb Farm	125	2/2	x		x			x	x	x
Market Day Farm	135	Multiple generation/14	x	x					x	x
Creative Minds Farm School	230	0/4	x	x	x					x
Martin Family Farm	300	Multiple generation/0	x			x	x	x	x	
Belle Farm	543	2/2			x					x
R&B Farm	800	2/12	x	x	x	x		x	x	x
Simple Smiles Dairy	+1000	Multiple generation/7				x	x			
Last Chance Poultry	+1000	Multiple generation/100+			x		x			

Table 2. Self evaluations of success in meeting sustainability goals

	Number of farms that claim success at meeting...		
	<i>Economic Goals</i>	<i>Environmental Goals</i>	<i>Social Goals</i>
Highly Successful	0	3	2
Successful	9	6	9
Unsuccessful	1	0	0
Highly Unsuccessful	2	2	2
Total responses	12	11	13

*Some respondents felt simultaneously successful and unsuccessful at meeting a goal and were omitted.

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Table 3 – Data from notes and newsletters exemplifying familiness

Data Source	Data
<i>Family</i>	
Field notes	Amidst a hectic harvest and stretched resources, we questioned the building of an addition to the farm’s living quarters. The farmer replied that his partner’s “daughter is getting big and spending more time on the farm ... and they need more space.”
Newsletter	There isn’t any feeling in the world greater to this mother than the figure of my longhaired daughter receding into the fields with a harvest basket, and the pride of being a “Fah-mer” imprinted in her heart.
Newsletter	[Farmer-wife] learned to cultivate with the horses this week. She is leading the vegetable team this year, and it felt good to see her out there with steady old Jay and Jack, using the best tools in our weed arsenal.
<i>Farm Family</i>	
Field notes	The owners and employees eat lunch together every day, and employees live on the property and often in the owners’ home
Newsletter	Meanwhile we welcome Name to the fulltime crew, and welcome back [employee, employee and employee] – three well-known, well-loved faces. And that’s the news from R&B Farm ...
Newsletter	At morning meeting today, Farmer looked around at the assembled crew of twenty and wondered aloud how long it has been since this piece of good land has seen so much concerted effort applied to it, in the form of muscle and sweat. Decades, or centuries?
Newsletter	Watching (female employee and male employee) work together reminded me of our first http://mc.manuscriptcentral.com/oe

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	years, when [husband] and I were a team of two. I am not nostalgic for the brutal hours nor the stress of startup, but watching them reminded me there is something precious about working hard together as a couple. It's a facet of a relationship not many people get to explore. Like taking an arduous trip together, it pulls the shield of romance off of a relationship, and reveals its strengths and weaknesses.
Inter-farm Family	
Field notes	The owners of R&B have had several staff members launch farms of their own, which the owners of R&B refer to as "unplanned pregnancies." These farms maintain close working relationships.
Field notes	When asked whether he trusted his landlord, a farmer who was investing heavily in a rented farm replied simply and earnestly, "he's like a brother to me."
Field notes	When asked whether he compensated another farmer for the use a shelter for his sheep, the farmer replied that he "didn't need the shelter ...and was providing them with organic fertilizer."
Newsletter	Four farmers came last Sunday to help get the south greenhouse skinned with new plastic during a brief window of calm weather.
Locavore Family	
Field notes	Spruce Mountain Farm sends a weekly email to all members that documents farm progress and challenges, and invites members to the farm for weekly food pick up. Members take children to the farms, volunteer labor when visiting, sample produce and take time to walk the fields and learn about the farm with the owner.
Newsletter	We've been transplanting and weeding like crazy for the past month and a half,

	always having your families in mind.
Newsletter	And add in sports/lessons/homework. I still say farming is easier than raising children – physically, emotionally, and timewise. Hats off to our members who are putting so much effort into their children – and it shows. We really enjoy our young members and miss them now. It will be such fun to see how much they have grown again by next summer.

Table 4 – Familiness’s Impact on Social Capital in the Local Food System

Evidence	Level 1 – Family Social Capital	Level 2 – Farm Family Social Capital	Level 3 - Inter-farm Family Social Capital	Level 4 – Locavore Family Social Capital
Evidence of Familiness	Involvement of family in farm decisions. Overlap of family and farm life	Treating employees like family, sharing meals and lodging.	High levels of trust and cooperation among chosen farms.	Efforts to form extra-transactional bonds with locavores.
Strength and Nature of Social Capital	Strong, intimate, continuing relations	Strong, intimate relations of 1 to 3 seasons	Strong, trusting, less intimate relations with an increased economic rationale	Loyal, trusting members in non-exclusive, seasonal relationships.

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