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ÉDITORIAL / EDITORIAL

Articles of Quality

Des articles de qualité

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It is no easy task to make the transition from conducting research to developing and writing a concise, articulate, and well-structured research article. In many ways a research report is much less demanding. Yet the rewards from writing a research article can be significant, including recognition from one's peers; the establishment of one's credentials as a serious researcher and, given *ANSERJ*s open access format, a contribution to knowledge development around the world.

Behind every meaningful and relevant research article is an author who asks the right questions at the right time and then conducts research to investigate his/her questions. The author's critical investigation and analysis comes well before the suggestions and requests of editors and reviewers who took time to read an article and thus support the author(s) to create an even stronger contribution.

Écrire est un geste lourd de sens. Il oblige notamment l'auteur à se poser de bonnes questions, à faire des recherches pour étayer son argumentation et à structurer sa pensée. Il s'agit souvent d'un éternel recommencement (ou presque). Et il n'est pas question ici des suggestions et demandes des rédacteurs en chef et des évaluateurs qui ont pris le temps de nous lire dans l'espoir d'améliorer le texte.

Publier dans une revue est toujours un privilège. Lors de la publication, l'effort d'écriture est récompensé par la satisfaction du travail bien fait et par le potentiel d'un lectorat attentif. En effet, pouvoir rejoindre des lecteurs et lectrices intéressés par le même domaine que le sien est toujours spécial.

Getting published in a peer-reviewed journal is always a privilege. Upon publication, the author is rewarded by the satisfaction of a job well done and the potential exposure to a wide range of readers.

For example, one article, published in the first issue of ANSERJ, has been downloaded more than 2,000 times. In total, all ANSERJ articles published to date have had more than 24,000 direct downloads. In addition, some of these articles have been cited by other researchers, building links across similar research activities.

Perhaps we should adopt a practice of sending regular emails to the authors of quality articles to let them know that their hard work is appreciated. Such recognition is always appreciated by the people who often work in relative isolation on a project that reflects their passion for some dimension of the nonprofit and social economy community.

This is why, just as ANSER/ARES recognizes students with various awards, one will now recognize biannually the author(s) of the very best article published in ANSERJ. You will find details below about the Best Article Award, the first of which will be awarded at the ANSER conference next June in Victoria, B.C.

Plan to attend the conference to join your colleagues in this celebration. Meanwhile, submit your next research article to ANSERJ so you too could become a future recipient of this important new award.

Par exemple, un article publié dans le premier numéro d'ANSERJ a été téléchargé 2 000 fois et, globalement, on compte plus de 24 000 téléchargements d'articles parus dans ANSERJ jusqu'à maintenant. De plus, certains de ces textes peuvent se voir citer par d'autres chercheurs, preuve qu'il y avait au moins un lecteur!

Peut-être devrions-nous adopter comme pratique d'envoyer régulièrement des courriels aux auteurs des textes qui nous ont plu pour leur faire savoir tout le bien que l'on pense des idées exprimées? La reconnaissance du travail est toujours appréciée par la personne qui la reçoit.

C'est pourquoi, tout comme ANSER/ARES le fait pour les étudiants avec divers prix, il sera dorénavant possible de reconnaître les auteurs d'articles publiés dans ANSERJ. Les détails du prix 2013 du meilleur article d'ANSERJ se trouvent ci-dessous.

Il n'y a rien à faire pour les auteurs : votre travail est déjà accompli. Sauf attendre... Et éventuellement recevoir la bonne nouvelle.

Quoique, tout comme tous les membres d'ANSER/ARES, il faudrait planifier sa présence à la prochaine conférence annuelle qui aura lieu à Victoria en préparant une nouvelle communication.

N'oubliez pas de nous soumettre vos meilleurs articles, pour être publiés peut-être et mériter ce prix un jour lors d'une édition ultérieure.

2013 Best Article Award for ANSERJ

ANSERJ is pleased to announce that an ANSERJ Best Article Award will be awarded every two years starting with next year's ANSER/ARES Conference in Victoria. This award was approved by the ANSER/ARES board of directors earlier this year. The first award will be based on all articles published by ANSERJ between Volume 1 No 1 and Volume 3 No 2.

The best article will be selected by a sub-committee of the ANSER Editorial Committee and each article will be judged with the following criteria:

1. The contribution of the work to the field of nonprofits and social economy (and in particular the originality of the contribution).
2. The persuasiveness of the argument (whether based on the interpretation of empirical data, theoretical rationales, or both).
3. The thoroughness of the literature review.
4. The clarity of presentation (written expression; the use of figures and tables, where appropriate).
5. The quality and rigor of the methodology used.

Prix 2013 du meilleur article d'ANSERJ

ANSERJ est fier d'annoncer qu'un prix du meilleur article publié dans ANSERJ sera remis à tous les deux ans en commençant par la conférence annuelle 2013 d'ANSER/ARES à Victoria. Ce prix est approuvé par le Conseil d'administration d'ANSER/ARES. Pour la première édition du prix, on sélectionnera le récipiendaire parmi tous les articles publiés dans ANSERJ du volume 1 no 1 au volume 3 no 2. C'est un sous-comité du comité de rédaction d'ANSERJ qui choisira le meilleur article, jugeant chacun d'entre eux selon divers critères, notamment:

1. La contribution de l'œuvre (en particulier son originalité) au domaine des organismes sans but lucratif et de l'économie sociale;
2. La force persuasive de l'argumentation (qu'elle se fonde sur l'interprétation de données empiriques, une démonstration théorique ou les deux);
3. La minutie de la revue de la documentation;
4. La clarté de la présentation (niveau de langue utilisé; emploi de figures et de tableaux, si pertinent);
5. La qualité et la rigueur de la méthodologie utilisée.

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Volunteering with Newcomers: The Perspectives of Canadian- and Foreign-born Volunteers

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ABSTRACT

Canadian- and foreign-born volunteers have contributed to the settlement of newcomers into Canadian society. Despite their important contribution, little has been reported about the experiences and perspectives of these volunteers. Using the information collected from face-to-face interviews with 60 Canadian- and foreign-born volunteers who support newcomers, this article discusses factors that motivate people to volunteer with newcomers. The study results revealed among other findings that (1) to become a volunteer, one not only needs to be motivated but also needs to believe that volunteering will produce the expected positive results and to have confidence in one's ability to complete the assigned tasks, (2) once people become volunteers, the experience of volunteering tests their perceived self-efficacy and their belief about the effectiveness of their volunteer work. Success or failure in their expectations influences their decision to continue or discontinue their volunteer work.

RÉSUMÉ

De nombreux bénévoles nés au Canada et à l'étranger contribuent à l'intégration de nouveaux venus dans la société canadienne. Malgré leurs contributions importantes, il y a peu d'écrits sur les expériences et perspectives de ces bénévoles. Cet article se fonde sur des entrevues face à face avec soixante bénévoles nés au Canada ou à l'étranger afin de mieux comprendre ce qui les motive à aider les nouveaux venus. Les résultats révèlent entre autres que (1) pour devenir bénévole, non seulement faut-il être motivé mais il faut aussi croire que le bénévolat entraînera bien les effets positifs escomptés et être confiant de son aptitude à accomplir les tâches assignées et (2) l'expérience du bénévolat met à l'épreuve la perception de sa propre efficacité et l'impression qu'on a de la valeur de son travail bénévole. Le succès ou l'échec de ces attentes a une influence sur la décision de continuer à faire du bénévolat ou non.

Keywords / Mots clés : Newcomers; Resettlement; Formal volunteering; Motivation / Nouveaux venus; Relocalisation; Bénévolat formel; Motivation

> Kindness of strangers during the need, you know, remains with you. And that's a motivating factor that you know later on when your time comes you will be in a position to give back because you have the taste of it aside from what is the tradition of your family.
> (Female refugee interview respondent)

INTRODUCTION

Researchers have identified a number of factors that negatively influence the successful integration of immigrants, in particular the newly arrived, into Canadian society (Basran & Zong, 1998; Bauder, 2003; Creese & Kambere, 2003; Reitz, 2005). Some of these obstacles (e.g., lack of recognition of credentials, Canadian work experience requirements, and discrimination) require interventions at structural, institutional, and policy levels. There are other obstacles (e.g., social isolation, lack of language proficiency, knowledge of cultural values, and access to information on employment opportunities) that can be ameliorated by the presence of strong and extended social support networks. It has been noted that newcomers to Canada often suffer from a shortage of adequate social support networks (Behnia, 2004; Beiser, 1999; Couton & Gaudet, 2008; Lamba & Harvey, 2003; Raj & Silverman, 2002).

To address this challenge a number of organizations match newcomers with volunteers who act as friends and offer practical, informational, and emotional support for a determinate period of time (Behnia, 2007). These volunteers help newcomers in areas such as job search, resumé writing, learning about Canadian society and culture, improving language and communication skills, expanding their social networks, and enhancing their ability to access community resources and services (Behnia, 2004; Behnia & Bergin, 2001; Canadian Centre for Victims of Torture, n.d.; Charbonneau & Laaroussi, 2003; Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2004; Lanphier & Lukomskyj, 1994; Thompson, 1988; Yan & Lauer, 2008). It is reported that compared to other immigrants and refugees, immigrants and refugees who are matched with volunteers obtain employment sooner, perform better in language acquisition, receive less government financial assistance, have more friends, and are more optimistic about their future (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2004; Employment and Immigration Canada, 1986; Lanphier, 1993).

Despite their important contribution to the settlement and integration of immigrants into Canadian society, little has been reported about individuals who volunteer with newcomers, especially in relation to the factors that influence their decision to join and remain with an organization, and their perspectives and experiences of volunteering. Using the results of a qualitative exploratory study on formal volunteering with newcomers in Ottawa (Canada), this article aims to fill in some of the gaps in this knowledge by examining the perspectives and experiences of Canadian- and foreign-born individuals who volunteer with newcomers.

DETERMINANTS OF FORMAL VOLUNTEERING

Distinct from informal volunteering, viewed as spontaneous and haphazard behaviour, formal volunteering is defined in this article as a non-spontaneous form of helping behaviour offered by individuals to others within the context of an organization in a coordinated way, without coercion, remuneration, or direct financial rewards (Clary & Snyder, 1991; Dekker & Halman, 2003; Kearney, 2001; Penner, 2002; Wilson, 2000). To become a formal volunteer, one must be able and motivated to dedicate personal resources such as time, energy, and skills to an established organization (Behnia & Bergin, 2001).

Research on volunteers indicates that people do volunteer work to maintain or enhance the welfare and wellbeing of others (altruistic reasons) and of themselves (self-interest reasons) (Ashton, Baker, & Parandeh,

2006; Behnia & Bergin, 2001; De Long, 2005; Fischer & Schaffer, 1993; Fletcher & Fast, 2009; Handy & Greenspan, 2008; Stürmer & Snyder, 2010; Vallee & Caputo, 2010; Wymer, Riecken, & Yavas, 1996). Further, people may volunteer because of a desire to help others, give something back to the community, meet people, feel useful, get distracted from the losses caused by migration, learn new skills, improve their language proficiency, gain Canadian work experiences, and improve their job opportunities.

Once a prospective volunteer feels ready to dedicate their resources to an organization, they usually screen various organizations and programs in order to select the desired one (Behnia & Bergin, 2001). The prospective volunteer must have a positive perception of an organization and its clients and have a satisfactory experience in his/her initial contact with the organization (Behnia, 2007; Behnia & Bergin, 2001; Gill & Mawby, 1990; Snyder & Omoto, 1992). Individuals are more willing to volunteer their time and skills to an organization if there is compatibility between their personal goals, values, ideologies, and those of the organization. It is also important that they feel connected to the organization's clients, and the organization's reputation (Behnia, 2007; Behnia & Bergin, 2001; Fischer & Schaffer, 1993; Gill & Mawby, 1990; Pearce, 1993; Snyder, Omoto, & Crain, 1999; Snyder & Omoto, 1992; Wilson, 2000).

After becoming a volunteer, satisfaction with the tasks they are assigned, clients, and the way they are treated by the organization is crucial to the volunteer's commitment. Research shows that volunteers are more likely to remain committed to an organization when they are given meaningful tasks to do (Behnia, 2007; Behnia & Bergin, 2001; Snyder & Omoto, 1992; Wilson, 2000; Wymer, Riecken, & Yavas, 1996). Tasks that are perceived as demanding, anguishing, tough, or boring could result in the volunteer leaving the organization. Volunteers' commitment to the organization is also influenced by their relationships with clients, the volunteer coordinator, and paid staff. Volunteers' commitment to an organization increases when they can participate in some of the decision-making processes, receive adequate support and supervision, are not marginalized, and are appreciated by the organization and the clients. Agreement with the organization's ideologies, policies, and practices, and feeling like they are making a concrete difference to the client and to the organization will also influence a volunteer's level of commitment (Behnia & Bergin, 2001; Caro & Bass, 1995; Fischer & Schaffer, 1993; Gill & Mawby, 1990; Ilsley, 1990; Ng, 1993). Finally, the reactions of significant others may influence a volunteer's commitment to an organization. The disapproval of relatives, friends, and colleagues could negatively influence a volunteer's decision to continue their contribution (Behnia & Bergin, 2001; Snyder, Omoto, & Crain, 1999; Wymer, Riecken, & Yavas, 1996).

Despite the existence of a broad and rich literature on formal volunteering, there is very little knowledge on volunteers who do volunteer work with newcomers to Canada. What motivates them to volunteer with newcomers? What challenges do they face in doing volunteer work with newcomers? Why do some of them continue their work with newcomers while others do not? Answers to these questions will enhance the recruitment and retention capacity of organizations in respect of these volunteers.

METHODOLOGY

This study, conducted in 2009–2010, adopted a descriptive qualitative exploratory research design. Face-to-face interviews with 60 Canadian- and foreign-born volunteers who volunteered with newcomers were conducted in Ottawa. In 2009–2010, participants were recruited from a variety of community organizations that match newcomers with volunteers. To recruit volunteers for the research, the investigator contacted the volunteer coordinators of relevant service agencies and explained in detail the study objectives and method, and the anonymity and confidentiality principles. Interviews with volunteers, lasting approximately 60 minutes each, were conducted at a time and location convenient to them. With the exception of two participants, all

gave permission to having the interviews audio taped. An interview guide was used to collect the qualitative data. The interview guide contained open-ended questions about volunteers' motivations for working with newcomers, their experiences with newcomers, the organizations, the assigned tasks, and the reasons they continued to volunteer.

After the interviews were completed, the investigator read the transcribed interviews in order to gain a comprehensive understanding of the data as a whole. In the next step of analysis, the investigator re-read each interview transcript carefully to identify emergent patterns, themes, and categories. This step involved indexing data by applying labels to passages or excerpts of transcripts. These labels signified themes, categories, or aspects of experiences addressed by the excerpts. The process of indexing allowed a re-reading of data within index categories, synthesizing, and interpreting and finding patterns.

Table 1. Socio-demographic characteristics of the study participants

	All Volunteers ($N = 60$)	Canadian-born Volunteers ($N = 37$)	Immigrant Volunteers ($N = 23$)
Female	43	26	17
Male	17	11	6
16–24	4	3	1
25–49	16	7	9
50–64	25	18	7
65 and over	15	9	6
Married/Common law	35	19	16
Single	12	7	5
Widowed	3	2	1
Separated/Divorced	10	9	1
Some high school	1	0	1
Completed high school	1	1	0
Some post-secondary school (college or university)	5	2	3
College diploma/Certificate	7	6	1
University degree	46	28	18
Employed full-time	18	10	8
Employed part-time	12	6	6
Unemployed	2	1	1
Student	3	1	2
Retired	20	17	3
Other (e.g., work at home)	5	2	3

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

As Table 1 shows, the majority of study participants were Canadian-born (62%), female (72%), 50 years or older (67%), married (58%), and had a university degree (77%). A comparison of the socio-demographic characteristics of the Canadian-born and immigrant volunteers shows similarities in a number of areas. In

both groups, about 70% were women and about 75% had a university degree. The two groups, however, differed in characteristics such as age, marital status, and employment status. Compared to Canadian-born volunteers, a higher percentage of immigrant volunteers were in the 16–49 age group (39% vs. 19%), lived with a partner (70% vs. 51%), and were in the labour force (61% vs. 43%). The proportion of those who were retired was three times higher among Canadian-born volunteers (46% vs. 13%).

Canadian- and foreign-born volunteers who participated in this study perceive that they make an invaluable contribution to the lives of newcomers by providing practical, informational, and emotional support. They tangibly helped newcomers to find jobs, learn and practise English, fill out forms and navigate bureaucracies, and conduct everyday activities such as shopping, taking the bus, banking, and money management. Volunteers also offered friendship and support and played an important role in explaining and interpreting Canadian culture. Newcomers often needed information about the cultural values and beliefs that shaped their interaction with Canadians. As one volunteer reported, "So all these [immigrant] women really want to know is how do Canadians do things, what do Canadians think about this, what's acceptable in Canadian culture." The unwritten nature of cultural rules can prevent newcomers from building relationships and accessing resources, which in turn can cause frustration, misunderstanding, and discouragement. Volunteers helped newcomers by lending an ear and clarifying misunderstandings.

> When [newcomers] don't understand Canadians, because we are sort of "strange" people, they know they can come to me and bounce questions at me. "Why do you people do like this?" and I can try to explain it to them without them having to be frustrated. (Interview respondent)

Immigrant volunteers gave advice and guidance to newcomers on how to adjust to Canadian society by sharing their personal experiences with them. For example, immigrant volunteers advised newcomers to first focus on learning English/French if they wanted to get a good job, and to be flexible and look for job opportunities in fields other than their own. Some immigrant volunteers helped newcomers to deal with family and intergenerational conflicts and tension.

Volunteers also acted as mediators between newcomers and their private sponsors[1]. Due to their lack of knowledge of language and culture of the host country, newcomers reported to volunteers that they would often seek the sponsors' guidance for basic everyday life activities such as banking, taking the bus, and shopping. This generated paternalistic behaviour on the part of some sponsors. One volunteer, for instance, reported that there are sponsors who go to newcomers' homes and

> look in their cupboards and see what they had bought—umm, juice in cans rather than frozen orange juice—and say that's not economical enough and … make them go back to the store. (Interview respondent)

Some volunteers, therefore, intervened when they noted that the sponsors were taking over the autonomy and decision making power of newcomers. One immigrant volunteer reported how she had to intervene in order to convince a sponsor who was adamant that the sponsored female refugee had to have her own bank account because that was the "Canadian way" and the "sign of independence."

> I said … [the newcomer] had just come from the atrocious, atrocious time where they have been pushed out of their country, where their brothers and sisters being killed … and you want them to be independent and have their own bank account? I said "Did they

> ask you?" She said "No, but they have to." … I said 'If you want them to be Canadians, give them time, give them time to taste the culture'… So she stopped. (Interview respondent)

BECOMING A VOLUNTEER

Researchers have identified motivation as one of the key factors influencing one's decision to become a volunteer (Fischer & Schaffer, 1993; Stürmer & Snyder, 2010; Wymer, Riecken, & Yavas, 1996). However, the findings in this study reveal the presence of two additional important factors. To become a volunteer one also needs to (1) have a positive attitude toward volunteering behaviour and (2) believe that they possess the skills and abilities necessary for achieving the desired goal. These three factors are presented below.

Motivational reasons

Most of the study participants volunteered for altruistic reasons such as the desire to help others, to create a fair and just society, to give back to the community, and to ease newcomers' resettlement. However, the responses of some of the study participants indicated the presence of self-oriented motivations such as reducing their own social isolation, obtaining job experiences, and learning about other cultures. Study participants gave more than one reason for engaging in volunteer work. However, for the sake of analysis, their reasons are presented here in separate sub-categories.

Social values

The primary motive for a number of volunteers reflected their values around a fair and just society. Inequality and injustice made them sad, angry, outraged, and even feel guilty. For instance, in explaining the reasons for her involvement in volunteer work, one study participant stated: "I don't feel happy with things unequal, with people suffering and nobody is helping them." They expected to bring about changes by getting involved in volunteer activities. One study participant, who identified social injustice as her motivation, commented that volunteering:

> Makes me feel better because … there [are] a lot of things that are wrong and a lot of things you can't control, and I find I get depressed if I just think of everything that's out there. So if I zero in on one thing then I feel okay.

The desire to address gender discrimination and inequality was a major motivation mentioned by volunteers. A number of respondents volunteered to teach English to female newcomers because they believed that lack of equal access to an English as a Second Language (ESL) program makes immigrant women socially isolated, dependent on their husbands and children, and relegated to working in low-paying and dead end jobs. They believed teaching language to newcomer women would facilitate their successful integration into Canadian society.

The primary motive of volunteering for a number of Canadian-born participants was their sense of moral obligation due to their position of privilege. They believed that they lived with abundance and comfort and they volunteered in order to share it with others.

> We have been incredibly blessed with, with a happy marriage, good kids … good jobs … There are people out there that really need, they haven't had that … and refugees in

> many respects are the people who have had … the worst of … around the world. (Interview respondent)

Finally, religious teachings and vision of how a society and human relationships should operate motivated a number of Canadian-born volunteers. One volunteer explained "the biblical injunction to welcome the refugees, the landless, the visitors, the strangers" as the reason for volunteering. Another one explained that, as a Catholic,

> I always had believed to whom much is given, much is expected, I do think that you give back, you have to … Yeah, it's one of my fundamental values.

Facilitation of newcomers' settlement

A common reason stated by study participants for becoming a volunteer was their desire to facilitate newcomers' transition to Canadian society. Immigrant volunteers referred to their own personal experience of being a newcomer, and facing the challenges of adjusting to a new culture and language, as the reason for volunteering with newcomers. "Because I know that it's very hard when … you don't know the language, you don't know where to go, you don't know the services, and you're lonely, isolated" (Interview respondent). They could therefore relate to the difficulties experienced by newcomers. "Well, being a newcomer ourselves we know how hard it is" (Interview respondent). Consequently, they decided to volunteer with newcomers in order to ease their adjustment to life in Ottawa.

Although Canadian-born volunteers did not have a direct immigrant experience, witnessing the significant challenges recent immigrants face in a new society led them to volunteering with newcomers.

> When I was in university … there were a lot of international students there. And you could see the difficulty that they would have trying to integrate into Canadian society. So … [when] I came to Ottawa I could see the same hardships going on … It's a new country, new language, it is kind of scary. (Interview respondent)

Building new relationships

For a number of participants, volunteering was a way of meeting others and establishing a relationship. For instance, a Canadian-born volunteer explained

> I am keen to have new friends because I have just moved back here to Ottawa, so my friends are all on the other side of Ottawa. So I thought it would be nice to have somebody on this side. And when you teach, you make a friend.

A number of immigrant volunteers also echoed a similar explanation. They spoke about the difficulty of living in a new country without an extended network of friends and relatives. They expected that volunteering would help them to establish new relationships.

> I don't have a big family, I cannot live alone … I would have friends [when I volunteer] ... Even if they are not very close friends, but you know, you have someone to talk to. (Interview respondent)

The desire to learn about other cultures, countries, and people motivated a number of participants to volunteer with newcomers. For instance, an immigrant volunteer of Latin-American background stated, "I said well you know I already know about what the Latin culture is about, let's learn about other things."

Enhancement of employment opportunities

Some volunteers interviewed for this study work with newcomers with the intention of improving their own chances of getting a job. Volunteering provided an opportunity for interviewees to practise their interpersonal skills, to gain Canadian work experience, to get letters of reference, and to acquire work-related skills. Sometimes, volunteering allowed study respondents to test out potential new job directions through the experience of working with newcomers and in a teaching environment. One volunteer explained, "I was sort of using [volunteering with newcomers] as a sort of a testing ground for a career path … [in] the ESL" (Interview respondent).

Representation of Canada and Canadians

Volunteering with newcomers made a number of Canadian-born volunteers aware of their identity as a Canadian. Some of them were worried about the bad reputation that the treatment of newcomers in Canada could bring upon Canada and Canadians.

> Sometimes I am a bit discouraged about what we do [with newcomers] in this country … I'd like to think that I am giving a message that *"No, we gotta keep the doors open … we have to embrace each other."* (Interview respondent)

Conceiving themselves as representatives of Canada and Canadians, these volunteers wanted to "present Canada and Canadians in a good light." Consequently, they saw volunteering as an opportunity to show the goodness of Canadians to newcomers. "I am hoping that I am representing Canadians**,** that we are good people ... and that we like people, we like diversity" (Interview respondent).

Positive attitudes toward formal volunteering

The responses of the interviewees indicated the presence of positive attitudes toward volunteering. However, a closer look at the responses reveals that their positive attitudes toward this form of helping behaviour often stemmed from a number of intermediary factors. A number of volunteers, mainly Canadian-born participants, referred to family tradition as a reason for volunteering. Their responses showed the impact that exposure to generosity has on one's behaviour, particularly at a young age. They spoke extensively about growing up in an environment where members of their family and community did volunteer work. Such socialization played an important role in their future engagement in helping behaviours. The tradition of volunteering instilled in them the desire to help others. "I guess it was my family that sort of got me into it … because my parents always had an interest in helping out newcomers" (Interview respondent).

The accounts of volunteers born into immigrant families showed that their decisions to volunteer with newcomers stemmed from their expectations about the positive outcomes of volunteering. Participants whose parents immigrated to Canada reported that they were aware of the difficulties experienced by their parents when they migrated to Canada and the importance of support they received from the community. The positive outcomes of

volunteering that they had experienced were tangible evidence of the positive influence that volunteering can have on the lives of newcomers. Thus, they decided to do volunteer work with newcomers.

> I think what really helped to make up my mind is my dad [who] came as a child, as an immigrant ... It was the community that really helped him to integrate and so [volunteering with newcomers] was just the right thing to do. There was no question. (Interview respondent)

With respect to immigrants and volunteering, it is important to note that while informal volunteering—i.e., helping others without the assistance of an intermediary organization (Ilsley, 1990)—is a universal practice, formal volunteering could represent a new concept for some immigrants. In some countries, volunteer work for an organization is considered as "free labour" or "unpaid work" and therefore as undervalued (Behnia & Bergin, 2001; Chareka, Nyemah, & Manguvo, 2010; Couton & Gaudet, 2008; De Long, 2005; Handy & Greenspan, 2008; Musick & Wilson, 2008). An immigrant volunteer, for instance, explaining the absence of formal volunteering in her country of origin stated, "You did not have someone helping you without getting payment. They'd think, excuse me, that you are foolish." Another immigrant participant who reported that members of her community conceived volunteering as "unpaid labour" stated that her friends asked her, "Why do you do things and not get paid?" Consequently, some immigrants may be reluctant to do volunteer work with organizations.

However, exposure to the generosity of volunteers played an important role in engaging immigrants in volunteering. Immigrant volunteers were positively surprised, touched, and impressed with the kindness of volunteers who helped them in their settlement when they arrived in Canada. Consequently, they decided to assist newcomers through volunteering. One study participant, for example, reported that when she received help from a Canadian-born volunteer she told herself, "Okay when I establish my life a little bit, you know, I am gonna do the same." The assistance and help that they received from volunteers when they arrived in Canada was tangible evidence they had of the positive difference that volunteering can make to the lives of newcomers. A number of immigrant volunteers connected their success in adjusting to Canadian society with the help received from volunteers. "My Canadian friends made a difference in my life … and I know part of my success is to do with their help to me" (Interview respondent). The widespread presence of formal volunteering in Canada also played an important role in generating positive attitudes among immigrants. The very high esteem in which they held volunteering is typified by the following comment.

> Here really everybody does [volunteering] and I find it a great thing … I think it embodies a lot of good Canadian values … Its generosity, its compassion … its taking care of others, its sense of community. (Interview respondent)

Perceived self-efficacy

One of the essential requirements of formal volunteering is the availability of resources such as time, skills, knowledge, and information (Behnia & Bergin, 2001; Fischer & Schaffer, 1993). However, the findings of this study reveal the presence of another important resource—the confidence in one's ability to perform the helping behaviour. When study participants were asked the question, "What challenges did you anticipate once you decided to work with newcomers?" immigrant volunteers reported they did not foresee any challenges. This was because they believed their own personal experiences gave them a particular understanding of the difficulties newcomers confront. The presence of a common past gave immigrant volunteers confidence that they could help other newcomers.

However, when the same question was asked of Canadian-born volunteers, they reported anticipating a number of obstacles such as concern regarding their ability to communicate effectively with newcomers, and to overcome the cultural differences between them.

> I was terrified. I remember … the first time [that] I had to phone her and set up my … meeting with her and then I thought *"oh my god what happens if she doesn't understand me … what am I going to do?"* (Interview respondent)

Nevertheless, they believed that they would be able to overcome challenges of working with newcomers. Their training in mediation, teaching experiences, and years of working in the community, travelling abroad, and being a member of a Francophone minority in Canada gave one respondent enough confidence to start working with newcomers.

> Being a French Canadian and having Acadian background, that history of, you know, a group of people that are pushed aside and not treated as equals in the history of Canada, I think, there is a sensitivity to what is different, to not belonging. (Interview respondent)

Confidence in their skills and capacities encouraged Canadian-born individuals to engage in volunteer work with newcomers, despite their concerns.

REMAINING A VOLUNTEER

Participants' accounts show that the experience of volunteering could challenge or confirm volunteers' expectations and beliefs about their capacity to help as well as the positive results of their helping behaviour. Participants' decision to continue or to discontinue their work with newcomers was influenced by a number of factors. The next two sections will report on the challenges of volunteering with newcomers and then the reasons for continuing volunteer work.

Challenges of volunteering with newcomers

It is often assumed that volunteers and clients will get along because one has the desire to help and the other needs the help (Gavin, Gavin, Begley, & Brodie, 2003). However, formal volunteering often brings into contact individuals of different cultural and social backgrounds that can challenge their relationships and interactions. In their volunteer work with newcomers, the study participants faced a wide range of interpersonal challenges such as newcomers' lack of punctuality, reliability, transparency, and knowledge of English. Talking about the frustration caused by lack of reliability one study respondent reported that,

> She wasn't reliable, many times I would go to her house and she either wasn't there or she wouldn't answer the door … The problems continued so I finally … said I couldn't continue with this.

Lack of transparency was another challenge mentioned by a number of volunteers. They reported experiencing shock and disappointment to discover that the matched refugees did not always tell them the truth about themselves and their past. "Sometimes … that hurts … when you come very close to someone and you realize that what I have heard they said was fabrication" (Interview respondent). However, participants were also quick to acknowledge that a lack of transparency can be a survival technique for some refugees. "Sometimes they lie for the reason to get out [of their country] because they are afraid that the

reason they would give is not good enough" (Interview respondent). This perspective helped them to consider the situation from which newcomers were coming and to continue their relationships with them.

Lack of knowledge of language was mentioned as an additional challenge and sometimes a source of frustration. "You say *'Hi, how are you?'* to her and she just looks at you and asks her husband. It is a real source of challenge" (Interview respondent). As participants reported, sometimes the words weren't there, so it became a struggle to communicate. They had to resort to charades and hand gestures.

In a number of cases, the volunteers' uneasiness with newcomers' cultural values was the source of frustration and tension. Reporting about her experience of volunteering with Muslim women, a Canadian-born volunteer respondent stated,

> I was [upset] when I discovered my first lady, umm was fully covered whenever she left [home]. … And my third lady, I was really hoping that she wasn't like that…Well, [she covered herself] in black…and she looked at me and she said … "*are you surprised?"* and I said *"yes"* … It was depressing for me because that woman and the previous woman, will never, as long as they are wearing that, they will never integrate and be Canadian in the way we think … I just try not to think about it because it's … depressing.

The tasks and responsibilities that organizations assign can also be challenging and demanding. Teaching new and unfamiliar subjects and doing translation in stressful circumstances were examples of this type of challenge. "[In hospital] I was like *'oh my god … what if I say the wrong thing and they give the lady the wrong medicine'*" (Interview respondent). A number of volunteers talked about the challenge of teaching English to newcomer mothers in their homes.

> She had three children under the age of three at home with her. When you are trying to run the class and one of the kids would literally be standing on the table and grabbing stuff … I had to just focus on her and not get upset by anything. (Interview respondent)

Another challenge identified by participants was organizing activities with newcomers. Sometimes volunteers found themselves short on ideas for joint activities or that the activities suggested by them (e.g., winter outings and sport) were not liked by newcomers.

> They have a child and we don't have kids. Sometimes trouble with finding things to do that would also be appropriate for the child … So I guess that's something that prevents us from doing things [together]. (Interview respondent)

A number of immigrant volunteers reported the negative reactions of their relatives and friends to their volunteer work. Negative reactions were often caused by the novelty of the concept of formal volunteering and the concern for the negative effects that volunteering could have on a volunteer's school performance, family responsibilities, and employment. Finally, participants identified a number of challenges associated with the organizations, transportation (access, travel time), winter weather, fatigue, and the associated costs of volunteering.

Continuing volunteer work

Despite all the challenges, most of the volunteers interviewed remained committed and only a small number of them reduced their involvement or discontinued their volunteer work. The decision to continue work with

newcomers was often influenced by various factors including satisfaction with their relationships with newcomers, establishment of new friendships, ability to complete the tasks and activities they were assigned, the positive outcomes of their volunteer work, feeling useful, and being appreciated by newcomers and organizations. Their responses showed that volunteering was not just beneficial for the newcomers; it was equally helpful to the individual who was volunteering.

Seeing the positive effects of their volunteer work was a major reason to continue their volunteer work with newcomers. A number of volunteers relayed their happiness on watching the progress newcomers made in their transition to Canadian society. Newcomers' progress was a confirmation of their contributions.

> I think if I didn't see progress then I might get a little umm, maybe a little bit disappointed not in my students but in myself, that I wasn't able to get her to a level that was helpful for her. (Interview respondent)

Respondents explained the sense of joy and fulfilment they experienced when they felt that what they were doing was helping others. They continued because they felt helpful and useful.

> I remember first time [that] … I was able to help her and to see that pleasure in her face…I felt totally needed and I felt like I was actually accomplishing something … It is nice to feel useful. (Interview respondent)

The need to see the positive effects of their helping behaviour was so important for volunteers that some newcomers' lack of feedback made some volunteers uncertain about their contribution. "The fact that I'm not getting feedback from them, I'm not sure how to interpret [that] … Do I actually know what my success rate is?*"* (Interview respondent). Consequently, the newcomers' expression of satisfaction made volunteers happy and reassured them about their contribution.

> When I see the joy in his face, it makes me happy. But sometimes you have somebody, nothing is said, no expression is said. So then you have this feeling of confusion of *"Did I really help him or not?"* With him, every night I feel like I did help him because he is always happy. (Interview respondent)

No wonder, then, that some volunteers reported that they preferred long-term relationships with newcomers. It allowed them to see the outcomes of their actions.

> I would like to pursue … the same person so that I can see the outcome and the differences that I have made … If I meet this gentleman five years later, I won't know that I helped him to get to that point. It might have been somebody else … it is not the outcome of my work. (Interview respondent)

The appreciation shown by newcomers and organizations was another important factor encouraging volunteers to continue their work. This appreciation generated an enormous amount of personal satisfaction among volunteers. Appreciation and gratitude shown by newcomers and organizations was an indicator of their positive contribution to newcomers, and it made them "feel wonderful" and even boosted their sense of confidence.

> I think it's given me more confidence too. Because these women are very appreciative … and it's nice to be appreciated, because you don't always get that from your job and your family (laughter). (Interview respondent)

Another positive outcome of volunteering was the development of friendships. Volunteering not only allowed volunteers and newcomers to get to know each other but also to develop friendships. "You get another person who really cares about you" (Interview respondent). Volunteers extensively talked about the care and affection that they received from newcomers. Some newcomers helped volunteers in moving to a new house or comfort them during difficult times.

> When my husband was ill … I couldn't believe the outpouring and the support and the way we were just held … by some who had never met him. Because I knew them through volunteering. (Interview respondent)

Some volunteers, therefore, considered newcomers as part of their support systems. "I feel that I have a ... group in the city that, if I asked for help, would be there" (Interview respondent). The way that some of the study participants talked about the newcomers show the presence of a deep level of connection and attachment between them. They talked about newcomers and their families with such affection, joy, and pride as if they were talking about their own family members. Many volunteer relationships with newcomers continued after the designated period of the match and they remained in touch.

> They have gone back to their home country and we stayed in contact. So now I can go to Korea, I can go to Iran … and stay with them, which is fantastic. (Interview respondent)

Talking about the benefits that they got from volunteering with newcomers, study participants emphasized that they learned a lot about the world, diversity, and other cultures. "I have never been out of the country … So it has really opened my eyes to what people have experienced outside of Canada" (Interview respondent). They also gained a broader understanding of people's different experiences, and gained a different perspective on world affairs.

> You can hear about the fighting in Darfur, or … the problems in South Kiboo, and in the Democratic Republic of Congo … But when you actually meet people … you realize the personification of that problem. (Interview respondent)

Another identified benefit of volunteering with newcomers was that it pushed volunteers beyond their comfort zones as well as shattered some of the existing misconceptions and stereotypes that they held toward newcomers and other cultures. Volunteering with newcomers also increased their ability to listen and be more patient.

> It has made me more patient just in general with people because you never know people's stories. So it's actually nice to interact with people with such different backgrounds and be aware that … everybody is different. (Interview respondent)

The opportunity to work and to feel useful was mentioned by a number of immigrant volunteers as the reason to continue their volunteer work.

> [Volunteering] makes you feel alive. When you stay home … you feel you are just wasting your life … I felt frustrated, no job, no life, nothing. Now … I feel like working … That makes me feel useful. So, I don't take myself, you know, being jobless. (Interview respondent)

DISCUSSION

To successfully recruit volunteers and to ensure that those who are recruited remain committed to formal volunteering, it is important to identify factors that encourage and hinder their collaboration with newcomers. By examining the experience and perspectives of Canadian- and foreign-born volunteers, this study aimed to identify factors that lead individuals to initiate and continue to volunteer with newcomers. While the findings of this qualitative study have corroborated some of the empirical knowledge that exists in the general field of volunteering, this study has contributed new information to the body of knowledge of volunteering by shedding some light on volunteering with newcomers.

Consistent with the findings of other studies on volunteering, altruistic and self-interested reasons played an important role in motivating study participants to volunteer with newcomers (Behnia, 2007; Clary & Snyder, 1991; Dekker & Halman, 2003; Fischer & Schaffer, 1993; Green & Chalip, 2004; Musick & Wilson, 2008; Snyder & Omoto, 1992; Stürmer & Snyder, 2010; Wilson, 2000). The study participants' accounts of their motivations reveals the presence of similarities and differences between Canadian- and foreign-born volunteers. Both Canadian- and foreign-born volunteers in this study volunteered in order to facilitate newcomers' settlement, address social inequality and injustice experienced by immigrants, build new relationships, reduce their social isolation, learn about other cultures, and improve their employment opportunity. However, it was only Canadian-born volunteers who reported their own sense of abundance, religious teachings, and the desire to project a positive image of Canada and Canadians as reasons for volunteering.

Practice implications

The results of this study provide some insight into factors that motivate Canadian- and foreign-born individuals to volunteer with newcomers, as well as into the challenges of volunteer work with newcomers. The study findings can inform organizations how to promote volunteering with newcomers, to enhance their recruitment capacity, and to succeed in retaining volunteers.

In their promotional activities, organizations need to

1) advertise the positive impact of volunteer work on newcomers and volunteers themselves, and the rewarding nature of volunteer work with newcomers;
2) explain why volunteers are needed, what they will be doing, and what type of skills are needed, as well as time requirements;
3) advertise the training and workshops they offer on cross-cultural communication and mediation, and information sessions on the culture and countries with which volunteers will be matched; and
4) invite volunteers and previously matched newcomers to community meetings, ethno-cultural events, and orientation sessions to talk about their experiences and what differences volunteers make to the lives of newcomers.

Once volunteers commence their volunteer work, organizations must provide them with adequate training programs, ongoing support, and follow-up. These activities keep volunteers and organizations connected and help organizations retain volunteers.

Organizations are advised to

1) take into consideration volunteers' motivations, interests, comfort, and preferences when assigning tasks to them;
2) offer training to raise volunteers' knowledge of world events, characteristics of different cultures, cultural biases and stereotypes and their effects on relationships with newcomers, and of how to deal with cultural and linguistic differences;
3) maintain regular contact with volunteers through one-on-one meetings, telephone calls, emails, and/or correspondence. The aim of the follow-up is to check in on how things are going, to discuss issues occurring in the matches, and to monitor volunteers' activities in order to see whether their intervention is necessary;
4) explain to newcomers about program expectations such as regulations concerning cancellation, missing appointments, and participation in organizing joint activities;
5) appreciate volunteers by publishing articles in local and ethnic media and newsletters, handing out volunteer certificates, holding special group events in recognition of volunteers, and giving them letters of reference; and
6) inform volunteers about newcomers' appreciation and acknowledgement of their contributions.

CONCLUSION

This study has contributed to the knowledge on volunteering by revealing the presence of two other important factors in addition to motivation for volunteering. To become a volunteer, one not only needs to be motivated but also needs to believe that volunteering will produce the expected positive results and to have confidence in one's ability to complete the tasks required to achieve the desired goals. While Canadian-born volunteers revealed that a positive attitude toward formal volunteering was mainly a product of growing up in a family and community with the tradition of formal volunteer work, for immigrant volunteers a positive attitude toward volunteering was learned by witnessing its positive effects on their own or other immigrants' lives. With respect to self-efficacy, Canadian- and foreign-born volunteers differed on the sources of their sense of confidence. While Canadian-born volunteers mentioned skills learned through work and training, foreign-born volunteers drew on their experience of being an immigrant.

One of the major challenges faced by community organizations is the retention of volunteers. Although there are no statistics available on the number of volunteers who discontinue their volunteer work, there are numerous accounts that show attrition among volunteers as a persistent challenge for organizations. Researchers have reported that retention of volunteers is sometimes more difficult than their recruitment (Behnia, 2007; Fischer & Schaffer, 1993; Green & Chalip, 2004; Penner, 2002; Snyder & Omoto, 1992; Wharton, 1991). As noted above, research on volunteering indicates the importance of satisfaction with the assigned tasks, the organization itself, and relationship with clients served in the decision to continue his/her volunteer work with an organization. In this regard, the results of this study confirmed the findings of previous studies (Behnia & Bergin, 2001; Caro & Bass, 1995; Fischer & Schaffer, 1993; Gill & Mawby, 1990; Ilsley, 1990; Ng, 1993).

This study revealed that once one becomes a volunteer, the experience of volunteering tested their belief about their self-efficacy and the positive outcomes of their volunteer work. Success or failure of their own expectations could influence their decision to continue or discontinue their volunteer work. The study results also revealed that volunteers wanted to know whether they were making a difference in the newcomers' lives. Therefore, volunteers considered the progress in newcomers' ability to navigate Canadian society, development of friendships with newcomers, learning about other cultures, and newcomers' and organizations' appreciation of their contributions, to be signs of achievement.

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NOTE

1. The Private Sponsorship of Refugees Program allows groups to sponsor refugees from abroad who qualify to come to Canada. Groups of five or more Canadian citizens or permanent residents, or groups of religious organizations, ethno-cultural groups, and humanitarian organizations can assume responsibility to provide financial, practical and emotional support for the refugees for the duration of the sponsorship. This includes helps with housing, food, clothing, and learning how to navigate the system.

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Les organismes communautaires au Québec : De la coexistence à la supplémentarité

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RÉSUMÉ

Cet article présente les résultats d'une recherche effectuée auprès de 52 organismes du tiers secteur québécois sur la question des relations qu'ils entretiennent avec un partenaire du secteur public. Les objectifs de la recherche étaient doubles : 1) élaborer un outil d'autoévaluation validé des relations entre organismes du tiers secteur et l'État et 2) procéder à une analyse transversale des informations produites par les 52 organismes du tiers secteur ayant participé à la validation de l'outil d'autoévaluation. Les résultats démontrent que les relations entre les deux groupes d'acteurs se sont stabilisées et même améliorées depuis vingt ans. Cependant, la contribution des organismes du tiers secteur est encore largement orientée vers la coproduction de services publics davantage que sur la coconstruction de politiques sociales destinées à une population commune.

ABSTRACT

This article presents the results of a study involving 52 nonprofit organizations in Quebec focused on their relationships with public-sector partners. The objectives of the study were twofold: 1) to develop and validate a self-evaluation tool to assess relationships between third-sector organizations and the State and 2) to conduct a transversal analysis of information obtained from the 52 nonprofit organizations that took part in the validation of the self-evaluation tool. The results show that relationships between the two categories of stakeholders stabilized and even improved over the previous twenty years. However, the contribution of nonprofit organizations is still largely oriented toward the coproduction of public services rather than the shared construction of social policies for a common population.

Mots clés / Keywords : Relations; Organismes communautaires; OSBL; Secteur public; État; Partenariat; Services sociaux; Outil d'autoévaluation Québec / Relationships; Community organizations; NPOs; Public sector; State; Partnership; Social services; Self-evaluation tool Quebec

INTRODUCTION

Depuis le début des années 1980, au Québec comme ailleurs, nous avons assisté à un nouveau partage des responsabilités entre l'État et les acteurs de la société civile dans la réponse aux besoins sociaux et économiques de la population. C'est ainsi que le tiers secteur a été appelé, au cours des trente dernières années, à s'inscrire dans une nouvelle relation dite « partenariale » avec l'État.

Au Québec, le tiers secteur est aujourd'hui présent dans une multitude de secteurs d'activité allant des services à la petite enfance à la formation de la main d'œuvre et à l'employabilité. C'est cependant dans le secteur de la santé et des services sociaux que les organismes communautaires sont de loin les plus nombreux. En 1990, la réforme Côté venait en effet les reconnaître officiellement dans la Loi 120, ce qui a fortement contribué à leur développement. Par ailleurs, la réforme Couillard de 2003 invitait les centres de santé et de services sociaux (CSSS) nouvellement créés à conclure, dans le cadre de leur « responsabilité populationnelle », des ententes de services avec leurs partenaires pour la livraison de services, y compris les organismes communautaires. C'est donc vers une certaine forme de contractualisation que cette réforme tend à vouloir faire évoluer les relations entre ces deux acteurs.

Cette nouvelle relation entre les acteurs publics et ceux du tiers secteur peut prendre, plusieurs configurations selon le pays, et aussi à l'intérieur d'un même État. Dans certains cas, elle peut être empreinte d'une forte dépendance des organismes du tiers secteur vis-à-vis de l'État, tandis que dans d'autres on peut assister à un rapport qui soit plus égalitaire et dans lequel l'État voit dans les organismes du tiers secteur de véritables partenaires. Un certain nombre d'études ont cherché à caractériser les relations entre l'État et le tiers secteur au Québec (Panet-Raymond et Bourque, 1991; White et al. 1992; Vaillancourt, 1997), mais peu ont procédé à l'analyse des relations dans plusieurs secteurs d'intervention à partir d'une méthodologie permettant aux représentants d'organismes de se prononcer sur le modèle de relation qu'ils établissent avec l'État. C'est ce que nous avons voulu réaliser dans le cadre de cette recherche.

Dans le présent article, nous ferons part des résultats d'une recherche que nous avons menée auprès de 52 organismes du tiers secteur qui sont en relation avec des établissements ou organismes publics. Ces 52 organismes viennent de partout au Québec et interviennent dans des secteurs d'activité variés. Cette recherche s'est inscrite dans la poursuite d'une recherche antérieure au cours de laquelle nous avions identifié six types de rapport possibles entre un organisme du tiers secteur et un établissement ou un organisme public (Proulx, Bourque et Savard, 2007). Elle été réalisée à partir d'un outil que nous avons construit, lequel visait justement à permettre aux organismes d'identifier la nature de leur relation avec un établissement ou un organisme public donné.

PROBLÉMATIQUE DE RECHERCHE

Un peu partout dans le monde, l'actualisation des politiques publiques se fait avec un concours grandissant des organismes du tiers secteur[1]. Désormais, l'État n'a plus le monopole de l'offre de services d'intérêt public, mais la partage à des degrés divers avec d'autres acteurs, qu'il s'agisse du secteur privé à but lucratif, des familles et des proches de personnes nécessitant différentes formes de soins, de soutien ou d'aide, ou encore d'organismes du tiers secteur.

Le « partenariat » est donc devenu un thème récurrent dans les politiques publiques. En fait, depuis la fin des années 1970, il est au cœur des stratégies de la plupart des pays occidentaux qui, confrontés à la fois à une crise financière et à une crise « des résultats » (Groulx, 1993), ont commencé à revoir leur mode de

gestion du social fondé sur un nouveau partage des responsabilités avec les acteurs de la société civile. Selon Proulx, ce nouveau « mode de gestion du social » repose essentiellement sur quatre axes : la personne au centre des préoccupations; une tendance à la régionalisation et au local; l'appel aux ressources de la communauté (les familles, les proches, les organismes communautaires); et le partenariat comme stratégie privilégiée d'intervention (Proulx, 1997, p. 27).

Ce changement de cap dans la gouvernance de l'État est attribuable autant aux critiques provenant de la gauche que de la droite. En effet, d'un côté, les tenants de l'idéologie néolibérale revendiquent un État moindre sous prétexte que celui-ci coûte cher et que le secteur privé s'avère un agent économique plus efficace. La gauche de son côté, sans remettre en cause le bien-fondé de l'État-Providence, dénonce ses effets pervers, notamment la lourde bureaucratie qu'il a produite ainsi qu'une perte de « lien social » dans une sorte de « solidarité mécanique » (Rosanvallon, 1981), revendiquant ainsi des services plus souples et plus légers et un rôle accru pour les réseaux de soutien naturels (Groulx, 1993).

Mais il n'y a pas unanimité sur le sens à donner à ce changement. Si certains y voient une occasion pour l'État québécois de se départir de certaines responsabilités pour les confier aux organismes du tiers secteur dans une relation de sous-traitance, d'autres y voient plutôt une « nouvelle forme de pratique sociale qui s'appuie sur une redéfinition des rapports entre l'État et la société civile dans le but d'introduire des réformes et de démocratiser certains secteurs d'activités » (Bilette et al. 1995, p. 4). Caillouette et coll. parlent quant à eux d'un nouveau « paradigme », d'une nouvelle forme de « gouvernance », c'est-à-dire de « l'instauration de nouveaux modes d'élaboration des politiques publiques » qui incluraient les acteurs de la société civile (Caillouette et al, 2007, p. 452), ce que Vaillancourt appelle la « coconstruction » des politiques publiques (Vaillancourt, 2008).

LA SITUATION AU QUÉBEC

Le Québec ne fait pas exception à la règle. Ainsi, aujourd'hui, le tiers secteur est présent dans une multitude de champs d'activité : services de garde à l'enfance; logement social; santé et services sociaux; services d'aide à l'emploi; développement local, etc. En fait, comme le soulignent René et Gervais, « Ce qui étonne devant l'ampleur du phénomène, ce n'est pas tant le nombre de secteurs investis que la pénétration du paradigme à tous les niveaux de la vie en société » (René et Gervais, 2001, p. 23). Par ailleurs, le partenariat est une pratique « polymorphe qui peut s'exercer à plusieurs échelles : nationale, régionale et locale » (Bourque, 2007a, p. 298).

En somme, dans ce nouveau mode de gestion du social, non seulement le Québec ne fait-il pas exception, mais plusieurs croient même que le Québec se démarquerait par un modèle de développement qui lui serait propre (Bourque, 2000; Vaillancourt, 2012; Caillouette et coll., 2007; Favreau et Larose, 2007; Jetté, 2008), un modèle caractérisé notamment par un État « plus ouvert à la participation de la société civile », des formes de gouvernance qui font de la place aux acteurs locaux et la participation des organismes du tiers secteur « non seulement à la mise en application mais aussi à la Coconstruction démocratique des politiques » (Vaillancourt, 2012, p. 127). Toutefois, depuis l'élection d'un gouvernement libéral en 2003, Caillouette et coll. (2007) soutiennent qu'il y a eu « rupture » dans ce modèle de développement.

Ainsi, avec la réingénierie de l'État, et notamment avec la réforme Couillard dans le domaine de la santé et des services sociaux, nous serions passés d'un modèle de régulation « partenariale » à un modèle de régulation « marchande », dans lequel l'État « n'est plus tenu à un dialogue avec les acteurs de la société civile ». Selon ces mêmes auteurs, « Dans cette perspective marchande, le seul interlocuteur de l'État est le

secteur privé, qui comprend dans ce cas les organisations de la société civile, mais alors réduites à une identité de fournisseurs de biens et de services. » Bourque a aussi noté comment les Lois 25 et 83 viennent modifier le rapport des CSSS avec les organismes communautaires, ceux-ci s'inscrivant dorénavant dans un rapport plus hiérarchique dans lequel les CSSS pourront de surcroît sous-traiter avec les organismes communautaires pour la livraison de services (Bourque, 2004). Toutefois, dans le processus de production des projets cliniques auquel les CSSS sont tenus, autant Bourque (2007b) que Caillouette et coll. soutiennent que la réforme Couillard peut céder la place à des marges de manœuvre possibles, voire même à de la «coconstruction » dans certains cas (Bourque, 2007b), puisque « les cultures construites dans les décennies antérieures demeurent en partie effectives » (Caillouette et coll., 2007, p. 462).

LES RAPPORTS PUBLIC / COMMUNAUTAIRES AU QUÉBEC

C'est donc dans ce contexte qu'il faut appréhender la question des rapports entre les organismes du tiers secteur et les établissements et organismes publics. Au Québec, ceux-ci ont été largement étudiés dans les années 1980 et 1990, au plus fort de l'émergence de ce nouveau phénomène[2]. De la littérature, il ressort essentiellement que les relations entre les organismes communautaires sont pour le moins difficiles et souvent empreintes de tensions, et se caractérisent souvent par des rapports asymétriques et hiérarchiques (Proulx, 1997; Savard, 2002; Bourque, 2007a).

Les rapports public/communautaires ont été beaucoup moins étudiés depuis le début des années 2000. Les quelques recherches qui ont été faites l'ont été après 2003, dans la foulée de la réforme Couillard et des craintes parfois exprimées d'un assujettissement des organismes communautaires aux ententes de services avec les CSSS et à la sous-traitance. Il est par ailleurs intéressant de constater que, par rapport aux recherches antérieures, les recherches qui ont été réalisées depuis 2003 apportent un éclairage différent. En effet, la plupart des recherches plus récentes montrent que les ententes de services ne sont pas une pratique courante et que, globalement, là où elles existent, elles n'ont pas modifié de façon déterminante l'interface entre les deux acteurs, et ce, que ce soit dans le secteur de l'aide à la famille et à la jeunesse (Bourque, 2007b; Savard et coll., 2008), dans le secteur de la perte d'autonomie liée au vieillissement (Bourque et coll., 2011; Savard et coll., 2010), dans le domaine du handicap (Proulx, 2011) ou encore dans le secteur de la santé et des services sociaux en général (Proulx et Boudreault, 2009). Ces mêmes recherches ont également démontré que les relations empruntent des modèles très variés (Bourque, 2007b) et que, en général, on ne peut pas parler d'un assujettissement des organismes communautaires aux règles et aux demandes du réseau public. Les recherches de Savard et coll. (2008 et 2010) montrent par ailleurs que l'on ne peut pas non plus parler d'une reconnaissance totale et complète des organismes communautaires, puisque la relation qu'ils ont établie avec les établissements publics serait plutôt de l'ordre de la coexistence, c'est-à-dire une relation dans laquelle les acteurs communautaires et publics collaborent sans pour autant que la relation soit contraignante et sans que les établissements publics cherchent à soutenir ou à encourager la contribution des organismes communautaires.

OBJECTIFS DE LA RECHERCHE ET CADRE D'ANALYSE

C'est dans le contexte de la réingénierie de l'État et de la réforme Couillard que, en 2003, nous avons entrepris une recherche visant à approfondir la question de ce que nous avons appelé les interfaces entre l'État et les organismes du tiers secteur. Par cette recherche, nous souhaitions alimenter la réflexion chez les acteurs du terrain et les aider à se situer dans leurs rapports à l'État en fonction d'une diversité de modèles possibles.

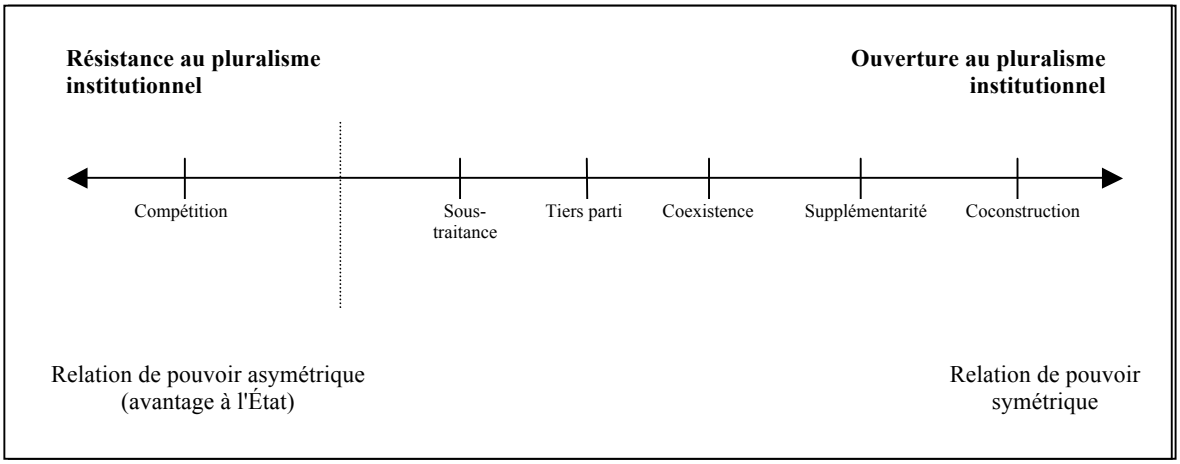
Pour ce faire, nous avons procédé à une revue de littérature internationale portant sur différentes typologies existantes. Notre choix s'est arrêté sur la typologie développée par Jennifer M. Coston (1998), typologie qui, au terme de la recherche, a été adaptée au contexte québécois (Proulx, Bourque et Savard, 2007). Il a été possible d'identifier la présence éventuelle de six types de rapport entre les établissements publics et les organismes du tiers secteur : le rapport de compétition; le rapport de sous-traitance; le rapport de tiers-parti; le rapport de coexistence; le rapport de supplémentarité; et le rapport de coconstruction (Proulx, Bourque et Savard, 2007). Ces types de rapport sont définis de la façon suivante :

- **Le rapport de « compétition ».** Dans le rapport de compétition, l'établissement ou l'organisme public n'est pas favorable à la présence d'organismes du tiers secteur dans son champ d'activité. Les deux types d'organisation sont donc en compétition sur le terrain pour l'exercice de certaines activités, mais aussi pour l'obtention du financement lié à ces activités.
- **Le rapport de « sous-traitance ».** Dans le rapport de sous-traitance, l'établissement ou l'organisme public est l'acteur central responsable de la planification et de l'organisation des services, mais délègue la livraison de certains services à des organismes du tiers secteur pour une clientèle dont il conserve toutefois la responsabilité (l'imputabilité). Ce type de rapport fait habituellement l'objet d'une entente écrite liant les deux organisations qui traduit avec précision les engagements des deux partis.
- **Le rapport de « tiers parti ».** Le rapport de tiers parti se rapproche du rapport de sous-traitance. Il s'en distingue par le fait que l'établissement ou l'organisme public se limite ici à établir les orientations et les priorités, et délègue aux organismes du tiers secteur la responsabilité d'organiser la production des services, limitant ainsi son influence sur les activités de l'organisme et sur l'utilisation des fonds. Dans ce type de rapport, l'établissement ou l'organisme public délègue aussi sa responsabilité à l'égard de la clientèle (son imputabilité).
- **Le rapport de « coexistence ».** Dans le rapport de coexistence, l'établissement ou l'organisme public est « sympathique » à l'égard des activités des organismes du tiers secteur dans un champ d'activité donné, mais n'est pas nécessairement proactif pour les soutenir. Le rapport se limite souvent à des échanges d'information dans une « coexistence non contraignante ».
- **Le rapport de « supplémentarité ».** Dans le rapport de supplémentarité, l'établissement ou l'organisme public met en place des services publics en fonction des « préférences moyennes » de la population, mais accepte de soutenir en partie les « préférences minoritaires » prises en charge par les organismes du tiers secteur. Ceux-ci répondent donc à une demande laissée vacante par les services publics, et il y a reconnaissance mutuelle du rôle joué par les deux types d'organisation. Les organismes du tiers secteur peuvent également être mis à contribution pour l'élaboration des politiques et des programmes publics.
- **Le rapport de « Coconstruction ».** Dans le rapport de Coconstruction, l'établissement ou l'organisme public partage ses responsabilités et ses opérations avec des organismes du tiers

> secteur mais, par opposition à la sous-traitance, chacun des acteurs « conserve son autonomie, ses valeurs et sa mission ». La Coconstruction implique également une participation des organismes du tiers secteur à l'élaboration des politiques publiques. Les relations entre les deux types d'organisation sont également beaucoup plus formelles et feront souvent l'objet d'une entente écrite liant les deux organisations.

La typologie de Coston repose par ailleurs sur l'étude de trois paramètres principaux, à savoir : 1. l'ouverture au pluralisme institutionnel, c'est-à-dire l'ouverture de l'État à la présence du tiers secteur dans l'exercice de certaines activités de production et de gestion de services; 2. la formalisme des relations; et 3. la symétrie des rapports de pouvoir (voir schéma 1). Ces six types de rapport se retrouvent par ailleurs sur un continuum, de sorte que plus on se trouve sur la gauche du continuum, plus le rapport de pouvoir est dominé par l'État (rapport asymétrique). À l'opposé, plus on se trouve sur la droite du continuum, plus l'État est ouvert à se laisser influencer et à partager son pouvoir avec les acteurs du tiers secteur (rapport symétrique).

Schéma 1 : Continuum de Proulx et coll., 2007 (adapté de J. Coston)



L'objectif de la recherche dont nous présentons les résultats était de deux ordres :

- Offrir aux organismes communautaires un outil favorisant l'autoévaluation et l'analyse des relations qu'ils entretiennent avec un partenaire choisi du réseau public de la santé et des services sociaux du Québec;
- Dégager, à partir de l'étude des résultats obtenus par le croisement des autoévaluations produites par les organismes participant à la validation de l'outil, les modèles de relations qui s'établissent entre les organismes communautaires et les établissements publics dans différents secteur d'intervention au Québec.

MÉTHODOLOGIE DE LA RECHERCHE

Dans le cadre de cette recherche, la première étape a consisté à élaborer un outil visant à permettre aux organismes du tiers secteur de déterminer dans quel type de rapport leur organisation se situe face à un établissement ou un organisme public avec lequel ils sont en relation (Savard et Proulx, 2011). Cet outil prend la forme d'un questionnaire auto-administrable comportant 35 questions qui peut être complété à

l'écran. Il s'appuie sur les mêmes paramètres que ceux développés par Coston, auxquels nous en avons ajouté un quatrième, à savoir l'intensité des relations entre les deux types d'organisation. Coston n'aborde cette dimension que très succinctement. Nous avons décidé d'y donner davantage d'importance car selon nous l'intensité des relations a une influence importante sur la dynamique des rapports entre deux partenaires. Les réponses aux questions sont cotées sur une échelle de type Lickert graduée de 1 à 5 et, en fonction du résultat obtenu pour chacun des paramètres à l'étude, permettent au répondant de déterminer le type de rapport dans lequel il se situe relatif à un établissement ou un organisme public donné[3].

Cette recherche s'est par ailleurs inscrite dans un exercice qui consistait à valider l'outil d'analyse des rapports à l'État. Pour procéder à cette validation, il a été estimé qu'une cinquantaine d'organismes serait suffisante étant donné que notre objectif n'était pas tant de généraliser des résultats à l'ensemble des organismes communautaires du Québec mais bien de dégager des pistes de réflexion à partir de portraits de relations issus de la perception de gestionnaires d'organismes communautaires. Par ailleurs, il apparaissait important que cette validation puisse se faire auprès d'organismes intervenant dans des secteurs d'activité diversifiés. Nous avons donc ciblé onze secteurs d'activité différents, dont huit dans le domaine de la santé et des services sociaux, à savoir :

- Les centres d'action bénévole;
- Les organismes intervenant dans le domaine de la déficience intellectuelle;
- Les organismes intervenant dans le domaine de la santé mentale;
- Les organismes intervenant auprès des familles;
- Les maisons des jeunes;
- Les organismes de justice alternative (jeunes contrevenants);
- Les organismes de travail de rue;
- Les maisons d'hébergement pour femmes victimes de violence conjugale.

Les trois autres secteurs ciblés ont été les Carrefours jeunesse-emploi (CJE), les services spécialisés de main d'œuvre (SSMO) pour personnes handicapées et les entreprises d'économie sociale en aide domestique (EESAD)[4]. Pour les organismes du domaine de la santé et des services sociaux et pour les SSMO, la cible était de quatre organismes par secteur d'activité alors que le nombre de CJE et d'EESAD visé était de huit. Dans certains cas, ce nombre a été dépassé, alors qu'il n'a pas pu être atteint dans d'autres.

Pour rejoindre ces organismes, nous avons pour l'essentiel utilisé nos contacts personnels dans les regroupements provinciaux, et parfois contacté directement certains organismes. Au total, sur les 54 organismes qui ont été sollicités, 52 ont complété le questionnaire. Ces 52 organismes provenaient par ailleurs de 15 régions différentes. Bien que notre but n'ait pas été d'obtenir un échantillon probabiliste, nous avons tout de même cherché à obtenir une certaine représentativité régionale, par exemple en sollicitant un plus grand nombre d'organismes dans la région de Montréal.

Les organismes répondant au questionnaire devaient choisir un établissement ou un organisme public (et un seul) avec lequel ils désiraient analyser leur relation. Bien entendu, selon leur secteur d'activité, les organismes sont en relation avec des établissements ou des organismes publics qui peuvent être différents, mais qui peuvent aussi parfois être les mêmes.

RÉSULTATS

Comme souligné précédemment, l'outil construit comportait quatre dimensions : l'ouverture au pluralisme institutionnel; l'intensité de la relation; le formalisme de la relation; et la symétrie des rapports de pouvoir. Voyons donc ce qui ressort pour chacune de ces dimensions.

L'ouverture au pluralisme institutionnel

L'ouverture au pluralisme institutionnel est définie comme étant « l'ouverture de l'établissement ou de l'organisme public face à l'existence d'un autre type d'organisation offrant des activités ou des services à la même catégorie de clientèle et pouvant entretenir des philosophies et des approches d'intervention différentes » (Savard et Proulx, 2011).

De l'avis des répondants, les établissements et les organismes publics semblent démontrer une assez grande ouverture face aux organismes du tiers secteur. Le Tableau 1 présente les résultats pour quelques indicateurs.

D'abord, on constate que les directions d'établissements ou d'organismes publics démontrent une assez bonne connaissance des organismes du tiers secteur. En effet, 77 % des répondants jugent que la direction de l'établissement ou de l'organisme public avec lequel ils sont en relation connaît plutôt bien, bien ou très bien la nature des activités de l'organisme. Ils sont un peu moins nombreux (64 %) à juger que la direction de l'établissement ou de l'organisme public avec lequel ils sont en relation connaît bien, plutôt bien ou très bien leurs modes de fonctionnement et d'intervention spécifiques. Toutefois, c'est dans une proportion de 85 % qu'ils considèrent que la direction de l'établissement ou de l'organisme public avec lequel ils sont en relation *respecte* plutôt bien, bien ou très bien leurs modes de fonctionnement et d'intervention spécifiques.

Tableau 1 : Quelques indicateurs d'ouverture au pluralisme institutionnel

	Pas du tout	**Peu**	**Plutôt bien**	**Bien**	**Très bien**
Connaissance des activités de l'organisme	0 %	23 %	35 %	27 %	15 %
Connaissance des modes de fonctionnement	8 %	29 %	35 %	21 %	8 %
Respect des modes de fonctionnement	0 %	15 %	46 %	29 %	10 %
Reconnaissance de la légitimité	0 %	6 %	15 %	39 %	40 %
Reconnaissance de l'expertise	0 %	12 %	37 %	35 %	17 %
	Très faible	**Faible**	**Modérée**	**Grande**	**Très grande**
Degré d'ouverture selon les répondants	0 %	10 %	52 %	33 %	6 %

Par ailleurs, il apparaît clairement que la légitimité des organismes du tiers secteur, c'est-à-dire leur droit d'offrir des services et des activités dans leur champ d'intervention, ne fait aucun doute aux yeux des organismes publics. En effet, 94 % des répondants au questionnaire jugent que la direction de

l'établissement ou de l'organisme public avec lequel ils sont en relation reconnaît la légitimité de leur action, soit plutôt bien, bien ou très bien. Les répondants jugent également dans une forte proportion (89 %) que la direction de l'établissement ou de l'organisme public avec lequel ils sont en relation reconnaît l'expertise qu'ils ont développée dans leur champ d'intervention.

Enfin, la recherche montre que la majorité des établissements et des organismes publics apportent différentes formes de soutien aux organismes. En effet, 73 % des organismes ayant répondu au questionnaire disent recevoir un soutien de la part de l'établissement ou de l'organisme public avec lequel ils sont en relation. Ce soutien prend la forme de prêts de locaux pour 13 % d'entre eux, de soutien professionnel (incluant les prêts de personnel) pour 42 % d'entre eux et de soutien financier pour 45 % d'entre eux[5]. Comme l'illustre le Tableau 2, ce soutien revêt toutefois une importance variable selon les organismes.

En somme, et bien que la situation vécue par chacun des organismes ayant participé à la recherche puisse varier, les résultats tendent globalement à montrer que les établissements et les organismes publics manifestent une assez grande ouverture envers les organismes du tiers secteur. Les répondants ne sont d'ailleurs que 10 % à qualifier cette ouverture de faible ou de très faible (Tableau 1). Ils sont par ailleurs 52 % à la qualifier de modérée, et 39 % à la qualifier de grande (33 %) ou de très grande (6 %). Ce qui semble certain par ailleurs, c'est que leur légitimité ne fait pas de doute aux yeux des établissements et des organismes publics, et que l'expertise qu'ils ont développée dans leur champ d'intervention est aussi largement reconnue.

Tableau 2 : Soutien apporté par l'organisme public

	Très faible	**Faible**	**Modérée**	**Grande**	**Très grande**
Importance accordée au soutien reçu	18 %	16 %	24 %	22 %	20 %
	Moins de 10 %	**10 % - 24 %**	**25 % - 49 %**	**50 % - 74 %**	**75 % et plus**
Proportion du soutien reçu sur le budget total	33 %	19 %	10 %	10 %	28 %

L'intensité des relations

Nous avons défini l'intensité des relations comme étant « le nombre et la fréquence des activités, que celles-ci soient formelles ou informelles, que l'organisme du tiers secteur a avec un établissement ou un organisme public » (Savard et Proulx, 2011).

Des résultats, il se dégage une intensité de relation plutôt élevée entre les organismes ayant participé à la recherche et les établissements et organismes publics. C'est ainsi que près des deux tiers des répondants (62 %) soutiennent avoir au moins une interaction par semaine avec l'établissement ou l'organisme public qu'ils ont choisi pour analyser la nature de leur relation. Ces interactions peuvent prendre plusieurs formes.

Ainsi, comme l'illustre le Tableau 3, 44 % des répondants affirment communiquer souvent ou très souvent de l'information concernant un usager à l'établissement ou à l'organisme public avec lequel ils sont en relation. C'est dans des proportions semblables (46 %) que l'établissement ou l'organisme public communique souvent ou très souvent à l'organisme de l'information concernant un usager. Dans le même ordre d'idée, 79 % des organismes affirment avoir eu au moins une discussion de cas avec un intervenant de l'établissement

ou de l'organisme public avec lequel ils sont en relation au cours des trois derniers mois. Ils en ont eu entre une et trois pour la majorité d'entre eux, mais 21 % des organismes disent en avoir eu au moins onze. En ce qui a trait aux références entre les deux organisations, très peu d'organismes, qu'ils soient publics ou communautaires, disent ne jamais référer d'usagers à l'autre organisation (10 % et 12 % respectivement). Il est toutefois intéressant de noter que, selon les répondants, c'est dans une proportion qui va du simple au double que les établissements publics réfèrent souvent ou très souvent des usagers aux organismes communautaires (59 % contre 24 %).

Enfin, un autre indicateur permettant de mesurer l'intensité des relations entre les deux types d'organisation a trait à la participation conjointe à des réunions ou à des rencontres de travail. Sur cet aspect, 79 % des répondants affirment avoir tenu de telles rencontres avec l'établissement ou l'organisme public avec lequel ils sont en relation au cours des trois derniers mois (Tableau 4). Plus de la moitié (56 %) disent en avoir tenues entre une et trois, tandis que 17 % disent en avoir tenu entre quatre et six, et 6 % entre 7 et 10. Par ailleurs, 81 % des répondants disent avoir participé, au cours des deux dernières années, à des activités ou à des projets conjoints avec l'établissement ou l'organisme public avec lequel ils sont en relation.

Tableau 3 : Quelques indicateurs quant à l'intensité des relations

	Jamais	**Rarement**	**Parfois**	**Souvent**	**Très souvent**
L'organisme communique de l'information à l'établissement	14 %	23 %	19 %	29 %	15 %
L'établissement communique de l'information à l'organisme	15 %	15 %	23 %	29 %	17 %
L'organisme réfère un usager à l'établissement	12 %	17 %	48 %	14 %	10 %
L'établissement réfère un usager à l'organisme	10 %	17 %	19 %	21 %	38 %
	Aucune	**1 à 3**	**4 à 6**	**7 à 10**	**11 ou +**
Discussions de cas au cours des trois derniers mois	21 %	40 %	8 %	10 %	21 %

Comme on peut le constater, les résultats montrent une intensité des relations assez élevée entre les organismes du tiers secteur et les organismes publics. Les répondants la jugent quant à eux « modérée » dans une proportion de 52 %, et « grande » dans une proportion de 33 %. Ils ne sont que 10 % à la juger faible ou très faible.

Tableau 4 : Participation à des réunions ou des activités conjointes

	Aucune	**1 à 3**	**4 à 6**	**7 à 10**	**11 ou +**
Réunions ou rencontres de travail au cours des trois derniers mois	21 %	56 %	17 %	6 %	0 %
	Aucune	**Une**	**Deux**	**Trois**	**4 ou +**
Activités ou projets conjoints au cours des deux dernières années	19 %	27 %	29 %	10 %	15 %
	Très faible	**Faible**	**Modérée**	**Grande**	**Très grande**
Degré d'intensité des relations selon les répondants	6 %	4 %	52 %	33 %	6 %

Le formalisme des relations

Le degré de formalisme des relations est défini par « la présence ou non de structures de concertation, de mécanismes de liaison ou de collaboration (tables de concertation, lieux d'échange, comités de travail, comités cliniques, etc.) entre les deux organisations, qui peuvent être plus ou moins permanentes, ou encore par la présence ou non d'ententes, de contrats ou de protocoles liant les deux organisations » (Savard et Proulx, 2011).

À cet égard, les réponses données par les répondants montrent globalement des relations qui ont un caractère davantage formel qu'informel. En effet, 41 % des répondants soutiennent entretenir des relations le plus souvent formelles (33 %) ou toujours formelles (8 %) avec l'établissement ou l'organisme public avec lequel ils sont en relation. À l'inverse, seulement 17 % des répondants disent entretenir des relations le plus souvent informelles ou toujours informelles. Par ailleurs, 42 % des organismes disent entretenir des relations qui sont à la fois formelles et informelles. Le Tableau 5 illustre le type de mécanisme de liaison qui existe entre les organismes du tiers secteur et les organismes publics.

Tableau 5 : Mécanismes de liaison entre les organismes du tiers secteur et les organismes publics

Type de mécanisme de liaison	%
Aucun mécanisme de liaison	8 %
Échanges surtout de façon informelle	21 %
Comité de concertation qui ne se réunit qu'au besoin (« ad hoc »)	12 %
Un ou des comités qui se réunissent de façon régulière sur des objets spécifiques	48 %
Comité de concertation permanent qui se réunit de façon statutaire	12 %

Ainsi, on constate que 60 % des répondants (31 organismes) disent avoir un ou des comités avec l'établissement ou l'organisme public avec lequel ils sont en relation qui se réunissent de façon régulière. Pour 12 % d'entre eux, il s'agit d'un comité de concertation permanent qui se réunit de façon statutaire. En revanche, 21 % des organismes disent échanger surtout de façon informelle, tandis que 8 % disent n'avoir aucun mécanisme de liaison avec l'établissement ou l'organisme public avec lequel ils sont en relation. Pour les organismes qui ont un comité de concertation, qu'il soit permanent ou ponctuel, la majorité (63 %) affirme s'être réunis entre trois et sept fois au cours de l'année précédente, tandis que 16 % disent s'être réunis au moins huit fois.

Tableau 6 : Entente ou protocole entre les organismes du tiers secteur et les organismes publics

Type d'entente ou de protocole	%
Se limite à définir les modalités de collaboration	3 %
Précise les rôles et responsabilités des deux organisations, mais sans contrepartie financière (entente de collaboration)	43 %
Précise les rôles et responsabilités attendus de l'organisme du tiers secteur et les modalités de financement (entente de services)	52 %
Précise que l'organisme est tenu de réserver un certain nombre de places à des personnes référées par l'organisme public	3 %

Par ailleurs, pour 77 % des organismes (40 organismes), leur relation avec l'établissement ou l'organisme public est encadrée par une forme d'entente ou de protocole. Pour 3 % d'entre eux (Tableau 6), cette entente se limite à définir les modalités de collaboration entre les deux organisations (par exemple, échange d'informations, références, fréquence des rencontres d'échange et de concertation, etc.). Mais pour les autres, cette entente a un caractère plus formel. Pour 43 % d'entre eux, l'entente précise les rôles et les responsabilités de chacune des deux organisations eu égard à leur clientèle commune, mais sans contrepartie financière (entente de collaboration). Pour 52 % d'entre eux, il s'agit d'une entente de services en bonne et due forme, c'est-à-dire qu'elle précise les rôles et les responsabilités de l'organisme communautaire eu égard à leur clientèle commune, ainsi que les modalités de financement qui sont rattachées à cette prestation de services. Ce dernier résultat est important car il fait ressortir une utilisation des contrats de services beaucoup plus importante que celle que les recherches antérieures avaient dégagée. Est-ce parce que les ententes de services gagnent en importance et en popularité? Est-ce que cette différence s'explique par l'utilisation d'un échantillon non représentatif dans notre recherche? Il sera intéressant de vérifier ce phénomène dans des recherches ultérieures.

Sur ces 40 organismes qui ont une forme ou une autre d'entente avec l'établissement public, celle-ci concerne l'ensemble des activités de l'organisme ou une partie importante de celles-ci pour 78 % d'entre eux. Pour les autres (22 %), elle ne concerne qu'une partie peu importante des activités de l'organisme.

Dans l'ensemble, on peut conclure à des relations plutôt formelles entre les organismes du tiers secteur et les établissements et organismes publics, même si des relations plus informelles existent aussi. Les deux tiers des répondants évaluent quant à eux le degré de formalisme de leur relation de modéré (43 %) à élevé (24 %). Six organismes seulement le jugent très élevé (6 %), tandis que 28 % le jugent faible (18 %) ou très faible (10 %). Par ailleurs, il est intéressant de noter que le fait d'avoir une entente ou un protocole transcende tous les secteurs d'activités, bien que, comme on pouvait s'y attendre, les SSMO, les CJE et les EESAD soient proportionnellement plus nombreux à avoir une telle entente.

La symétrie des rapports de pouvoir

La symétrie des rapports de pouvoir est définie comme étant « la capacité des organismes du tiers secteur et des établissements et organismes publics à influencer et à déterminer la nature et l'orientation du partenariat de même que des services offerts à une population commune. Lorsque les deux types d'organisation ont une capacité d'influence et de prise de décision égale, on peut parler d'un type de relation symétrique » (Savard et Proulx, 2011).

Tableau 7 : Perception de l'influence exercée face aux organismes publics

	Très faible	Faible	Modérée	Forte	Très forte
Capacité des organismes du tiers secteur à influencer les décisions lors de réunions	15 %	8 %	44 %	31 %	2 %
Capacité des organismes publics à influencer les décisions lors de réunions	0 %	10 %	35 %	48 %	8 %

Or, lorsque les répondants au questionnaire participent à des réunions ou à des rencontres de travail avec l'établissement ou l'organisme public avec lequel ils sont en relation, ou encore à des activités ou à des projets conjoints, ils jugent, pour 75 % d'entre eux, qu'ils exercent une influence forte (31 %) ou modérée (44

%). Ils jugent toutefois que l'établissement ou l'organisme public avec lequel ils sont en relation a, dans de telles circonstances, une influence tout aussi forte (35 %) ou modérée (48 %), et même que celui-ci possède en fait un léger avantage (83 % contre 75 %). Moins du quart des répondants jugent leur influence faible (8 %) ou très faible (15 %).

Il semble par ailleurs qu'une bonne proportion des organismes souhaiterait qu'on les consulte plus souvent lors de la planification de politiques, de programmes ou de plans d'action touchant leur clientèle commune (Tableau 8). En effet, un peu plus de la moitié des répondants soutiennent que l'établissement ou l'organisme public avec lequel ils sont en relation ne les consulte jamais (17 %) ou rarement (39 %). À l'opposé, 45 % soutiennent que l'établissement ou l'organisme public les consulte. Par ailleurs, lorsqu'ils sont consultés sur de telles politiques ou programmes, les organismes se disent nombreux à participer. Selon les répondants, ils le font dans une proportion de 58 %. Leur influence en de telles circonstances apparaît cependant mitigée. En effet, 56 % d'entre eux estiment qu'ils influencent rarement (48 %) ou jamais (8 %) la nature des programmes ou des politiques sur lesquels ils sont consultés. En revanche, 44 % des répondants disent qu'ils les influencent souvent (25 %), très souvent (17 %) ou toujours (2 %).

Tableau 8 : Consultation et influence sur les programmes et les politiques

	Jamais	Rarement	Souvent	Très souvent	Toujours
Lors de la planification de programmes ou de politiques, l'organisme public consulte	17 %	39 %	33 %	8 %	4 %
Lors de telles planifications, l'organisme du tiers secteur participe	10 %	33 %	23 %	25 %	10 %
Lors de telles planifications, l'organisme du tiers secteur influence	8 %	48 %	25 %	17 %	2 %

Globalement, les résultats semblent montrer que les organismes du tiers secteur exercent une certaine influence dans leurs relations aux établissements et aux organismes publics, même si elle apparaît plus faible lorsqu'il est question d'influencer les politiques ou les programmes. Malgré cela, lorsqu'ils sont interrogés sur le degré de symétrie de leur rapport de pouvoir avec l'établissement ou l'organisme public avec lequel ils sont en relation, ils sont beaucoup plus nombreux à le juger faible (42 %) ou très faible (10 %) qu'à le juger élevé (17 %) ou très élevé (0 %). Ils sont par ailleurs 30 % à le juger modéré.

Les types de rapport aux établissements et organismes publics

Enfin, au terme de l'exercice, les répondants étaient invités à identifier, en fonction de leurs réponses aux questions, dans quel type de rapport leur organisme se situait face à l'établissement ou l'organisme public choisi pour faire l'exercice. Le Tableau 9 présente un sommaire des résultats obtenus par les répondants au questionnaire.

Ainsi, on constate d'abord que la moitié des répondants en sont arrivés à un rapport de supplémentarité. Ce résultat n'apparaît pas étonnant dans la mesure où le rapport de supplémentarité, par définition, correspond à bien des égards à la réalité des organismes du secteur de la santé et des services sociaux financés dans le cadre du programme SOC : une réponse « supplémentaire » aux services publics, déterminée par les usagers eux-mêmes (services autogérés) et soutenue par la communauté, mais pour laquelle l'État en reconnaît la légitimité et accepte de la soutenir en partie (Young, 2000). Il est par ailleurs intéressant de constater que ce ne sont pas seulement des organismes du secteur de la santé et des services sociaux qui

ont conclu à un rapport de supplémentarité. En effet, on retrouve également, notamment, trois SSMO pour personnes handicapées et trois Carrefours jeunesse-emploi.

Tableau 9 : Résultat obtenu quant au type de rapport à l'organisme public

Type de rapport	Nombre[6]	%
Compétition	0	0
Sous-traitance	3	9 %
Tiers parti	1	3 %
Coexistence	2	6 %
Supplémentarité	17	52 %
Coconstruction	4	12 %
Hybride Supplémentarité/coexistence	4	12 %
Hybride Supplémentarité/Coconstruction	1	3 %
Hybride Compétition/coexistence	1	3 %
TOTAL	**33**	**100 %**

Par ailleurs, quatre organismes ont conclu à un rapport de coconstruction. Il s'agit d'un organisme intervenant en déficience intellectuelle (en relation avec le centre de réadaptation), d'un organisme intervenant auprès des jeunes contrevenants (en relation avec le centre jeunesse), d'un organisme de travail de rue (en relation avec la municipalité) et d'une EESAD (en relation avec le CSSS). Comme on peut le constater, il s'agit d'organismes très différents les uns des autres, ce qui laisse à penser que ce type de rapport transcende les secteurs d'intervention et qu'il tient sans doute davantage aux acteurs en place qui ont su, avec le temps, établir cette relation relativement égalitaire et empreinte de réciprocité. En plus de ces quatre organismes, on peut noter aussi qu'un autre organisme est arrivé à un rapport « hybride » se situant à mi-chemin entre le rapport de supplémentarité et le rapport de Coconstruction.

Un fait qui peut surprendre est que, sur les 33 questionnaires valides, seulement trois répondants ont identifié un rapport de sous-traitance, soient deux Carrefours jeunesse-emploi et une EESAD. On peut noter enfin que nous n'avons trouvé que deux rapports de coexistence, un seul rapport de tiers parti et aucun rapport de compétition.

En somme, on constate que, dans le secteur de la santé et des services sociaux (en excluant ici les EESAD), on se situe, dans une large mesure, dans un rapport de supplémentarité avec les établissements publics. On trouvera par ailleurs un rapport de Coconstruction dans les cas où les organismes ont développé une relation plus intense et plus formelle avec l'établissement public, tout en conservant un rapport de pouvoir élevé face à l'établissement public. À l'inverse, lorsque la relation est moins intense et moins formelle, on trouvera un rapport de coexistence (deux cas) ou un rapport « hybride » situé à mi-chemin entre le rapport de coexistence et le rapport de supplémentarité (quatre cas). Il est par ailleurs intéressant de constater que le rapport de supplémentarité n'est pas l'apanage des organismes du secteur de la santé et des services sociaux. Comme nous l'avons vu, on le retrouve également chez les SSMO pour personnes handicapées, chez les Carrefours Jeunesse-emploi et chez les EESAD.

DISCUSSION

Les résultats de cette recherche tranchent de façon importante avec les études qui ont été menées dans les années 1990, et viennent confirmer, dans une bonne mesure, les recherches menées après 2003.

En effet, les études réalisées dans les années 1990 montraient des relations difficiles et tendues entre les organismes communautaires et les établissements publics, des relations dans lesquelles les organismes communautaires se sentaient peu respectés dans leur identité et dans leurs façons de faire. On peut penser que cette attitude de la part des établissements et des organismes publics à l'égard des organismes communautaires tenait en bonne partie à une méconnaissance de ces nouveaux acteurs avec lesquels ils devaient dorénavant collaborer. Or, nous avons vu dans cette étude que les établissements publics connaissent beaucoup mieux aujourd'hui les organismes communautaires, et c'est dans une proportion de 85 % que ceux-ci disent se sentir respectés dans leurs modes de fonctionnement par les établissements et les organismes publics. Fait sans doute encore plus significatif, nous avons vu comment, de l'avis des répondants, leur légitimité n'est plus aujourd'hui mise en doute et comment on reconnaît l'expertise qu'ils ont développée dans leurs domaines d'intervention.

L'étude montre également à quel point les échanges ont augmenté entre les organismes communautaires et les établissements publics. À l'évidence, ces échanges se sont également beaucoup formalisés. En effet, non seulement les organismes communautaires participent-ils massivement à différents comités ou instances de concertation avec les organismes publics, mais pas moins de 75 % des organismes ayant participé à l'étude disent avoir une forme ou une autre d'entente ou de protocole avec un organisme public. Mais cette formalisation des rapports ne se traduit pas forcément, comme nous l'avons vu, par des rapports de sous-traitance. Au contraire, il semble bien que, de façon générale, nous soyons bien loin ici d'une instrumentalisation des organismes communautaires par les établissements publics.

En somme, ce qui ressort de cette étude, c'est que les organismes communautaires semblent jouir aujourd'hui d'une beaucoup plus grande reconnaissance de la part des établissements et des organismes publics, une reconnaissance qui se traduit par un plus grand respect de leur identité et de leur contribution. Contrairement à ce qui pouvait se passer dans les années 1990 où, selon l'avis de bon nombre d'établissements publics, les organismes communautaires arrivaient un peu de nulle part et apparaissaient un peu comme des anachronismes dans le paysage, on voit que les organismes communautaires ont aujourd'hui pris leur place et qu'ils sont davantage respectés comme tels.

Cette plus grande reconnaissance se traduit également par des rapports qui apparaissent beaucoup plus égalitaires. Nous avons vu en effet que c'est dans une forte proportion que les organismes communautaires considèrent avoir une certaine influence auprès des organismes publics dans le cadre de leurs rapports, même si, selon eux, celle-ci apparaît plus faible lorsqu'il s'agit d'influencer les politiques ou les programmes touchant les communautés qu'ils desservent conjointement. À cet égard, il est intéressant de noter qu'il est bien possible que les organismes communautaires sous-estiment l'influence qu'ils exercent auprès des établissements publics. En effet, lorsqu'ils sont interrogés à ce sujet, cette influence se situerait, selon les répondants, entre faible et modérée, ce qui ne correspond pas aux réponses qu'ils ont fournies aux questions traitant de cet aspect. Cette perception ne se reflète pas non plus dans les résultats quant au type de rapport qu'ils entretiennent, globalement, avec les établissements et les organismes publics. En effet, un faible degré de symétrie des rapports de pouvoir, combiné aux autres dimensions à l'étude, nous conduirait vers des rapports soit de compétition, soit de sous-traitance, soit de coexistence. Or, comme nous l'avons vu, ces trois types de rapport ne sont pas beaucoup ressortis au final. Les recherches de Savard et coll.

(2008 et 2010) tendent également à montrer que les organismes communautaires sous-estiment l'influence qu'ils exercent auprès des établissements publics, ces derniers ayant une perception beaucoup plus positive de l'influence qu'exercent les organismes communautaires sur eux.

En somme, pris globalement, le rapport de supplémentarité, fortement majoritaire dans les résultats, reflète sans doute assez bien la tendance générale, à tout le moins pour les organismes intervenant dans le domaine de la santé et des services sociaux. Le fait que nous ayons trouvé très peu de rapports de sous-traitance témoigne sans doute d'un type de relation particulier qui, avec les années, s'est installé au Québec entre les organismes communautaires et les instances publiques, un type de relation marqué par une reconnaissance réelle de l'apport des organismes communautaires dans leur champ d'intervention, de leur légitimité en tant qu'acteur (les résultats sont plutôt éloquents à cet égard) et par une type de rapport qui, sans être symétrique, ne s'inscrit pas pour autant dans l'asservissement et dans le pur utilitarisme, mais dans une certaine réciprocité.

C'est d'ailleurs en substance ce qui ressort de l'étude de Chartrand et coll., qui ont comparé le mode de relation entre l'État et les organismes du tiers secteur entre le Québec et la Saskatchewan. Ainsi, en Saskatchewan, le rapport serait caractérisé par une faible reconnaissance des organismes du tiers secteur ainsi que par la sous-traitance, contrairement au Québec où les organismes du tiers secteur jouiraient d'une forte reconnaissance et où le rapport serait également plus institutionnalisé dans un modèle qui se rapprocherait davantage de la « coproduction ». Le « modèle » québécois se démarquerait également de ce que l'on retrouve en Ontario, en Alberta et au Nouveau-Brunswick, où le rapport serait davantage empreint d'une « logique marchande ou quasi-marchande » et où c'est le bénévolat qui serait valorisé dans une « perception caritative » des organismes du tiers secteur (Chartrand et al. 2005, pp. 34–35). On peut penser que, dans le secteur de la santé et des services sociaux à tout le moins, l'augmentation importante du financement accordé aux organismes communautaires dans le cadre du programme SOC au cours des ans les a rendus moins vulnérables aux ententes de services. Jetté soutient d'ailleurs que le programme SOC constitue « une pièce maîtresse du modèle québécois de développement social » en ce qu'il permet justement aux organismes communautaires « de se prémunir, jusqu'à un certain point, contre les dérives tutélaires de l'État » (Jetté, 2008, p. 354).

Par ailleurs, si le rapport de supplémentarité représente plus de la moitié des types de rapport qui sont ressortis de cette recherche, on doit constater aussi qu'une variété de types de rapport existe au Québec. En fait, si le rapport de supplémentarité constitue sans doute le type dominant chez les organismes du secteur de la santé et des services sociaux, la situation se présente différemment dans les autres secteurs étudiés. D'ailleurs, dans le seul secteur du développement de l'employabilité, dans lequel plus de 300 organismes interviendraient au Québec, Shields soutient qu'il existe différents types de rapport aux organismes publics, une variété qui tiendrait, en partie du moins, à la diversité des cadres de financement (Shields, 2006, p. 36).

CONCLUSION

Dans cet article, nous avons présenté les résultats d'une recherche réalisée à partir de données colligées dans le contexte de la validation d'un outil créé dans l'optique de permettre à des représentants d'organismes communautaires d'analyser et d'évaluer les relations qu'ils entretiennent avec un partenaire du secteur public. À partir des réponses fournies par 52 représentants d'organismes communautaires évoluant dans différents secteurs d'intervention des services publics, nous avons pu faire un certain nombre de constatations.

Nous avons pu établir que les relations entre les acteurs du secteur public et du secteur communautaire semblent s'être améliorées depuis 25 ans, époque où les premières études sur les relations entre les deux groupes ont commencé à abonder au Québec. Il semble en effet que les organismes communautaires ont gagné leurs lettres de noblesse, car leur importance, leur expertise et leur légitimité sont maintenant chose entendue. La culture de la concertation paraît bien établie dans les communautés, et le respect mutuel, sans être immuable, est généralement présent lorsque les établissements publics et les organismes communautaires doivent collaborer. Sans que l'on puisse qualifier nécessairement les rapports d'égalitaire, la reconnaissance du milieu communautaire passe également par une contribution et une capacité d'influences importantes sur les paramètres qui vont définir les ententes avec les établissements publics. Il semble par contre que les organismes communautaires soient davantage reconnus pour leur compétence et leur indispensabilité dans la fourniture de services directs à la population, et moins comme des observateurs crédibles ou des experts pouvant contribuer à l'élaboration de politiques publiques s'adressant à un ensemble qui dépasse leur clientèle immédiate. Les expériences de coconstruction des politiques entourant la création des centres de la petite enfance et des entreprises d'économie sociale en aide domestique relèveraient donc davantage de l'exception que de la règle.

Ainsi, les résultats suggèrent que, depuis l'adoption de la Loi 120 jusqu'à aujourd'hui, les organismes communautaires, ceux du domaine de la santé et des services sociaux à tout le moins, sont passés de la coexistence à la supplémentarité. Il faut cependant rappeler que l'échantillon à partir duquel les résultats ont été obtenus n'était que probabiliste. De ce fait, nous ne pouvons prétendre à une représentativité statistique. Il faut donc comprendre que les résultats sont davantage des pistes de réflexion qui demanderaient à être validées ou nuancées par d'autres recherches réalisées à partir d'échantillons probabilistes aléatoires ou empiriques. Il serait ainsi intéressant de pouvoir reprendre l'exercice avec l'outil auquel nous avons maintenant apporté les corrections nécessaires, mais avec un plus large échantillon d'organismes afin de pouvoir mettre en évidence une plus grande variété de types de rapports qui, selon les secteurs d'intervention, présenteraient sans doute des caractéristiques particulières. Il serait également éclairant de mener une recherche avec un outil similaire, mais cette fois auprès d'un échantillon composé de représentants d'établissements publics évoluant dans différents secteurs d'intervention de l'action publique. Cela nous permettrait de comparer la perception des acteurs du secteur public avec ceux du milieu communautaire qui, comme nous l'avons vu, peuvent présenter des différences.

Somme toute, nous croyons que cette recherche ajoute sa contribution aux efforts menés par la communauté scientifique pour comprendre la nature et l'évolution des relations entre l'État et la société civile organisée. Les organismes communautaires sont un véhicule fondamental pour favoriser la participation citoyenne dans l'identification des besoins et la recherche de solutions adaptées aux réalités locales. Il est donc important de continuer à investir ce champ de recherche qui est actuellement dans une période de transition importante.

NOTES

1. Plusieurs appellations ont cours pour désigner ce secteur d'activité régi sous la forme d'organisation à but non lucratif, et qui peut englober, selon les pays, des réalités différentes : « nonprofit sector »; « voluntary sector »; « nongovernmental organization »; « charitable association »; « third sector », etc. Aux fins des présentes, nous utiliserons l'expression « tiers secteur » pour désigner tout organisme à but non lucratif (OBNL) issu de la communauté, incluant les organismes communautaires, autonomes et, au sens large, les associations de bénévoles, les coopératives, les entreprises de l'économie sociale, etc.

2. Les rapports public/communautaire ont été surtout étudiés dans le domaine de la santé et des services sociaux. Ce qui suit est donc limité à ce domaine et même, dans une large mesure, aux domaines des services de soutien à domicile et de la santé mentale puisque, jusqu'aux années 1990, c'est surtout dans ces deux domaines que les expériences de partenariat public/communautaire ont été vécues.
3. On trouvera le questionnaire à l'adresse suivante, www.larepps.uqam.ca, sous la rubrique « Outil ».
4. Bien que les EESAD interviennent dans le domaine de la santé et des services sociaux, nous en avons fait une catégorie à part puisqu'elles ont un historique et un mode de financement différents des organismes soutenus dans le cadre du Programme SOC.
5. À noter ici que les répondants étaient invités à cocher une seule réponse, soit celle correspondant au niveau de soutien le plus élevé. Ces données n'excluent donc pas qu'un organisme reçoive plus d'un type de soutien de la part de l'établissement ou de l'organisme public.
6. Sur cette question, sur les 52 questionnaires complétés, les résultats ont été jugés valides pour 33 d'entre eux. Seules les données des 33 questionnaires valides ont été compilées sur cet aspect du type de rapport.

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Community Development to Feed the Family in Northern Manitoba Communities: Evaluating Food Activities Based on Their Food Sovereignty, Food Security, and Sustainable Livelihood Outcomes

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ABSTRACT

This article explores food-related activities and their impacts on sustainable livelihood assets, food sovereignty, and food security, and provides insight for future food-related community development. Analysis is based on community food assessments conducted in 14 Northern Manitoba communities and included a food security survey, price survey, and interviews. The lack of community control over development in First Nation and other Northern remote and rural communities in Northern Manitoba is found to undermine both food sovereignty and sustainable livelihoods, while creating high levels of food insecurity. According to logit models, sharing country foods increases food sovereignty and sustainable livelihoods, and has a stronger relationship to food security than either road access to retail stores in urban centres or increased competition between stores. The model predicts that rates of food insecurity for a community with a country foods program and with access to public transit and roads at 95% would be lower than the Canadian average of 92%.

RÉSUMÉ

Cet article explore les activités relatives à l'alimentation et leur impact sur les biens durables ainsi que sur la souveraineté et la sécurité alimentaires tout en ouvrant des perspectives sur le développement communautaire futur relatif à l'alimentation. L'analyse se fonde sur une recherche menée dans quatorze communautés du nord du Manitoba et comprend un premier sondage sur la sécurité alimentaire, un second sondage sur les prix, et des entrevues. Le manque de contrôle du développement dans les communautés reculées du nord du Manitoba, tant autochtones que non-autochtones, mine à la fois la souveraineté alimentaire et les moyens

d'existence durables tout en provoquant de hauts niveaux d'insécurité alimentaire. Selon un modèle Logit, le partage d'aliments locaux permet une souveraineté alimentaire et une autonomie durable tout en ayant un meilleur impact sur la sécurité alimentaire que celui obtenu par l'accès routier aux supermarchés des centres urbains ou par une concurrence accrue entre détaillants. Le modèle indique même que les taux d'insécurité alimentaire pour une communauté rurale ayant un programme de nourriture locale et l'accès au transport en commun seraient, à 95%, inférieurs à la moyenne canadienne de 92%.

Keywords / Mots clés : Food-related economic development; Community economic development; Food sovereignty; First Nations; Country foods; Sustainable livelihoods; Food security / Développement économique alimentaire; Développement économique communautaire; Souveraineté alimentaire; Premières Nations; Aliments locaux; Moyens d'existence durables; Sécurité alimentaire

INTRODUCTION

What can be done to sustain and feed communities in Northern Manitoba, where families are poor and retail food prices are extremely high? Problems associated with food access in remote fly-in communities in Manitoba include limited selection of perishable foods, high food prices, escalating transportation costs, uncertainty of travel on winter ice roads, high poverty rates, and a declining use of local country foods (Northern Food Prices Project Steering Committee [NFPSC], 2003; Thompson et al., 2011a, 2011b). The re-invigoration of local food production is considered key to food access (NFPSC, 2003). Community-based food action is one possible response to tackle food insecurity, alongside business activities, government programs, and social policy (Power, 1999; Power & Tarasuk, 2006).

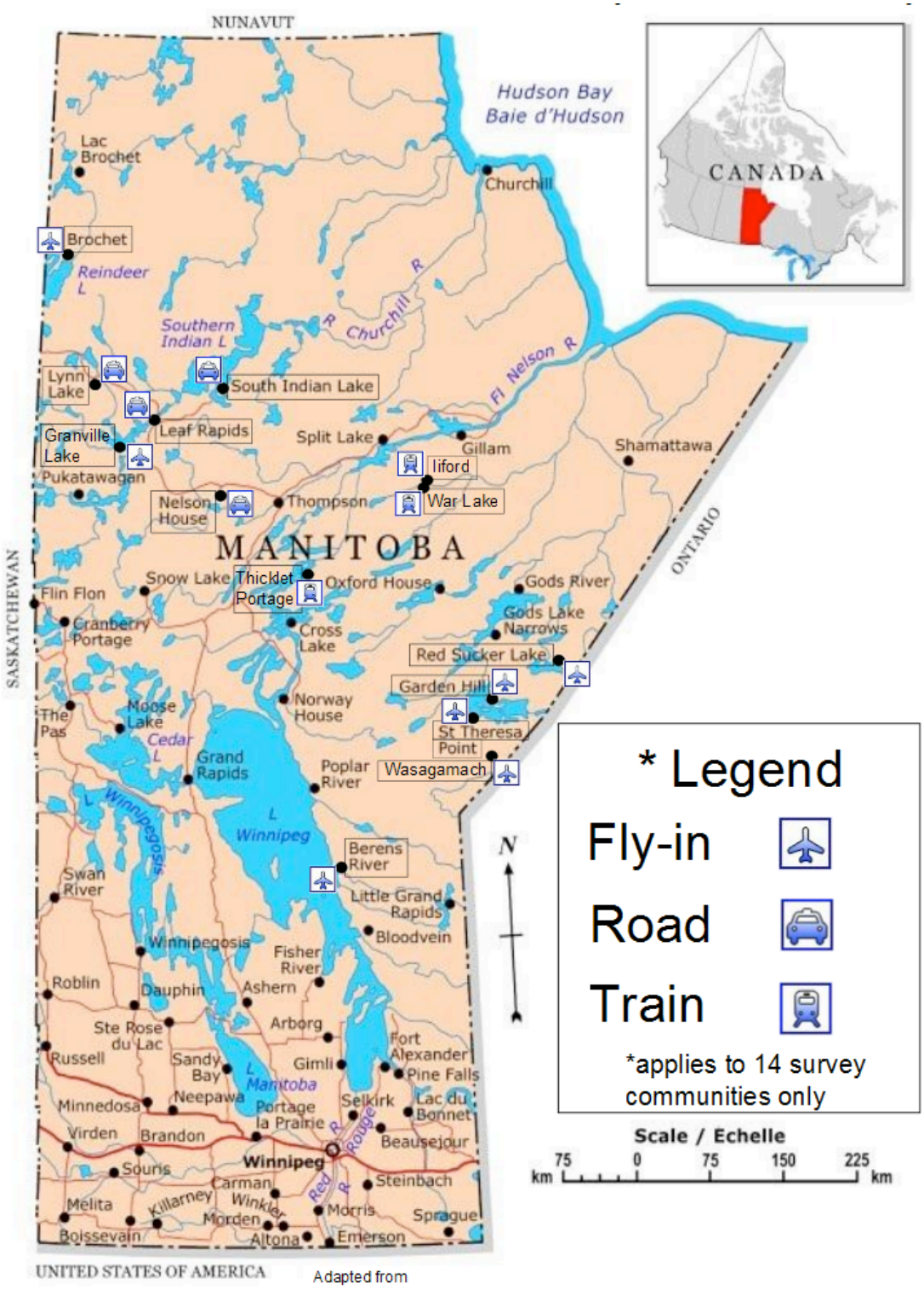
This study evaluates food activities in 14 different fly-in or rural communities in Northern Manitoba (see Figure 1), with the goal of informing future community and policy development. This evaluation considers food sovereignty, food security, and community assets for sustainable livelihoods resulting from each food activity, including corporate, government, and community-driven food activities. Indigenous peoples refers to all people who have an historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories.

The term "Aboriginal" applied in this article is a Canadian term that includes First Nation (FN), Metis, and Inuit peoples, and in this article refers to the Anishinaabe, Oji-Cree, Cree, Dene and Metis peoples in the 14 Northern Manitoba communities. These communities include First Nation reserves, which are regulated and funded by the federal government, and non-reserve communities, which are regulated and funded provincially by Manitoba's Department of Aboriginal and Northern Affairs (ANA) and are referred to as ANA communities.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Douglas describes community development (CD) as "communities addressing problems and opportunities, on their own behalf, which they perceive to be of importance to their quality of life or their community's viability" (1994, p. 10). "Community" is a geographical term that considers infrastructure, services, expertise, the availability of natural resources, and vulnerabilities in a given locale. Food related CD builds local capacity or livelihood assets to resolve issues of poverty, hunger, and inequality (Shragge, 2003) through a "participatory, bottom-up approach to development" (Markey, Pierce, Vodden, & Roseland, 2005, p. 2). Self-sufficiency, decision-making, and ownership (Loxley, 1986) are key to CD and, in the context of food activities, point to the need for food sovereignty. Douglas (1994) raises many questions about CD that are pertinent to this analysis, namely: what is being developed, by whom, how is it being developed, and on whose behalf? When looking at food activities, these questions become: how does this activity impact food security, food sovereignty, and community assets for sustainable livelihoods?

Figure 1: Location of communities surveyed in Northern Manitoba



Adapted from
http://atlas.nrcan.gc.ca/auth/english/maps/reference/provincesterritories/manitoba/map.jp

Community food projects often include the development of practical economic alternatives to the prevailing corporate food production and provisioning system (Sonnino & Marsden, 2006). For example, British Columbia's Community Food Action Initiative requires each Health Authority to work with communities in their jurisdiction to develop Food Security Plans (BC Health, 2012). Plans detail financial support for community-led solutions that include community gardens, farmers' markets, community planning initiatives, supports for local food production, healthy food for public buildings, creation of community capacity, community food assessments, and the development of local food charters and policies (BC Health, 2012). Such programming encourages socially equitable and ecologically sound practices (Feenstra, 1997) by reducing the "food miles" between producers and consumers (Shragge, 2003) and enabling the poor and underprivileged consumers to be producers to resolve their own food security. In contrast, the free market system excludes poor people in terms of access and control, thus creating dependency rather than self-sufficiency (Wiebe, 2012). Successful food system interventions in Indigenous communities (Kuhnlein, 2008) around the globe have four common characteristics: 1) traditional food harvesting, 2) agricultural and gardening activities, 3) education about food production and nutrition, and 4) growing community food plans through collaboration.

INDIGENOUS COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

According to Winona LaDuke (2002), development in Indigenous communities should be based on the Indigenous concept of Minobimaatisiiwin, an Anishinaabe (also known as Ojibway or Chippeway) word signifying "good life" or "continuous rebirth" (p. 79). Indigenous development requires an Indigenous worldview that considers cyclical thinking, reciprocal relations, and responsibilities to the earth, creation, and decentralization (Ballard, 2012). To be holistic, Indigenous development must consider physical, governance, and economic aspects, but also the people themselves, animals and water (Wiebe, 2012). Any type of development project should therefore incorporate Indigenous knowledge in the design, implementation, and review stages. According to Wiebe (interview, 2012), a FN community developer, "[t]he day that Aboriginal people take control of their own community planning and governance is the day that we will begin to see positive changes."

The Arctic Co-operatives Limited supports Indigenous development, namely through 31 community-based businesses in Nunavut and the Northwest Territories (Arctic Co-operatives Limited, 2012). The 31 Co-operatives are independently owned and operated, employing 900 people in grocery stores, retail sales, arts and crafts production, and other businesses, in order to meet the needs of the Inuit and Dene communities in which they are based. Arctic Co-operatives has its head-office in Winnipeg, Manitoba, but has generally not done business in Manitoba except for one unsuccessful grocery store in one Northern Manitoban community.

FOOD SECURITY

Food security occurs "when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life" (FAO, 1996, p. 1). The five universal pillars of food security include availability, accessibility, acceptability, adequacy, and action, but a sixth pillar, country food harvesting and sharing, is also considered important in Indigenous communities (Power, 2008).

Food insecurity is a consequence of inadequate or uncertain access to healthy food in terms of quantity or quality, and is most often associated with poverty (Tarasuk, 2009). Food insecurity is reflected in unhealthy dietary patterns such as a low intake of fruits and vegetables (Che & Chen, 2001; Scheier, 2005), and is linked to broader food-related health problems such as obesity, heart disease, diabetes, high blood pressure, distress, depression, low immunity levels,

dental caries, anemia, and other chronic conditions (Ford & Mokdad, 2008; Kirkpatrick & Tarasuk, 2008; Ledrou & Gervais, 2005; Willows, Hanley, & Delormier, 2012). The decline in subsistence activities by First Nation peoples has decreased their levels of food security (Thompson, 2005), and resulted in higher rates of obesity, dental caries, anemia, diabetes, and lowered resistance to infection (Szathmary, Ritenbaugh, & Goodby, 1987; Thouez, Rannou, & Foggin, 1989; Willows, Veugelers, Raine, & Kuhle 2011; Willows et al. 2012). Food insecurity, with its dire consequences, demonstrates the need for high-impact food programs.

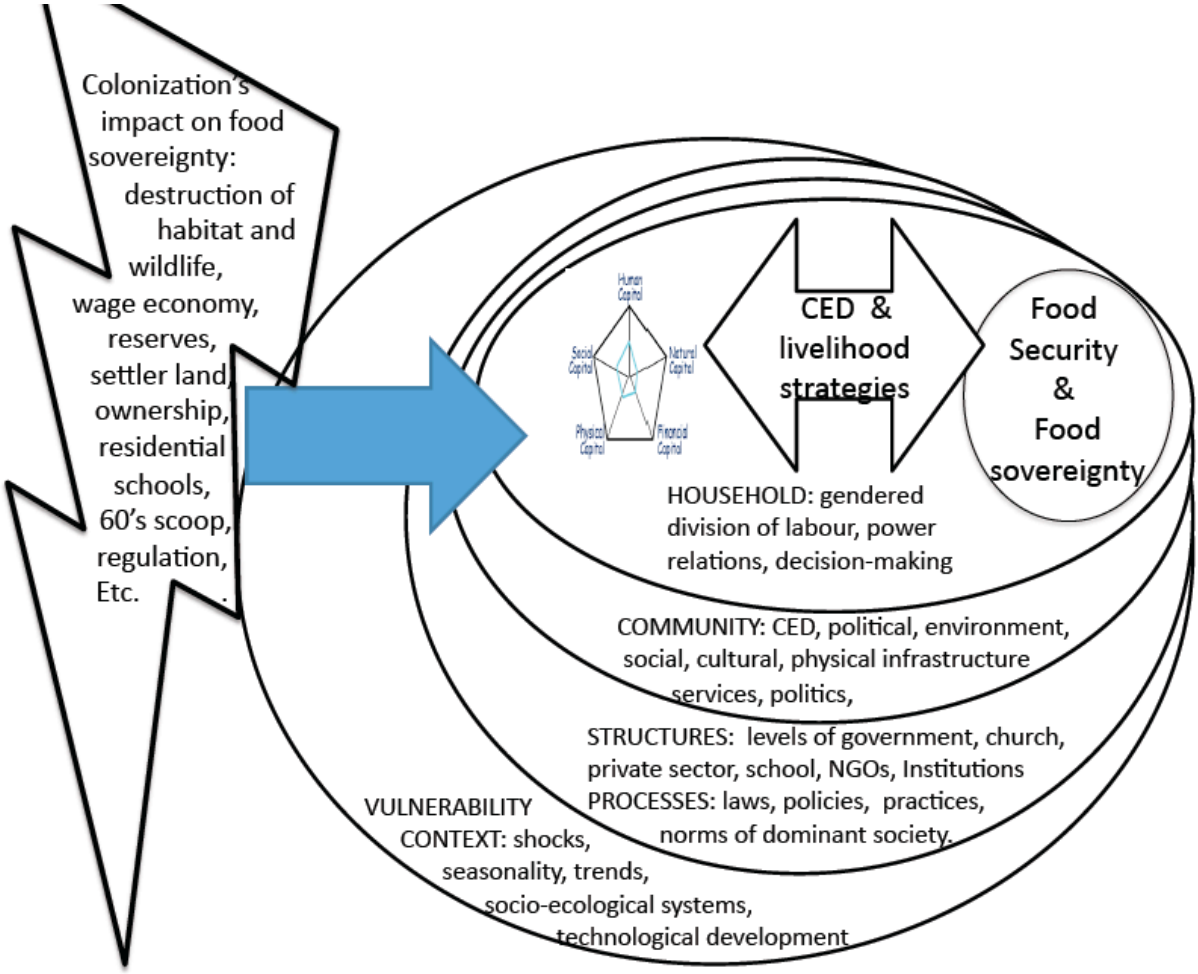
Food sovereignty

According to the Declaration of Nyéléni, food sovereignty is "the right of peoples to healthy and culturally appropriate food produced through ecologically sound and sustainable methods, and their right to define their own food and agriculture systems" (International Planning Committee for Food Sovereignty, 2007, p. 1). The food sovereignty movement was initiated by peasant and Indigenous organizations (Altieri, 2008; Holt-Giménez, Patel, & Shattuck, 2009) that realized the need for land redistribution and protection of their territory (Torrez, 2011). Access to land is a struggle for Northern Manitoba's Indigenous peoples, as settlers usurped their territorial lands for their own development (Ballard, 2012). "Usufruct rights" for low-scale, intergenerational economic practices on ancestral territories can forclose environmentally destructive development, particularly hydroelectric damning in Northern Manitoba, and government policies (LaDuke, 2002). Food sovereignty considers that people have to make both a living and eat, linking it to the related concepts of food security and sustainable livelihoods.

Sustainable livelihoods

The concept of sustainable livelihoods considers assets (natural, physical, human, financial, and social capitals) that determine how people make a living (Ellis 2000) can be applied not only to the households (Scones, 2012) but also to the community and regional context (Thompson et al., 2011a: Ballard, 2012). A sustainable livelihoods analysis is generally lacking from CD evaluation (Brocklesbury & Fisher, 2003), however in this study it is applied to 14 Northern Manitoba communities to show the general context for development and capacity building. The status of these five assets in Northern Manitoba are: 1) Human capital (that is, the skills, health, and education of individuals that contribute to the productivity of labor and capacity to manage land) is limited, given the relatively low levels of education, high rates of chronic unemployment, and high rates of disease compared to other communities in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2006); 2) Social capital (that is, the close social bonds that facilitate cooperative action, social bridging, and linking to share and access ideas and resources), once strong, has been weakened by the residential school system, reserve settlements, and the settler education (LaDuke, 2002), resulting in few opportunities for Aboriginal peoples to influence policies, programs, and their own development (Thompson et al., 2011a; Ballard, 2012); 3) Natural capital (that is, resources and land management practices) is abundant in the form of fisheries, forests, minerals, and non-timber, however FNs have no regulatory or ownership rights to resources in their territories (Thompson et al., 2011a,b; Ballard, 2012; LaDuke, 2002); 4) Physical capital (that is, equipment and infrastructure) is inadequate in Northern Manitoba without roads connecting communities together, nor adequate housing, safe drinking water, or, in the case of Brochet, electrical grid access (infrastructure in nearby ANA communities is typically better than in FN communities); 5) Financial capital (that is, savings and credit) is generally low, particularly on FN reserves, as their land and housing is the property of the Crown (Ballard, 2012); without collateral, FN peoples have limited ability to obtain credit to build enterprise. With this context in mind, this study will apply these "capitals" to the different food activities.

Figure 2: The context of sustainable livelihoods and Community Economic Development (CED) for food related development



Institutional structures (e.g., rules, customs, and land tenure) and processes (e.g., laws, policies, societal norms, and incentives) operate at multiple levels (e.g., regional, government and multinational corporations) to either create barriers to sustainable livelihoods, or facilitate them (Carney, 1998; Ellis, 2000; Scoones, 1998). Institutional structures such as the Indian Act, and other colonial policies that continue to this day, take away local decision-making powers, and have resulted in a state in which many FN communities in Northern Manitoba are currently under third party management (Ballard, 2012), by requirement of the federal government whereby accounting firms controlling their funding and management). Residential schools and the "Sixties Scoop"—which refers to the Canadian practice beginning in the 1960s and continuing until the late 1980s, of apprehending unusually high numbers of FN children, sending them to foster homes or putting them up for adoption (usually into white families)—created a loss of cultural identity, a break in family ties, and widespread harm to children (Ballard, 2012). Figure 2 illustrates the impact of new and old colonial structures at the individual, household, and community level on food sovereignty. Amartya Sen's (1983) discussion of how a person's assets impact food security, applies perfectly to FN peoples applies perfectly to our analysis of Northern Manitoba communities: "a person is reduced to starvation if some change occurs either in his [or her] endowment (e.g., alienation of land, loss of labor power, ill health) or in his [or her] exchange entitlement (e.g., fall in wages, rise in food prices, loss of employment, drop in price of foods [she

or] he produces)" (p. 45). FN community members are alienated from their territory and placed on Crown reserve land, with little exchange entitlement due to the fall in the fur trade and other markets, and with few employment and higher education opportunities.

METHODOLOGY

A participatory process was undertaken with 14 communities and five non-government organizations (NGOs) between 2008, when University of Manitoba (U of M) ethics approval was received (J2008, p. 113), and the summer of 2012. Seven economic activities occurring in Northern Manitoba are analyzed to determine their contribution to: 1) food security, 2) food sovereignty, and 3) sustainable livelihoods (applying the five capitals previously discussed namely: natural, physical, human, financial, and social) by the following four methods:

1. A Community Food Assessment (CFA) is a collaborative and participatory process to systematically examine a broad range of community food issues and assets, so as to inform and build capacity for community food security (Cohen, 2002). CFAs were initiated in 2009 with key community members (e.g., school principals, health workers, councilors, chiefs or mayors) from each of the 14 communities. The goal was to train key community members, and to assist in their efforts to examine resources and needs, and to improve food sovereignty. This participatory research included observation, tours, interviews (with transcripts), and field notes (which underwent systematic content analyses). Subsequent community-driven food-related activities, in partnership with the University of Manitoba (U of M), have resulted at Garden Hill FN, South Indian Lake FN, and the Town of Leaf Rapids.

2. Participatory video (PV) techniques were used to engage people from the 14 communities in a process of shaping and creating films that tell their "food story." Several PV workshops were held with community members, and written consent was obtained during PV interviews to identify most participants' names. Draft versions of each film were screened at different events to provide community members on-going input into their storyline. Based on community input, after the screenings more interviews took place and additional scenes were added. Videos were posted at http://home.cc.umanitoba.ca/~thompso4/ and were widely circulated. *Growing Hope in Northern Manitoba,* which was featured in Intercontinental Cry, an international newspaper, was viewed by more than 3000 people. As well, in an effort to influence policy, the film *Harvesting Hope in Northern Manitoba*, was shown at a number of film festivals and conferences, and at meetings of Manitoba's Rural Secretariat and the Department of Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, in Ottawa, Canada, in 2010 and 2011. In addition, the film *The Burntwood Journey: Chronic Disease Prevention Initiative in Northern Manitoba* was distributed by the Burntwood Regional Health Authority to community members at health conferences. This film served as a key tool in evaluating the program, and ultimately contributed to this pilot project becoming a permanent program.

3. The National Nutritious Food Basket (NNFB) survey (Health Canada, 2008) provides a standardized shopping list of 60 goods that was used to assess grocery stores in 14 Northern Manitoba communities and 22 grocery stores in Southern Manitoba in 2009. The NNFB list, if sized to a family or individual, represents a nutritious diet based on current dietary guidelines and food consumption data; however, the list was used strictly for the purposes of costs comparison.

4. A household food security survey was carried out with 533 households in 14 communities using a validated instrument from Health Canada (2007). The survey was used to estimate both the prevalence of food insecurity and its severity (Health Canada, 2007). To complement the survey, households were asked additional questions regarding garden provisioning and hunting and fishing. Additionally, community level data on greenhouses and store access were collected through observation and interviews. Data analysis was conducted using descriptive and inferential statistics by STATA 11. Logistic regression (logit) was used to provide insight into how certain food-related activities impacted food security, because the dependent variable of food security has a binary discrete value (i.e., yes or no) (Pindyck & Rubinfeld, 1991). Logit models are useful in this type of data analysis because they can establish the probability of various events occurring under a given set of conditions (Pindyck & Rubinfeld, 1991). The probabilities for food security were determined by the presence or absence of different economic activities and development related to theory (FAO, 1996; Power, 2008). Attaining food security was hypothesized as a positive function of the: 1) availability of retail food stores in the community—a continuous variable from zero to three stores; 2) accessibility to store(s)—due to the complexity of accessibility in Northern Manitoba, it has three different measures, namely: (2–1) stores are accessible by walking (yes/no); (2–2) roads provide access to urban centre (yes/no); and (2–3) public transit (e.g., bus or train) provides access to urban centres (yes/no); 3) acceptable food obtained from household hunting and fishing (yes/no); 4) adequacy in garden programming was rated from zero to five, based on whether gardens met none to all of a household's vegetable needs; 5) action was measured by the number of greenhouses in each community from zero to four; and 6) ability to harvest, share, and consume "country foods" was based on whether the community had a country foods program (yes/no).

The 14 communities, shown in Figure 1, were chosen from a list of rural communities that either lacked all weather roads or had a location north of Thompson, Manitoba (north of 55.45 degrees latitude). Amongst these communities, NGOs working on Northern food issues chose seven communities with best practices in food programming, and another seven for their limited uptake in food programming: these included nine FN communities and five ANA communities. A list of the households in each community was obtained, and each household was assigned a number. For each community a random number generator selected 100 numbers (noting that many communities were small with less than 100 households, with four having fewer than 25 households) corresponding to households. A surveyor visited each of the selected households and conducted a survey, if an adult was home and willing to participate. The survey population represents roughly 25% of the total population of the 14 communities, with the sample representing more than 5% of the total population of all remote and rural communities in Northern Manitoba (Department of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 2008; Statistics Canada, 2006; Thompson, Mailman & Gulrukh, 2010b).

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The need for food-based community economic development

The survey (*n*=533) found that adults and/or children experience food insecurity in three of every four households (75%) in Northern Manitoba, leaving the remaining quarter (25%) of households food secure. Figure 3 shows that one-third of homes (33%) experience severe food insecurity, while more than two in five (42%) experience moderate food insecurity. As shown in Figure 4, food security varies by both rate of incidence and severity, with plane access communities experiencing much higher rates and severity of food insecurity.

Figure 3: Household food security status of households in Northern Manitoba Aboriginal communities (*n*=533 households) in 14 communities

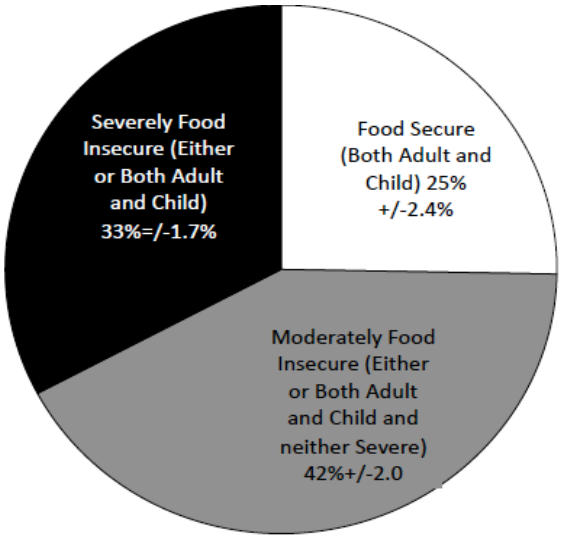


Table 1: Accessibility of communities input into food security analysis

Community	Community Type	Number of grocery stores	Access (0=No, 1=Yes)					Total House Holds in survey (*N*)
			Distance from urban centre (km by road)	Road	Fly-in	Train	Barge for food	
Berens River	First Nation	3	273	0	0	0	1	49
Brochet (Barren Lands)	First Nation	1	610	0	1	0	0	50
Garden Hill	First Nation	1	616	0	1	0	0	41
Granville	Non First Nation	0	328	0	1	0	0	8
Ilford	Non First Nation	0	205	0	0	1	0	10
Lynn Lake	Non First Nation	1	324	1	0	0	0	46
Leaf Rapids	Non First Nation	1	234	1	0	0	0	96
Nelson House	First Nation	1	88	1	0	0	0	49
Red Sucker Lake	First Nation	1	702	0	1	0	0	42
South Indian Lake	First Nation	1	345	1	0	0	0	45
St. Theresa PT	First Nation	1	600	0	1	0	0	39
Thicket Portage	Non First Nation	0	138	0	0	1	0	20
Wasagamack	First Nation	1	613	0	1	0	0	23
War Lake	First Nation	0	205	0	0	1	0	15
Total								**533**

Tables 1 to 3 provide the logit model and chi-square test inputs and results. Chi-square tests the null hypothesis that the coefficients of all the independent variables equal zero (Pindyck & Rubinfeld, 1991). The null hypothesis is rejected at P<0.0001, indicating that the model has significant explanatory power. The percentage of correct predictions is also very high, explaining food security variation 78% of the time. The logit model had many statistically significant variables with 1) country food programs being the most important to food security rates followed by; 2) accessibility to urban marketplaces by roads; 3) public transit access; 4) the number of grocery stores in a community; and 5) degree of household gardening provisioning.

Table 2: Definition and descriptive statistics of the explanatory variables used in the logit analysis

Label	Description	Categorical Variables		Continuous Variables	
		Mean	SE	Mean	SE
Household Food Security (Dependent Variable)	1 if Household has food security; 0 otherwise	0.23	0.02		
Grocery Store	Number of grocery stores in the community			1.09	0.03
Road Access	1 if accessible by road only; 0 otherwise	0.53	0.02		
Country Food	1 if country food program exists; 0 otherwise	0.10	0.01		
Garden Food	How often you receive food from garden; 1= never, 2= occasionally, 3= sometimes, 4= regularly, 5= all the time	1.29	0.04		
Green House	Number of Green Houses in 2009			1.58	0.08
Public Transportation	1 if public transit available; 0 otherwise	0.54	0.02		
Compact community design	1 if community is compact; 0 otherwise	0.19	0.02		
Hunting/fishing	1 if hunting/fishing in household; 0 otherwise	0.91	0.01		

Table 3: Logistic regression analysis results for food security model

	Odds Ratio		Marginal Effect		*P*-value
	(β)	95% CI	dy/dx	Std. Error	
Grocery Store	1.85	1.26-2.70	0.10	0.03	0.002
Road access only	7.60	1.12-51.50	0.31	0.13	0.038
Country food program	20.64	2.42-176.08	0.64	0.18	0.006
Food from garden	1.41	1.01-1.81	0.05	0.02	0.006
Number of greenhouses	1.43	0.93-2.18	0.06	0.03	0.099
Public Transit	3.90	1.52-9.90	0.22	0.07	0.005
Compact community	1.62	0.71-3.70	0.08	0.07	0.256
Hunting/Fishing	0.90	0.43-2.28	-0.001	0.06	0.980

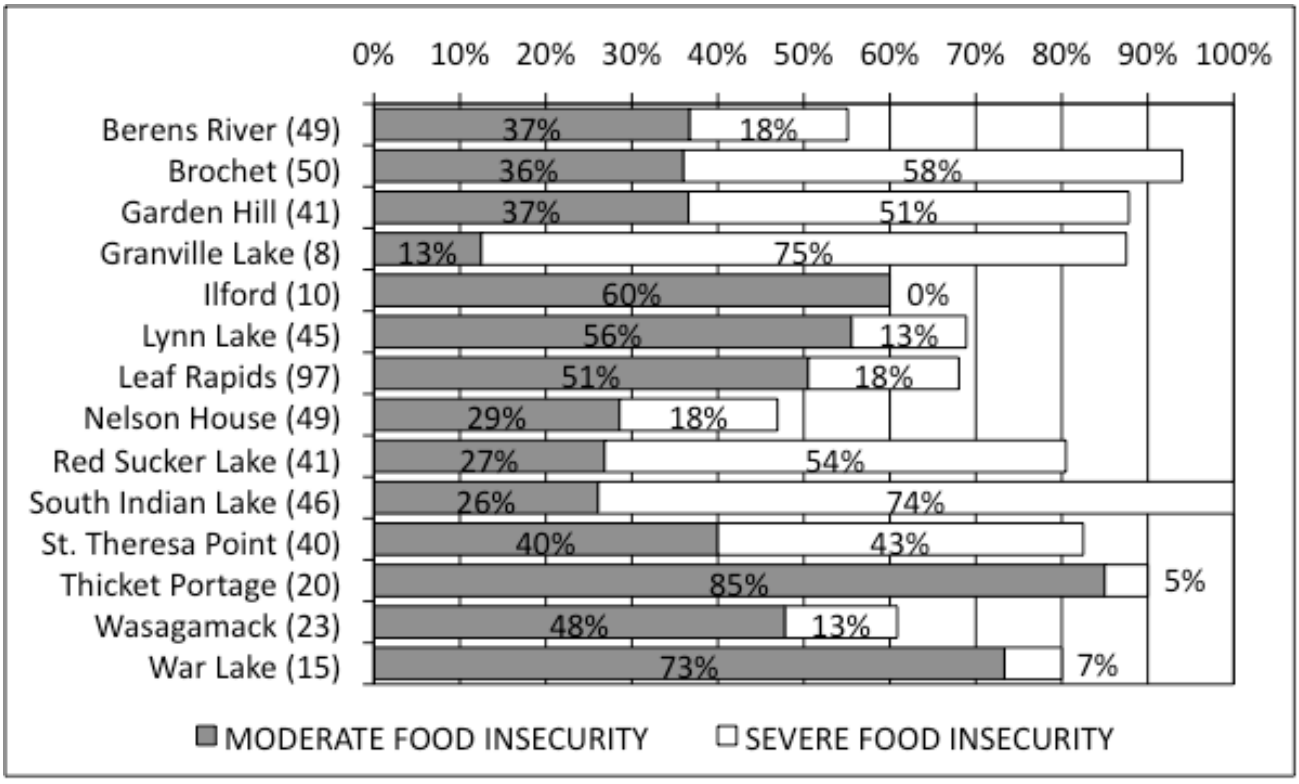
Food-related economic and development activities

The impacts on food security, food sovereignty, and sustainable livelihood assets are described for each of the seven food activities below.

Country food programs

Country food programs are organized initiatives that support people living off the land in order to feed the local community (Thompson et al., 2011a). The term "country food" refers to the mammals, fish, plants, berries, and waterfowl/seabirds harvested from local stocks. In Manitoba, the Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation (referred to as NCN or Nelson House FN) distributes traditional wild food to community members through the "Nelson House Country Food Program." Ron Spence, Councilor at NCN talked about how local funding and community direction results in food sovereignty: "Country foods is a program that is created by the community. If we were government funded then we'd be regulated. There would be a lot of things we couldn't do. That is why we are keeping this internally and locally operated" (Interview, 2010).

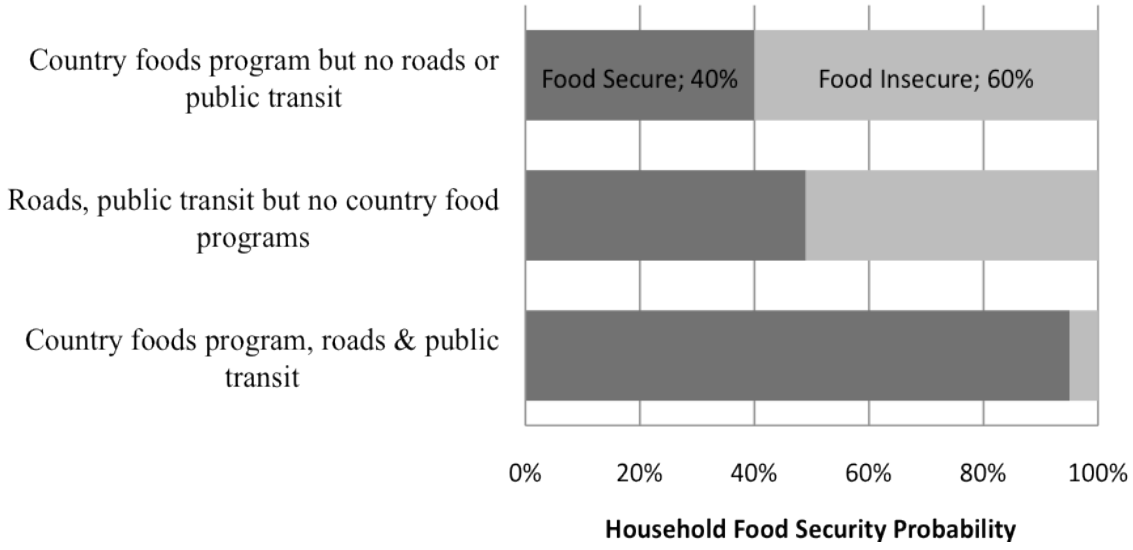
Figure 4: Food security rates in the 14 different communities



The country foods program is related to better food security. According to the logit model, sharing country foods was found to be more important to food security than any of the five conventional food security pillars (OR 20.64, 95% CI 2.41–176.08, P<0.01). Figure 4 shows that of all 14 communities surveyed, rates of severe and moderate household food insecurity were lowest in NCN FN (47%). Community members attributed their

relative food security to the country food program. As shown in Figure 5, a community with a country foods program but no public transit or roads is predicted to be 40% food secure, which is 15% higher than the current average rate of food security in Northern Manitoba (25%). The model also suggests that when a country foods program is combined with good access to public transit and roads, the rate of food security at 95% would be higher than the Canadian average at 92%.

Figure 5: Predictive model of food security implementing different combinations of country foods program, roads and public transit



The Nelson House Country Food Program increases all of the sustainable livelihood assets. NCN has physical capital, including a processing centre for country foods, equipment to butcher meat, and freezers to store fish, berries, vegetables and meat. Human capital is gained by employing and training seven local people to hunt and fish year-round and share their Indigenous knowledge. Ron Spence stated: "Applying the culture and traditional aspect, like the smoking of fish and meat … We promote the teaching of cultural values and traditional skills" (Interview, 2010). The workers track the foods received and disbursed for wildlife conservation purposes and public health safety. Country food increases social capital, providing food for pivotal community events such as weddings, funerals, and other cultural events where food is distributed freely amongst community members (prioritizing the needs of Elders, the sick, single-parent families, and other low-income individuals). According to Charlie Hart, the past Program Coordinator, most people in the community benefit from the country food program:

> We are providing food to 1500 people out of 2500 [people in the community] and all of them are happy getting fresh meat and fish. It's a good way to maintain traditional culture in a healthy manner and others should try to implement that too. (Interview, 2010)

Unlike food from food banks, which are not present in rural communities in Northern Manitoba, country food is prestigious in receiving food that is nutritious and of high quality. The Nelson House Country Food Program fosters natural capital through stewardship. The program teaches conservation principles, such as not fishing

when fish are spawning or hunting moose, caribou, or deer during calving season. NCN Conservation activities have resulted in the re-establishment of a caribou herd nearby. NCN has also developed a wildlife management plan in light of the many negative impacts of Manitoba Hydro's Churchill Diversion, which has decimated and contaminated fish, muskrat, wild geese, and other wildlife populations in the area. Country food workers are forced to travel outside their reserve to hunt and fish, traveling by train, for example, to Churchill where there is an abundance of geese.

As shown in Table 4, the country food program improves food security, sustainable livelihoods, and food sovereignty. Country food sharing, to a lesser degree, occurs in all Aboriginal communities but without community supports and so individuals bare the heavy cost of provisioning. However, NCN is inspiring others; both South Indian Lake FN and Garden Hill FN are devising their own country food programs that would work within existing regulations.

Access to the market place in Northern Manitoba

13 of the 14 communities studied have either no grocery store or have only one grocery store that stocks mainly high-calorie, high-fat, low-nutrient food, and supplies little in the way of fruits and vegetables. Only the fly-in community of Berens River FN has three grocery stores, in this case because there is a barge that ships food in all year long. The only grocery store in most communities is the Northern Store (only Leaf Rapids has a Federated Co-operative store, with local people serving as the manager and on its board). Northern Stores is a publicly traded company operated until 1987 by the Hudson Bay Company, and now under the ownership of The North West Company. The Northern Store has a policy of employing managers external to the community, which limits local decision-making, human capital development, and food sovereignty. A typical Northern Store controls every economic aspect of community's food supply with high profits flowing out of the community. The cost and quality of food is often inadequate to support healthy dietary choices, as one community member in Wasagamack commented, "[t]he existing Northern Store's selection is very limited and costly. After shipping, the produce is often damaged" (Interview, 2011a).

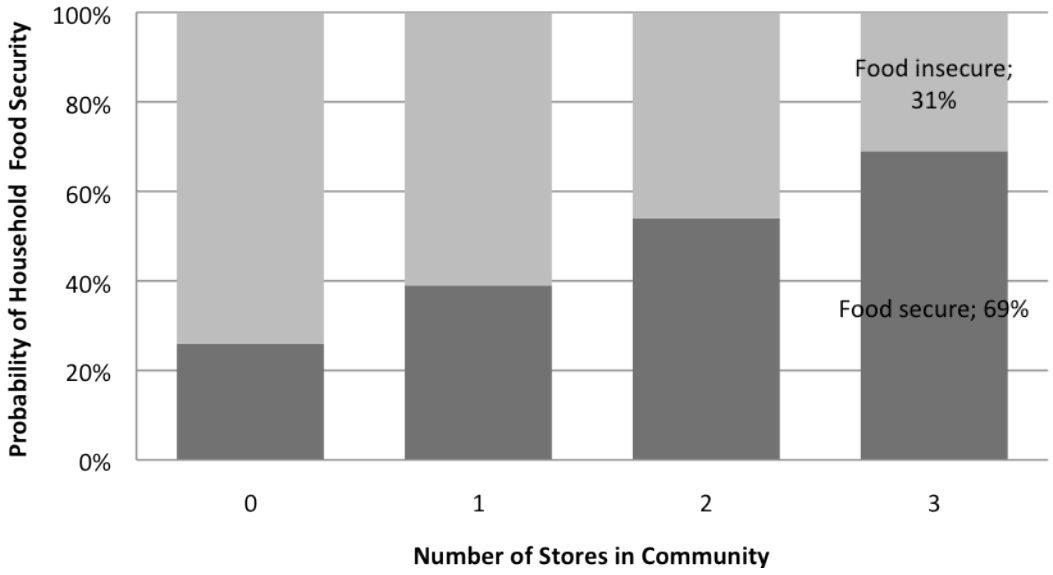
The logit model analysis for number of grocery stores in the community (OR 1.85, 95% CI 1.26–2.70, $P<0.01$) suggests that food security benefits from increased competition of grocery stores, in terms of both pricing and quality. As shown in Figure 5, food security rates are predicted to increase from 25% when there is no grocery store present, to 69% when there is competition amongst three grocery stores in a community. This lack of stores in communities along the Bayline Railroad, including Thicket-Portage, Ilford, and War Lake FN, as well as the fly-in community of Granville Lake, shows how the marketplace has abandoned small Northern communities.

Table 4: Impact of food-related economic development on sustainable livelihoods, food security and food sovereignty

Programs	Financial capital	Natural capital	Physical capital	Human capital	Social capital	Food sovereignty	Food security
Chronic Disease Prevent-ion Initiative	+/- $2 per capita is very limited budget for a program.	+ Local garden materials and fishnets reduce food miles.	+ /- Walking trails. Fish Nets.	+ Nutrition, health, gardening, preserving & wild food harvesting	+ Feasts share country foods with community	+ Supports local production of gardens, wild meat, berries & fishing.	+Limited impact on food security.
Northern Healthy Food Initiative	+ Loans to buy freezers for social assistance recipients.	+ Local garden materials and chickens reduce food miles.	+/- No tractors or commercial facilities. Plastic and rototillers provided.	+Education on food preserving, & gardens.	+/- Interaction with NGOs but limited.	- Little or no community choice of programs No funding for wild foods programming.	+ Limited impact on food security.
School lunch and welfare food buying club programs	+/- Extends food budgets. Money flows out of community	- Food miles from flying in foods.	- Does not build physical capital.	+ Cooks in schools make healthy meals.	+ Meals at school allow youth to learn better.	+/- No local purchases (e.g., fish, wild meat, etc.) Food choices not limited by monopoly.	+ Cheap meals has positive impact for students on food security.
Fish buying club	+ Higher returns for fishermen Gas $ for bycatch.	+ Markets for by-catch rather than dumping ¾ of fish through health centre.	- Freezer in health centre & some market stalls.	+ Some training on marketing & business.	+ Neechi Foods partnership -	+ Local control over markets and prices. - Local consumption facilitated.	+/-Uncertain. Expect it will be similar to country foods program.
Country food program	+ Food $ stays on reserve & employs 7 workers at NCN.	+ Hunting & fishing wildlife conservation. Re-established a caribou herd.	+ Food processing and storage facility for wild meat.	+ Trains youth in traditional country foods.	+ Country foods provided to elders and single mothers.	+ Locally controlled wildlife management and food production.	+ Statistically significant related to better food security.
Stores: Northern store	- Food $ travels out of community without benefit to locals.	- No purchase of local harvest. Sell boats, skidoos and rifles at high cost.	- Store buildings use diesel, which often leak & pollutes.	+/- Limited job & training provided with outsider managers.	- High mark-up of fruits & vegetables but cheap processed food fuels diabetes.	- No community control over food types or products or profit margin.	- Higher rates of food insecurity (>75%) vs. co-op or community store.
Commercial fishing in North	+ Fish co-ops not viable as fishers have high costs & low returns.	- ¾ of fish caught are dumped due to quote or with pickerel only feasible.	+ Fish plant at Leaf Rapids & Garden Hill but badly designed by government.	+ Limited to family as fishing boats small & high cost.	+ Food removed from community at very low exchange value.	- Fishers lack control over markets. Unable to sell to local public facilities.	- Fishers had 100% food insecurity due to high costs & low returns.

Legend: - negative impace; +/- limited or no impact; + postive impact

Figure 6: Probability of having household food security based on number of grocery stores when a community is not accessible by road and public transport but country food programs are available



In Northern Manitoba, access to the cheaper and healthier retail food found in urban centres is an important contributor to food security. In the logit model, access to roads had the second largest impact on food security (OR 7.60, 95% CI 1.12–51.50, P<0.05). Figure 1 shows that ten of the 14 communities surveyed do not have access to an all-weather road, including six that are only accessible by plane. In these communities food must be flown in all year round (except for four communities, when for a few weeks each year winter roads are open).

Public transit (e.g., train or bus) to access healthier food at cheaper prices is either not available or is very limited, and most people cannot afford private transportation. Public transit was positively related to food security (OR 3.90, 95% CI 1.52–9.90, P<0.01). When Grey Goose Bus-line shut down service to the ANA communities of Leaf Rapids and Lynn Lake in May of 2012 healthy food became less accessible, which negatively impacts food security. Although public transit is available along the Bayline Railroad, access to food is thwarted by the lack of a commuter train to stores in Thompson or Churchill. As a result, a trip to the grocery store takes several days, requiring at least $250 in additional expenses for hotel, taxi, and train. Community members along the Bayline Railway discussed how the train conductor used to buy vegetables from market gardens in Thicket-Portage to sell at the other stations en route to Churchill and the need to bring this train market back.

To determine the relative cost of healthy food, in 2009 the price of food items listed in the NNFB was compared at the stores in the 14 surveyed communities, as well as at 22 stores in Southern Manitoba. This standardized grocery list cost $418 in fly-in communities compared to $302 in the five Northern Manitoba rural communities with roads, and $233 in stores in Southern Manitoba. On average, when compared to Northern communities with roads, the entire NNFB food list in fly-in communities is found to be 38% higher, and specifically 79% higher for the fruits and vegetables category ($134 for fly-in communities compared to $75 for Northern communities with roads). Higher prices in fly-in communities reflect freight costs for flying in food, but also the lack of competition in these communities that results in price gouging. Even though Nutrition North provides

subsidies for freight brought into fly-in communities, prices in stores for healthy foods are much higher than unhealthy food. Community members convey their suspicions that the federal subsidy "Nutrition North Canada" (previously called the "Food Mail Program" run by the Northern Store in Manitoba, is not being passed onto the consumer. As one community health person aptly described: "When an educator of Nutrition North comes – the food will go down for a short time but soon it is back up to a much higher price" (Interview, 2011). Stores benefit from this government subsidy but the consumers do not.

Access to a store within a community is also an issue, as most communities either lack a store or the store is located outside the community. However, the logit model did not find access to a store within walking distance to have a significant relationship to food security. Northern Stores location is typically located off reserves, which presents a barrier to food access and removes the store's physical capital from the community. For example, the Northern Stores, at both Garden Hill FN and at Wasagamack FN, are located on a separate island adjacent to the community. To get groceries during ice formation and ice break-up, which lasts for about a month in both the fall and spring, people risk their life or must charter a helicopter (which is very expensive). When there is open water, people spend much of their limited food budget to rent a boat taxi.

Communities need alternatives to the monopoly of the Northern Store. In 2012, South Indian Lake FN decided to develop a business plan for a community or co-operative grocery store, and plans are also underway in Garden Hill FN. Food buying clubs are another potential solution.

Food buying clubs and the Nutrition North Canada program in Northern Manitoba

Food buying clubs are simply a group of people who come together and save money by purchasing food in bulk. In fly-in locations, food buying clubs access the Nutrition North freight subsidy. According to the logit model, however, despite Nutrition North and food buying clubs, the lack of roads continues to have a significant negative impact on food security.

Schools and FN social welfare departments organize the largest food buying clubs in Northern Manitoba communities. For example, in the four fly-in Island Lake FN communities, bulk food packages are ordered from Winnipeg stores by schools and social assistance workers, ensuring healthier foods, school lunches (human capital) and better prices for clients (economic capital). In St. Theresa Point FN, the social assistance worker reports ordering about $60,000/month of mainly meat packs from Winnipeg. The costs are then deducted from the clients' next social assistance cheque. The principal of the secondary school at Garden Hill FN orders in bulk ($1200/month) from Winnipeg stores to provide a hot school lunch and snack program that the students each pay $15 per month for. However, the school lunches are usually pasta-based, and attempts to use local meats and fish have resulted in the local school cafeterias being shut down by the Federal Public Health Inspector (Interviews, 2011) due to regulations preventing uninspected meat and fish being sold locally. The food miles required to fly food in to communities rather than using local country foods and supporting local harvesters, reduces natural, social, and physical capital development.

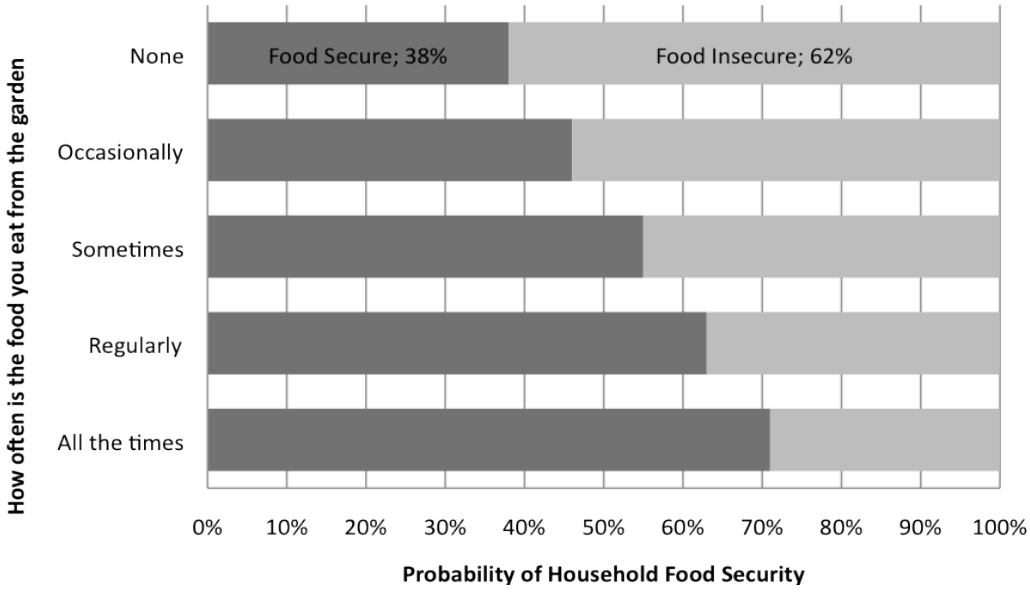
Chronic disease prevention initiative

The Chronic Disease Prevention Initiative (CDPI) is a permanent government program created to improve the health of Manitobans through local partnerships, citizen engagement, and community development. A community CDPI team decides how to spend the limited CDPI financial capital for programming ($2 per capita), with local Aboriginal Diabetes Initiative (ADI) staff providing support and education. This partnership provides some support for food sovereignty in decision-making.

CDPI often supports household food provisioning by funding fishing nets and seeds, as well as engaging in education regarding gardening, nutrition, canning, and cooking. Gardening has a significant positive relationship to food security according to the logit model (OR 1.41, 95% CI 1.01–1.81, P<0.01), in contrast to household hunting and fishing. Figure 7 shows that as garden provisioning increases from none to all that is required to sustain a household food security is predicted to increase from 38% to 72%. A few families were able to harvest and preserve sufficient vegetables so that they continued to be a regular part of their diet year-round, however this is highly unusual given the short growing season and poor soil conditions in these northern locations, and without the aid of tractors, commercial greenhouses, or other farming equipment.

Many households cannot actively hunt and fish due to the high price of gas, materials, and equipment (e.g., skidoos and boats), and the long distances they must travel to get to trap lines (sometimes located in neighbouring provinces, and requiring a float plane or helicopter to get to). The people who can afford to hunt and fish (i.e., who have sufficient income), prize the time they get to spend engaging with traditional activities and food, however do not see hunting as a cost-saving activity. Gas is much higher in some of these communities (for example in August 2012 in Garden Hill FN gas was $2.50/litre). A positive relationship was found between household hunting and fishing and food security, showing the need for a country foods program to provide some community-level assistance for food storage facilities, gas, equipment, vehicles and/or training.

Figure 7: Probability of having household food security based on how much you eat from your garden when the community is not accessible by road or public transport but country food programs are available



Country food and gardening activities are popular and support both the active living and nutrition objectives of CDPI. One ADI worker for the four Island Lake communities commented about how important it is to provide access to plants and seeds: “Definitely these folks for transportation reasons can’t go to town to a plant or grocery store because of economics” (Interview, 2010). An ADI worker in Garden Hill discussed the human and social benefits of a special training program for: “youth [to] learn how to … garden … taught by the Elder. To have the youth and the Elders interact because we’re always being told that our teachings come from the Elders” (Interview, 2011). Larry Wood, another ADI worker at Garden Hill FN, found that the nets funded by

CDPI had extensive positive impacts on each fisher's extended family: "An ice fishing net can each feed 20 families or about 150 to 200 people" (Interview, 2010). Also, communities often decide to fund country food feasts for the community, building social capital and providing an income to local people who go out on the land and then prepare and cook the food. Thus, CDPI has small benefits to natural, social, financial, and human capitals, food security and food sovereignty.

The Northern Healthy Food Initiative

The Northern Healthy Food Initiative (NHFI) led by ANA was designed to increase food self-sufficiency in Northern Manitoba. The NHFI provides gardening materials, greenhouse plastic, chicken or turkey starter kits, and loans for freezers. With few of these items present in most Northern communities prior to NHFI, their presence has resulted in noticeable changes and enthusiasm at the community level. By 2009, the freezer loan program financed 271 freezers in 22 communities (with about 100 in the 14 communities surveyed) through a revolving loan (Thompson et al., 2010a). NHFI (and CDPI) inputs have increased the number of gardens that are being cultivated (from 148 in 2008 to 180 in 2009) and the number of greenhouse installations (from six to 16 over the same period) (Thompson et al., 2010a). Although greenhouses extend the growing season they were not found to be statistically significant to food security in the logit model.

The five NGOs appointed by the provincial government to determine communities' priorities regarding materials and workshops, operate without a lot of community input and undermine local food sovereignty efforts. Some Northerners feel one NGO in particular, was "useless," with a person from Leaf Rapids labeling them, "paper shufflers in Winnipeg who come to the north for photo opportunities rather than to help, and leave the same day" (Interview, 2010). The designer of NHFI, Jacinta Wiebe (2012), discussed the program's bureaucracy and funding shortfalls:

> I designed the prototype projects to address the particular needs of the isolated and remote communities as they have higher transportation food costs and higher rates of diabetes. … After submitting modest budgets to provide start up funding for these communities, we were told that funding was not available. ... To this day, minimal funding is provided to cover mainly administrative salaries in government, political and health organizations housed in urban areas to carry on this important initiative for Aboriginal peoples living in the communities (Wiebe, 2012).

The impact on sustainable livelihoods of NHFI is limited. Human capital is undermined when NGOs hire "Winnipegers" rather than community members, and by funding, characterized here by one NGO worker: "Unstable funding, a lack of continuity, etc. has led to a great deal of turnover of good staff at the regional project level" (Interview, 2010). Limited NHFI funding provides only enough funding for small-scale household gardens, which provides food and natural capital and builds social and human capital, through sharing and education, but not market garden.

Commercial fishing

Commercial fishing has been a key economic activity for Aboriginal people since the industry developed in the 1880s, and has been increasingly important to FNs' income since the decline of the fur trade (Tough, 1984). In 2006–2007, Northern Manitoba commercial fishers generated $16-million in revenues, accounting for 66% of the provincial catch by weight (Northern Development Ministers Forum, 2010). The settlers' commercial fishing industry overtook FN subsistence fisheries with larger boats and better technology (Tough, 1984). To this day,

many FN commercial fishers in Northern Manitoba lack advanced technology, with most only having a small two-person speedboat and gill fishing nets to work with.

Every aspect of fishing is controlled by government, which undermines food sovereignty. Manitoba Conservation manages fish resources with quotas and restrictions on the mesh size of gill nets, and by placing limitations on the duration of fishing seasons and the annual number of fishing licenses. As an example, Manitoba Conservation confiscated the ice fishing net that Elders had set for the filming of *Harvesting Hope* the very same day it was set, disempowering the people involved. Not only is the how, what, and when of fishing regulated by Non-Aboriginals, but also the where and what of sales. In 1969 the Freshwater Fish Marketing Corporation (FFMC) was established (Freshwater Fish Marketing Corporation, 2010) to regulate all sales of fish, and today most fishers can only sell to them. Garden Hill Fishery is one of a few fisheries that obtained an export license from FFMC, but this license is also restricted, as it only allows them to sell pickerel to one business in Ontario. This regulation negates food sovereignty and undermines food security. All nine fishermen surveyed from Garden Hill were severely food insecure (Islam & Thompson, 2011).

In focus groups, fishers reported that their sales were limited to pickerel, representing only 25% of their total catch each day (Thompson et al., 2011), with the remaining 75% being by-catch (e.g., white fish, lake trout, walleye, suckers, perch, etc.) that is currently thrown away. According to local fisherman Chris Taylor, “it is very hard to survive with fishing by selling only one species. We throw away all the other fish by the river bank as we can’t afford the gas to haul all of them” (Interview, 2011). As a result, fishers in Northern Manitoba cannot make a decent living and their livelihoods are unsustainable. The low price they get for fish is eroded by the high cost of the means of production (purchase price and interests rate for boats, nets and snowmobiles) and very high transportation costs. Whole fish, which are 50 to 60% heavier than filleted fish, (Thompson et al., 2011a) must be flown out because the community is only licensed to pack fish and not to process them.

Fish buying club

Garden Hill Fishery is currently organizing a Fish Buying Club that would allow fishers to sell the abundant and high-quality fish available in pristine Island Lake, directly to consumers. This would enable them to get higher prices and organize co-operatively. In 2012, Garden Hill FN endorsed the Fish Buying Club with a Band Council Resolution. During a focus group discussion in 2011 the fishermen stated their desire to create a market for the by-catch species, thereby diversifying and increasing their income. The fishers also wanted to process and sell value-added fish products locally and abroad (including fish filets and smoked fish), rather than only selling whole fish. Greater local provisioning would increase food security, social capital, and food sovereignty.

The Fish Buying Club is building additional capital for the community. Neechi Foods Co-operative—a fish vendor for over 20 years that focuses on Aboriginal community economic development—and U of M, have joined forces with the Garden Hill Fishery to increase human and social capitals. Neechi Foods and U of M have helped Garden Hill Fishery to obtain a special dealer’s license, which permits the fishery to sell directly, to among other places, farmers markets, restaurants, schools, and stores in Garden Hill at higher prices, thereby increasing financial capital. A video-based commercial and marketing platform was also created by U of M to help fishers market their fish (available at http://fromgardenhill.blogspot.ca/). As well, the Garden Hill Community Health Centre is working with U of M to start a small-scale country foods program that uses fish by-catch as part of their ADI program.

CONCLUSION

Exploring food-related activities and their impacts on sustainable livelihood assets, food sovereignty, and food security provides a holistic picture of outcomes and impacts. Food security analysis shows the need for food-related activities and the impact of different activities on reducing hunger. Food sovereignty meanwhile analyzes the level of community control. Finally, the sustainable livelihood analysis is important to show whether food-related activities build community capacity.

The high rate (75%) of food insecurity in Northern Manitoba communities is unacceptable, as is the lack of safe drinking water, road access, healthy housing, and other necessary infrastructure for healthy living. Development to improve food security can be improved immediately through local solutions, such as funding a country foods program. To improve food security at the regional level in the long-term, government investment is needed to improve infrastructure in Northern communities (e.g., roads, safe water systems, housing, and public transit). Food-related interventions are badly needed but their impact on food security, food sovereignty, and sustainable livelihoods should be considered from an Indigenous worldview.

Country food programs are an important option for communities to consider as they can increase all of the sustainable livelihood assets, and help build food sovereignty. According to the logit model, sharing country foods improves food security more than any other variable. The model predicts an increase in the rate of food security in the surveyed communities from 25% to 40%, and when combined with access to public transit and roads, this increases to 95%. However, even low-cost activities, such as sourcing all vegetables from local gardens, is predicted to raise the food security rate to 70%, when combined with the country food program; neither gardens nor country food programs require massive infrastructure. The Nelson House Country Foods Program negotiated the barriers imposed by the Manitoba Public Health Act and The Food and Food Handling Establishment Regulations regarding the selling or serving of local fish or meat without inspection in a federal food facility, by establishing a tracking system. Inspired by this program, South Indian Lake FN and Garden Hill FN have formed local committees to develop country food programs and are trying to take control over their food retail by developing stores in their communities. Communities would benefit from health authorities establishing local committees to allocate funding for local solutions (similar to what happened in BC), so as to maximize food sovereignty and community assets.

The market system in Manitoba that includes the Northern Store and commercial fishing provides neither food security nor sustainable livelihoods, and works against food sovereignty. Remote communities without roads suffer from high freight rates to both fly food in and fly fish out, and yet government restrictions prohibit the public sale and consumption of wild fish and meat locally. The dominant market force in Northern Manitoba is profit, rather than a community-driven chain of Northern Stores. In contrast, the Arctic Co-op in Nunavut is governed locally to meet community needs and build assets. Community stores build community assets and food security, as does more competition between stores to prevent price gouging. However, funding to subsidize freight for retail foods through Northern Stores is money badly spent, and undermines food sovereignty and sustainable livelihoods. If food is to be subsidized the program should support the poor rather than corporate entities.

Fishing is one of the few livelihoods in Northern Manitoba but the regulations and marketing restrictions make it unsustainable, with fishers suffering from high food insecurity. Fishers have high costs for outfitting and transporting fish south, but without any other market options, they receive low prices for pickerel, and due to regulation and markets, nothing for by-catch. Fishers should be able to process and sell pickerel and by-catch locally and elsewhere to gain higher prices and maintain their livelihoods.

Gardening provides some positive outcomes in communities. NHFI and CDPI programs stimulate home and community gardens and greenhouses, and provide freezer loans and a few poultry starter kits. The impacts of these programs vary based on productivity in the small number of participating homes. Agricultural programs should to be scaled up to facilitate market gardens that can sell locally and in other communities. For NHFI and all other food activities, community control over funding and decision-making without undue restrictions on country foods is key to food access in Northern Manitoba.

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Social Movement Structures in Relation to Goals and Forms of Action: An exploratory model

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ABSTRACT

This article describes a theoretical taxonomy of the structural features of social movements. We begin by using two classification criteria to analyze the types of relations that characterize the structure of social movements. From there, we look at how differences in structure relate to different goals and forms of action. We then derive a four-fold classification system based on formalization and hierarchy of relationships. For each classification we provide case descriptions of social movements (or parts thereof) using literature on how different movement structures support different types of goals and forms of action. Furthermore, we discuss the dynamics of social movements (or parts thereof) and how their classification may evolve. By doing so, we illustrate how changes in structure, goals, and forms of action mutually influence each other.

RÉSUMÉ

Cet article dresse une taxonomie théorique des caractéristiques structurelles des mouvements sociaux. Nous utilisons d'abord deux critères de classification pour analyser les types de relation propres à la structure des mouvements sociaux. Par la suite, nous observons comment des différences de structure coïncident avec des buts et des formes d'action différents. Nous développons ensuite un système de classification quadruple fondé sur la formalisation et l'hiérarchisation des relations. Pour chacune des classifications, nous fournissons des descriptions de cas de mouvements sociaux (ou de parties de ceux-ci) en recourant à des écrits sur la manière dont des structures de mouvement différentes entraînent des buts et des formes d'action différents. En outre, nous discutons des dynamiques des mouvements sociaux (ou de parties de ceux-ci) et comment leur classification pourrait évoluer. Par ce moyen, nous illustrons comment des changements de structure, de but et de forme d'action s'influencent réciproquement.

Keywords / Mots clés : Social Movements; Goals; Tactics; Structure; Coordination; Strategy / Mouvements sociaux; Buts; Tactiques; Structure; Coordination; Stratégie

INTRODUCTION

In this article we explore and theorize about the mutually reinforcing relationship between the structural characteristics of social movements, on the one hand, and goals and forms of action, on the other. In particular, we focus our analysis on how differences in structural features of social movements serve different types of goals and forms of action. We present a taxonomy based on a characterization of the relationships that exist between actors within social movements. With this taxonomy we aim to provide a framework to explore an important research gap in the contemporary nonprofit and social economy literature (see next section). For the development of our taxonomy, we combine a social movement perspective with an organizational structure perspective. This enables us to 1) pinpoint the particularities of the research gap that we deal with, and 2) build upon important earlier contributions.

RESEARCH GAP

Most often in the organizational structure literature, at least with respect to formal for-profit organizations, structure and forms of action are considered simply a means to an end in so far as reaching organization specific goals (Child & Francis, 1976; Kukalis, 1991). However, organizations with a social goal (often referred to as nonprofit, social-profit, or civil society organizations) can seldom be seen as stand-alone entities, as the achievement of their organizational missions and goals can strongly depend on the achievements of other actors in the field (DiMaggio, 2001). The conceptual grouping of various organizations, individuals, and institutions based on a common social goal and/or mission is referred to as a social movement (Coleman, 1988; Kriesi, 1996; Zald & Ash, 1966). Within the context of these social movements we argue that structure, forms of action, and types of goals are mutually interacting. Decisions regarding structure, goals, and forms of action are made separately by different entities at different levels within a movement (Hensmans, 2003). Multiple coordination mechanisms, in contrast to hierarchically centered coordination, are at the origin of the typifying collective identification and collective action of social movements, as they empower different actors to identify with a common goal and to adjust their strategies to achieve their part of it (Bakuniak & Nowak, 1987; Coleman, 1988; Simon, Loewy, Stürmer, Weber, Freytag, Habig, Kampmeier & Spahlinger, 1998). As a result, within social movements changing structures, forms of action, and types of goals mutually influence each other in a dynamic, on-going process. In this article we apply our proposed taxonomy to explore this process in further detail.

Despite the fact that the organizational structure of social movements has already been extensively explored in the literature (Jenkins & Eckert, 1986; Kriesi, 1996; McCarthy & Wolfson, 1996; McCarthy & Zald, 1977b), the focus in such contributions tends to be on the structure of their formalized components and, in particular, Social Movement Organizations (SMOs). SMOs are the formal nonprofit, social-profit, and/or civil society organizations that share interdependent missions and visions,and are associated with broader social movements. When looking at the institutionalization of movements, SMOs have been studied for the central role they play in the evolution of social movements (Burstein & Linton, 2002; Taylor & Doerfel, 2011; Zald & Ash, 1966). However, when focusing only or too strongly on SMOs, we are confronted with two major inadequacies: one is the issue of dynamism in social movements and the other is with regard to the heterogeneity of various actors in social movements.

SMOs emerge from informal connections between individuals and other organizations, and over time, these connections begin to formalize. From a dynamic perspective, given that SMOs are typically analyzed once they are formalized and already have a particular form of organizational structure, there is the risk that we will neglect important informal structures. In addition, with a too strict focus on SMOs as units of analysis, the overall underlying structure of the social movement, within which SMOs are only a part, might be ignored. For example, when social movements evolve over time, some goals and forms of actions might become more prominent than others (Armstrong, 2005; Johnson, 2008; McAdam & Scott, 2005). In parallel, the overall structure of the social movement

can change substantially, both formally and informally (Anheier, 2003; McCarthy & Zald, 1977a; Thorthon, 2002). As a result, a too strict focus on SMOs for our analysis would neglect the informal dynamics at the origin of SMOs and the changing goals, strategies, and relations of social movement actors.

The second inadequacy is that the heterogeneity of actors involved in a social movement (e.g., individuals, groups of organizations, alliances, or even whole segments of society) is overlooked when SMOs, rather than social movements as such, are the units of analysis. In addition, the relationships and partnerships that can exist between these actors are also not sufficiently addressed, despite their crucial role in the study of social movements (Snow, Zurcher & Ekland-Olson, 1980).

For the development of our taxonomy we build on Tarrow's (1994) definition of social movement structure, in which he presents three main elements. The first element is "formal organization." This element is the most, and often only element of social movement structure studied, and pertains to the structure and the role of formal organizations within social movements. The second element is the "organization of collective action," and concerns the characteristics of the relationships between entities involved in social movements (Tarrow, 1994, describes these entities as the "antagonists" of social movements). The third element, "mobilizing structures," relates to the coordinating mechanisms that adjust the goals and forms of action of the different entities within a social movement. In the taxonomy proposed in this article, we focus on the second and third elements. We start by classifying types of relations that can exist between entities (relating to Tarrow's second element) in a social movement, and use case studies to describe how through mobilizing structures (the third element), certain types of goals can be served and what forms of actions are supported.

By use of case studies from the literature, we exemplify certain structural aspects of social movements and derive the goals and forms of actions supported by these structures. We choose case studies from different social movements in order to build our framework on general tendencies rather than case-specific observations (Benford, 1997). We begin by describing the cases at one particular moment in their history, and then combine these descriptions with a discussion on how structure, goals, and forms of action can evolve over time. Indeed, as we stress in this article, we cannot ignore the dynamic nature of social movements (Benford, 1997; Benford & Snow, 2000).

MODEL CLASSIFICATION VARIABLE: MOVEMENT STRUCTURE

Similar to Kriesi (1996), we propose a four-fold classification system. However, instead of classifying SMOs based on their goals within the social movement, we classify them based on two relational characteristics of social movement structure. We define the movement structure of a social movement (or a part thereof), as the system of relations that exist between all entities involved in a given social movement (again, or part thereof). Based on this system of relations and their characteristics, entities within the social movement are defined in relation to one other. Expressing these relationships clarifies the particular role of the different entities within a social movement. In our model, we do not focus on the types of entities that are related to each other, but rather on the different types of relations that can exist between them. Entities can be individuals, organizations, groups of people, or even whole segments of society. The relationships, on which our classification system is based,can be between entities of the same type (e.g., friendship relations between individuals, or partnerships between two organization), or between entities of different types (e.g., a person being a member of an organization). As a result, and in contrast to many other entity-based classifications of social movements, we base our classification on the relational characteristics within movements. In this article we look at two generic characteristics of relations within the movement structure of a social movement: 1) the extent to which relations are either formal or informal, and 2) the extent to which the relations are hierarchical or lateral. We deal with both characteristics separately in the following two subsections.

Formal versus informal relations

The first continuous dimensional characteristic concerns the relative level of formality of relations in social movement structure. On one end of the continuum we consider highly formalized relationships, and on the other, highly informal relationships. Defining characteristics and examples of formal and informal relations are given in Table 1.

Table 1: Defining characteristics and examples of informal and formal relationships

Informal relationship	Formal relationship
Characteristics • Implicit and unwritten • Flexible (no particular rules exist to form such relationship; relationships are easy to break) • Content of relationship is based on culture, habits, and beliefs • Trust based	**Characteristics** • Externalized and/or recorded (contracts, agreements, partnerships, alliances, etc.) • Rigid (actions of both parties are determined. Parties know what is to be expected): Reduces uncertainty in the future for the partners in the relationship • Content of relationship is based on a legal system and/or a set of widely accepted rules (relates to legal legitimacy)
Examples • Friendship relation between two individuals • One-time financial donation of individual to a SMO • Spontaneous participation in demonstration • "Gentlemen's" agreement and/or cartel between organizations	**Examples** • Formal marriage between two individuals • Legal contract between individuals and/or organizations. • Formal membership of individual to an organization • Strategic alliance between organizations • Employment contract between individual and organization

Relations within a movement's structure can be strongly formalized based on legal agreements, contracts, firm and corporation configurations, and/or partnerships. On the other end of the continuum, relations can be very informal, based on individual contacts, unwritten agreements, and/or cultural customs and habits. Both types of relations, or variations in between, serve organizational structures in a particular way. The formalization of relations can be a way of reducing uncertainty as it relates to the behaviour of the other actor in the relationship. Nevertheless, there are certain costs associated with initiating and maintaining such relationships (Coase, 1937; Williamson, 1991). Furthermore, formalized relations can create a sense of legitimacy from the perspective of actors that are not involved in the relationship (Suchman, 1995) and are more appropriate when concerning the exchange of private and complex knowledge (Hansen, 1999; Uzzi & Lancaster, 2003).

In contrast to formal relationships, informal relationships are at the base of more flexible structures but are more contingent on external factors. Nevertheless, due to low initiation and maintenance costs, they can exist in large quantities (Granovetter, 1973) and can serve for quick exchanges of public and basic knowledge (Hansen, 1999; Uzzi & Lancaster, 2003). Both of these aspects are crucial for creating collective identity and initiating collective

action. In Figure 1, we represent formal relationships by use of full lines (quadrants I and II), while informal relationships are represented by dotted lines (quadrants III and IV).

Hierarchical versus lateral relations

For the second continuous dimension of our classification system we contrast hierarchical relations and lateral relations. This distinction reflects the position that actors have with respect to one other. In a hierarchical relation one actor has power and/or authority over the other, either formally or informally. In a hierarchical structure, a limited group of entities controls the majority of other entities involved. In lateral relations, actors have equal positions. Table 2 summarizes the defining characteristics and examples of hierarchical and lateral relationships.

Table 2: Defining characteristics and examples of hierarchical and lateral relationships

Hierarchical relationships	Lateral relationships
Characteristics • One actor has formal or informal power/authority over the other • One actor has a representative and/or decisive role over the other • Power of one actor towards another is related to the ability and/or willingness to keep or share information with another actor	**Characteristics** • Actors have equal power status within relationship • Reciprocity • Relation is based on mutual exchange of information and knowledge
Examples Formal • Manager versus employee in formal organization • Elected representatives within a union • Formal membership of SMOs in an umbrella organization Informal • An individual personalizing an ideology • "Think tanks" issuing pamphlets, manifests, etc.	**Examples** Formal • Bilateral partnership / alliance / joint-venture between two organizations • Business partnership between two associates Informal • Friendship relation • Exchange platforms of individuals and/or organizations

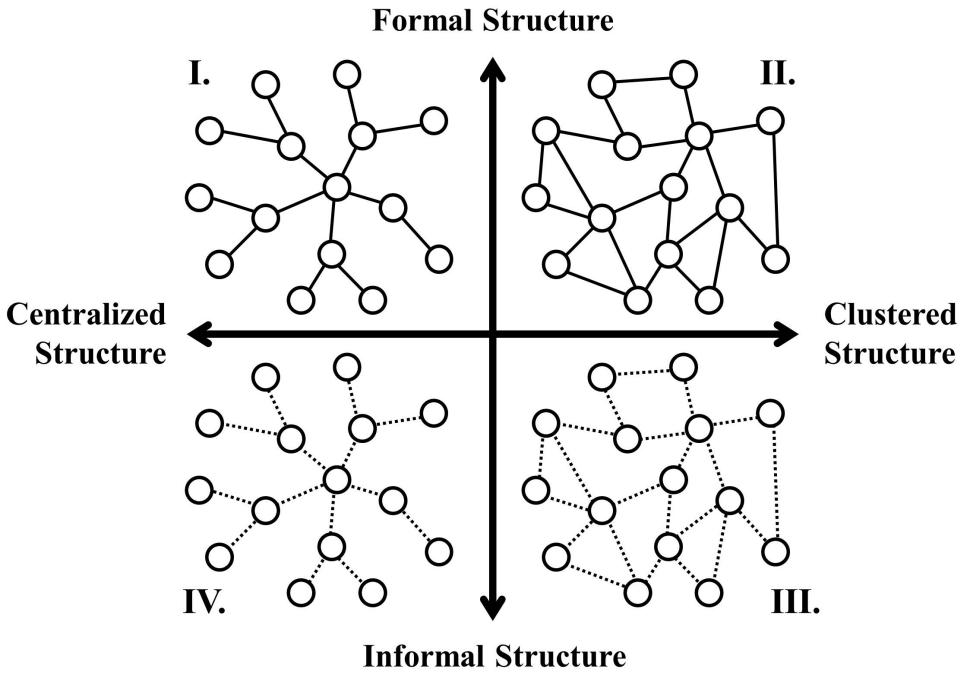
A hierarchical relationship between two actors implies that one actor is in a position of subordination, while the other is in a position of coordination and/or power (Leflaive, 1996). Within formal organizations, hierarchical relationships are inherent to the division of tasks and are dependent on the different environments in which an organization is active (Lawrence & Lorsch, 1967; Williamson; 1967). However, when the set of actors is more heterogeneous and/or less formalized within a single organization, hierarchical relationships result from the presences of more centralized actors in a network structure (Galaskiewicz, 1985; Roelofs, 2009), In particular, these central actors can play a major brokerage role in the diffusion of ideas, information, and resources, creating a position of power and authority (Burt, 2004; Obstfeld, 2005).

In contrast to hierarchical relationships, lateral relationships imply the relative equal positioning of actors. In formalized structures, lateral integration between equal level subsystems can improve the overall effectiveness with

which an organization can reach its goals, as subsystems can better align their actions and strategies towards each other (Lawrence & Lorsch, 1967; Galbraith, 1971). Across boundaries of single organizations, strategic alliances or partnerships can exemplify and explain the rationale of lateral relationships between organizations (Arya & Lin, 2007; Das & Teng, 2000; Provan & Milward, 2002; Selsky & Parker, 2005; Shumate, Fulk & Monge, 2006). Furthermore, at the individual level lateral relations exist in informal settings (such as among family, friends, or in neighbourhoods) and in formal settings (such as relationships based on contracts and codes of conduct).

For our taxonomy of social movements we distinguish between a centralized structure, encompassing mainly hierarchical relations, and a clustered structure, encompassing mainly lateral relations. In Figure 1, quadrants I and IV give a representation of centralized structures, while quadrants II and III give a representation of clustered structures.

Figure 1: Classification of movement structure based on relationship types



GOALS AND FORMS OF ACTION IN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Based on the two dimensions introduced above, we can distinguish between four quadrants. In the remainder of this section we will discuss each quadrant by use of literature-based case study analysis. However, before doing so we stress two important things. First, as mentioned earlier, the dimensions introduced should be understood as a description of two opposite situations within a continuum of many potential movement structures alternatives. By discussing each quadrant of the four-fold classification separately, we can draw theoretical findings from general tendencies. Second, it is not our aim to classify separate social movements forever within one of the four quadrants. Social movements are dynamic and their movement structures, goals, and forms of action might differ strongly for different sub-currents and for different moments in time. Within the cases we look at specific situations and deduce within them, a relation between organizational structures, goals, and forms of action. In addition, we mention the potential evolution of social movements between quadrants in order to incorporate the dynamics described in the

case studies (Benford, 1997; Benford & Snow, 2000). The four subsequent sections discuss the four quadrants as numbered in Figure 1, respectively.

Formal centralized structures

The literature provides many examples of social movements characterized by formal and centralized structures. These cases most often deal with social movements that have gradually institutionalized over time. At a certain phase in their evolution, the underlying structure of a given social movement is typified by a large set of actors, including many individuals grouped in different organizations that in turn are grouped and centralized under umbrella organizations, political platforms, and/or political formations.

For these cases, the strong degree of formalization and the many hierarchical levels indicate broad support and/or a large built-up capacity.Such evolutionary processes often require significant periods of time. Through formalization and centralization, a movement's structure can support and sustain achievements reached in the past. Zald and Ash (1966) state that the formation of coalitions and mergers of different actors in a social movement towards a centralized structure creates a broader resource base than when a single indivisible goal or position is at stake. The most common examples given of centralized and formalized structures are contemporary labour movements.

Buhlungu (2008) describes the case of the evolution of a union (Congress of South African Trade Unions [COSATU]), its structure and forms of action in South Africa in the years following the first democratic elections in 1994. The author describes how during the seventies and eighties this union, as part of the broader South African labour movement, built up a large base of supporters through its activities. Currently the movement aims to sustain rights for labour forces through strong centralized initiatives such as "collective bargaining, … the tripartite alliance of ANC, COSATU and the SACP, lobbying of parliament and participation in several ad-hoc committees set-up by government" (Buhlungu, 2008, p. 41). Importantly, Buhlungu remarks that COSATU's organizational structure has been under pressure from external forces in South-African society in the last decade, such as globalization and the strong growth of democratization. Despite the fact that some contributions in the literature often indirectly assume institutionalization of a social movement as a final point of the evolution, Buhlungu (2008) argues that even these structures might be under pressure. Due to the above-mentioned external changes, the movement's structures might become subject to either marginalization or revitalization; revitalization being a process of change in response to the organization becoming too bureaucratic (formalized) and oligarchic (centralized).

Voss and Sherman (2000) further elaborate on this process in their analysis of the revitalization of American unions and investigate the "iron law of oligarchy," which states that through the institutionalization of social movements the goal of SMOs becomes maintaining the organization in itself (as a final stage in the social movement evolution). In contrast to this "iron law" that explains social movement evolution predominantly based on internal factors, Voss and Sherman (2000) stress the combination of internal and external factors that are at the base of the revitalization of the labour movement. As such, they argue that maintaining the organization in itself is not the final step of a SMO. They identify as important drivers for revitalization of SMOs, (1) internal crises that might result from too much conservatism and bureaucracy, (2) the outside experience of new leaders, and (3) the intervention of higher-level international union organizations. When movements are undergoing revitalization, their focus shifts to the maintenance of earlier achievements and to their incremental improvement, albeit through new and innovative tactics. These new tactics are brought in by new leaders and are often applied simultaneously in "comprehensive campaigns" that aim to react to contemporary societal changes (Voss and Sherman, 2000) As a result, rather than maintaining the organization in itself, the organization's strategy and goal can be described as "a gradual adoption

of a range of tactics and a strategic way of thinking that is focused on challenging the employer's advantage and preventing employers from conducting 'business as usual'" (Voss & Sherman, 2000, p. 312).

In general, formalized and centralized structures group a large base of actors in different hierarchical and formally coordinated layers. This enables a social movement to build on a broad resource base and/or a big democratic-like representation of the actors involved in the movement. The degree of centralization (resulting in a singular voice for the movement) and the level of formalization (reducing uncertainty but also flexibility), support the long-term sustainability of a movement and incremental enhancements on past achievements. Forms of action build upon the broad resource capacity and/or the representation of the many actors involved. The presence of increasingly formalized structures and a limited number of voices speaking for the movement also facilitates (political) bargaining through a variety of methods (or campaigns) that can be gradually intensified over time (e.g., lobbying, negotiation, mobilization, marches, strikes, etc.).

Formal clustered structures

The description of the American environmental movement given by Johnson (2008) and Hoffman (2009) provides an interesting example of a formal and clustered structure. Although Hoffman's example does not focus on the evolutionary aspects of the environmental movement as such, he argues that the different currents within the broader environmental movement during the last decades have led to the scattering of many different types of organizations each with its own specific goals and tactics. This allows some organizations to focus on particular aspects of the overall environmental cause, while others deal with a wide variety or more broad environmental issues. At the same time, organizations can employ different tactics, for example, either collaborating with the corporate world (e.g., mobilization, lobbying, negotiation) or opposing the corporate world (e.g., protest or sabotage).

The focal point of Hoffman's work, however, is not so much the particular goals and forms of action of independent organizations, but rather the role of different types of organizations within the overall environmental cause. By mapping and classifying environmental organizations based on the formal relations that they have with for-profit organizations and their position within the overall network, Hoffman (2009) distinguishes between different roles that organizations take in the overall environmental cause. As a result, the formal and clustered movement structure brings together different actors, each with their own specific goals and tactics, but who ultimately contribute towards the overall and broader environmental cause.

In contrast to Hoffman, Johnson (2008) focuses on the dynamics of the environmental social movement. He investigates how growth of the environmental sector and the diversification of formalized environmental SMOs impact legislation changes in the United States. Due to the large amount of diversification, which he argues is the result of the formalization and professionalization of the sector, actors can specialize on particular topics within the broader environmental cause. In addition to specialization, environmental activist organizations—driven by different ideologies, and depending on the collaborative and/or competitive nature of the relationships between them—intentionally focus on certain tactics to differentiate themselves from other environmental organizations (Den Hond & De Bakker, 2007).

The evolution of the environmental movement is similar to the crystallization of the gay and lesbian movement in the early seventies in San Francisco, as described by Armstrong (2005). At that time, the gay and lesbian movement was typified by a large set of formalized organizations, with each organization focusing on a particular aspect of gay and lesbian rights, but with sufficient linkages between them to work together on the general and broader cause. As cited by Armstrong (2005, p. 172): "The Formula: just enough structure and planning to have a

sound foundation but not so much that action is impossible. Also, most new groups are limiting their activities to gay-oriented issues, rather than tackling all the world's ills at once." However, in subsequent years, the gay and lesbian movement seems to have centralized more and more until a consensus was built regarding the movement's goals. Armstrong (2005) reports the initiation of a nationwide political platform bringing together many organizations and initiatives scattered across the United States aimed at creating a unified strategy that is more politically oriented towards improving the living conditions for gays and lesbians. From this evolution, we can conclude that the social movement has shifted towards quadrant I. This shift is demonstrated by the fact that from the seventies on, the movement's goals, and especially forms of action, are more focused on achieving incremental changes in society through political activism with the support of a large contingent of organizations and individuals.

In sum, a clustered and formal structure relates to movements with differentiated groups of actors with specialized goals and tactics (Ruef, 2000; Taylor, 2007). Nevertheless, through the alliances and partnerships that exist between actors, each of these goals contributes in some form to a general "cause." As a result, within the broad context of a general cause, complexity is inherently dealt with by specialization among the actors involved. Direct and formalized connections support bilateral collaboration in which strategies can be aligned and complex knowledge can be exchanged (Hansen, 1999; Uzzi & Lancaster, 2003). In addition, indirect connections allow for the mediation of opposing strategies and forms of action (Eden & Huxham, 2001), or, when a movement (or part thereof) shifts towards quadrant I, the creation of a centralized platform or umbrella organization can help sustain and improve common, but more general interests (Schneiberg, King & Smith, 2008).

Informal clustered structures

At the origin of any type of organization lies the informal network of personal contacts that instigated initial collective action. In social movements we see that the early formation of informal networks helps build a sense of collective identity, even though there is an overall, but rather abstract goal (Bayat, 1997). McAdam and Scott (2005) give a detailed description of the Afro-American rights movement in the post-World War II era. During the period of its strongest growth, from the mid-fifties through the mid-sixties, the rights movement is typified as a set of many different actors and entities, including individuals, organizations, federal officials, and national media. The base of movement supporters grows substantially as a result of its broad and high-level goals, such as integration and voting rights, which were easy to identify with. In addition, spontaneous and large-scale actions took place, such as "sit-ins, mass marches and other forms of public protest and civil disobedience" (McAdam & Scott; 2005, p. 33). In this phase, emerging "resource linkages" are important (McAdam & Scott, 2005; McCarthy & Zald, 1977a) as they enable the emergence of central actors who take a leading and innovative role in the informal network structure (Hargrave & Van de Ven, 2006). From the early sixties on, due to the emergence of these leading central actors, referred to as the "Big Five" (McAdam and Scott, 2005; Rojas, 2006), one part of the movement switches to quadrant IV as central nodes become leading and/or more important in the networked structure (we will refer to this in next section). At the same time, another part of the movement progresses to quadrant II, formalizing the existing resource linkages and reducing uncertainty and enabling exchange of specialized and complex knowledge. The latter part of the movement shifts to a point where separate actors focus on specific goals and forms of action within the broader "cause," while supporting each other through alliances and partnerships.

The feminist movement, as described by Roth (2004) and Taylor (1989), has a structure that is even more informal than African American rights movement. Roth (2004) states that self-aware, autonomous feminist actors are a relative rarity in women's protest, and are in general more common to other movements or institutions. Clusters based on informal linkages exist across movement and institutional boundaries, and form the foundation of the overall collective identity of the feminist social movement (Taylor, 1989). Moreover, Roth (2004) classifies four different contextual situations in which the feminist movement might find itself, taking the "feminist-friendliness" and level of institutionalization of the environment of the movement into account. She explains how goals and actions

diverge and specialize depending on the situation. Similar to the rights movement, such an informal and clustered structure supports mobilization towards an overall, yet (still) to be defined goal. The structure emerges rather spontaneously and relies heavily on the collective identity of the actors in the social movement. Nevertheless, it seems that the structure, in and of itself, is unstable, and naturally actors start formalizing their operations and/or begin to specialize in certain forms of actions, striving for more concrete goals and achievements (Taylor, 1989). Social movements (or their sub-currents) seem to switch over time from being unstable, informal, and clustered, to becoming more formalized and/or more centralized. This is due to the specialization of its actors and the emergence of dominant central nodes within the network structure.

In sum, informal and clustered structures grow from the emergence of a collective identity and the identification of common, but abstract goals. Forms of actions supported by the movement structure are spontaneous, flexible, and easy to identify with. The informal structures are identified as a major condition for creating and sustaining commitment to goals and forms of action (Robertson & Tang, 1995; Snow et al., 1980). Examples of this type of forms of action are marches, sit-ins, petitions, demonstrations, and civil disobedience, as for these activities there is no need for formal or hierarchically coordinated mechanisms, large amounts of resources, and/or built-up capacity. However, when the movement endures, different actors might take more of a leading or central role, and actors might start to differentiate themselves through specialized tactics and goals. In addition, actors might formalize the resource linkages from the initial structure. As a result a social movement (or part thereof) might evolve more towards quadrants II or IV, or some point in between (keeping in mind that our framework is based on a continuum or multiple characteristics).

Informal centralized structures

Anheier (2003) describes how individual social movement entrepreneurs can play a major role in the growth of a social movement. In the case of the growth of the Nazi ideology in Germany between 1925 and 1930, he describes how a multitude of individuals, each of them strongly influenced by the central "body of thoughts," is deterministic in the rapid growth of a social movement. That is, individual movement entrepreneurs initiate events that are intertwined with people's everyday lives at the local political level. With respect to the growth of the Nazi-ideology in Germany, a broadly developed informal structure, centralized around a strong ideological source, resulted in the large electoral success of the "Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei" (NSDAP) (in 1930 and 1932). As Anheier notes**:** "This structure emphasized individual participation in numerous local events, meetings and quasi-military activities. The NSDAP as an organization was thus able to link the level of national and regional party politics to the everyday lives of party members and thereby managed to create a sense of community or 'Gemeinshaft'" (2003, p. 51). The movement structure described supports the creation of a "sense of community," building on individuals' participation in different events and organizations. Formalization of this structure after the electoral success, by incorporating the organizing committees of these initiatives within the party structure or requiring party membership of individuals to participate, means a switch from informal centralized structure (Quadrant IV) to formal centralized structure (Quadrant I).

Another ideology-based example, although in this case not resulting in a strongly formalized structure, is the Falun Gong movement in China at the end of the nineties as described by Thorthon (2002) and McDonald (2004). Falun Gong is a form of exercise typically practiced in public places by large groups of people. The synchronized nature of the movements shows a large sense of connection of the people involved. Growing numbers of people practiced Falun Gung in the late nineties at public places in China until it was forbidden in 1999. The ideas of Falun Gong founder Li Hongzhi are the central body of thought on which the structured exercises are based (Thorthon, 2002). Relations among practitioners are informal and it is easy to join since there are no formal requirements. McDonald (2004) stresses how the movement enhances sense of belonging among practitioners: "Sociological theory, in particular the tradition drawing on Durkheim, can easily interpret ritual and body practice in terms of production of belief and belonging, where forms of co-presence generate deindividuation, the dissolution of the subject into the collective" (p. 579). Furthermore, McDonald (2004) describes how forms of actions focus on

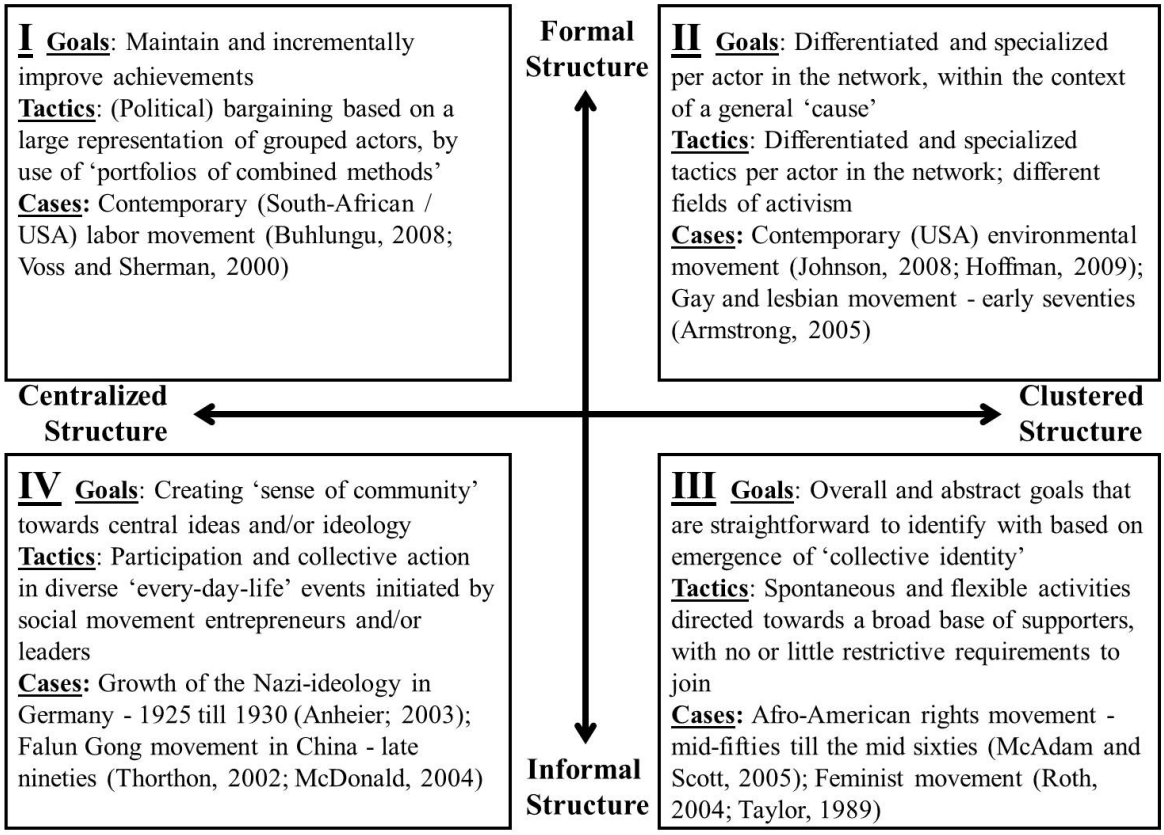
this "deindividuation," rather than on representation. Forms of actions are mainly based on the collective participation in ideological activities. In general, descriptions of social movements in the literature often start from the assumption that a collective identity exists on which collective behavior is based. The case of Falun Gong presented by McDonald however, takes an opposite perspective, in that for this particular form of social movement (or part thereof), collective action leads to collective identity. We can therefore assume that both perspectives are mutually reinforcing (Polletta, 1999).

In general, we argue that an informal centralized movement structure typifies an (early) ideology-based movement. Participation and shared activities, based on a central body of thoughts, creates a sense of belonging and leads, as McDonald suggests, to "deindividuation." Through this structure collective identity is enforced, and as a result, the movement may formalize over time.

DISCUSSION

In the cases presented above, we focused on the relationship between, on the one hand, movement structure, and on the other, the goals and forms of action of social movements. We argue that different movement structures relate to different types of goals and tactics. Figure 2 gives an overview of characteristics of goals and forms of actions based on our generalized findings from the cases described above.

Figure 2: Summarizing characteristics of goal and tactics based on underlying organizational structure



However, we must treat social movements as dynamic objects of study, as both internal and external factors might lead to changes in social movements' structures, goals, and tactics. Different evolutionary trends can be

distinguished within and between the quadrants in the model. Informal and clustered structures at the base of a social movement grow as a result of the emergence of a collective identity among actors that favour similar high-level, though rather abstract goals. The existence of many informal connections enables spontaneous and easy-to-join forms of actions. The growth of a clustered network and collective identity mutually support one another (Quadrant III). When the organization has the support and legitimacy of a critical mass of actors: (1) more central nodes might come forward as leading actors, while (2) existing linkages might be formalized in alliances and partnerships to enhance the sustainability of actions and resources and to reduce uncertainty when exchanging specialized and complex knowledge. The emergence of central and leading nodes can be influential in shaping the content of goals and tactics of social movements (or parts thereof), and can enhance the sense of collectivity among actors. Forms of actions are often directed internally through individuals' participation in events, meetings, and activities (Quadrant IV). The formalization of linkages between actors, whether or not in combination with the emergence of central nodes, enables actors' differentiation towards more concrete goals and tactics within the larger "cause." Actors specialize in order to deal with more concrete aspects of the overall social movement, while the creation of formal alliances and partnerships reduces uncertainty on resource linkages (Quadrant II).

The distinction between an evolution from Quadrant III towards quadrants II or IV shows us two separate processes of social movements. In practice, however, these shifts might happen in parallel, regardless of whether one process is more dominant than the other. As an example, in their description of the US peace movement after the Cold War, between 1988 and 1992, Edwards and Marullo (1995) find the transition of peace organizations to more specialized niches, and there is also a tendency to group initiatives into nationwide collaborations (i.e., showing trends towards both quadrant II and IV).

A third evolution, starting from quadrant II, III or IV, is the combined formalization of relations and the centralization of actors in grouped initiatives, platforms, umbrella organizations, or political formations. This type of evolution supports the sustained and incremental improvement of overall achievements by using a large representation of people and/or organizations, resource base, and built-up capacity (Quadrant I). Depending on internal and external factors, such as new leadership strategies, political changes, or socio-demographic evolutions, social movements (or parts thereof) tend either to marginalize or revitalize (Buhlungu, 2008; Rodgers, 2010; Voss & Sherman, 2000). When they become more marginalized, goals and/or tactics become less relevant or less supported by the base of the movement, while revitalization uses of an innovative and broader set of tactics to maintain and improve upon previous achievements.

FUTURE CHALLENGES

In this article, we propose a general classification framework for understanding the characteristics of social movements, linking movement structure with goals and forms of actions. We build upon a variety of cases from different movements at different moments to enhance the generalizability of this framework (Snow, Rochford, Worden & Benford, 1986). In addition, we discuss the dynamic nature of structural characteristics, goals, and forms of action. For our explanation we use extensive and well-documented case studies and insights from seminal contributions to the literature. However, important avenues for further research are open.

First, more cases from the literature could be reviewed for an enhanced and more exhaustive explanation of the relationship between movement structure, goals, and forms of actions. Second, original data analyses for the purpose of scrutinizing this model are important. More detailed and directed analyses of structural aspects, goals, and tactics at certain moments in time for certain parts of social movement will enable a more thorough description of the relationship between the concepts studied. This exercise may even result in the falsification of the model presented here, which is ultimately beneficial in that it will lead to the framework's continued adaptation or revision.

The process of adaptation and revision will enhance academic insight into the structural aspects of social movements related to goals and forms of action. Third, in the description given above we left out a detailed analysis of the potential factors, internal or external, that might be at the origin of different structural characteristics, or which may cause the shift between different quadrants in the model (Benford & Snow, 2000). In future research, incorporating exogenous and contextual factors, and/or internal dynamics, could also enhance the relevance of the model for its further application to the structure of social movements.

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Assessing the Ability of Disability Organizations: An Interprovincial Comparative Perspective

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ABSTRACT

Despite much effort put toward Canadian social policy renewal in the past decade, innovations in programming have been stifled due in large part to a lack of funding and accountability issues. This is clearly evident in the disability policy field related to labour market programming for persons with disabilities where the packaging of programs has continually changed; however, the actual contents have largely remained the same. The focus on federal-provincial dimensions has come to marginalize the role of disability organizations in the process, yet it is these organizations that governments may enter into partnership with in new governance arrangements to foster new programming. This article reviews data from charitable tax returns for the time period 2005–2010 to assess the human, financial, and technological capacity of Canadian disability organizations in five Canadian provinces, in order to implement innovative programming.

RÉSUMÉ

Malgré beaucoup d'efforts au renouvellement de la politique sociale canadienne dans la dernière décennie, les innovations dans la programmation ont été étouffées en grande partie à l'absence de questions de financement et de responsabilité. Cela est très évidente dans le domaine de la politique handicap lié à la programmation du marché du travail pour les personnes handicapées où l'emballage des programmes a constamment changé mais le contenu réel est restés largement pareilles. L'accent sur les dimensions provinciales fédérales est venu à marginaliser le rôle des organisations de personnes handicapées dans le processus, mais ce sont ces organismes que les gouvernements peuvent entrer en partenariat avec de nouveaux modes de gouvernance pour favoriser la nouvelle programmation. Cet article examine les données de bienfaisance des déclarations de revenus pour la période 2005–2010 pour évaluer les capacités humaines, financières et technologiques des organisations de personnes handicapées canadiennes dans cinq provinces canadiennes à mettre en œuvre des programmes novateurs.

Keywords / Mots clés : Disability; Policy capacity; Disability associations; Policy change; Canada / Handicap; Capacité politique; Les associations de personnes handicapées; Changement de politique; Canada

INTRODUCTION

The lack of innovation in labour market programming for persons with disabilities in Canada has been well documented (HRSDC, 2008; Graefe & Levesque, 2010). Efforts to move from the delivery of broad vocational programming to innovative and targeted measures that prepare persons with disabilities for entry into the labour market have been met with limited success in that there have been few new programs introduced. Rather, the past ten years have mainly seen the repackaging or continuation of programs long established under the Vocational Rehabilitation Development Program (HRSDC, 2010). Exactly how such repackaging or continuation of old programs can meet current needs of persons with disabilities is unclear; a point stressed by many front line service workers and disability organizations (Graefe & Levesque, 2006, 2010). These results are surprising given the significant efforts the federal and provincial governments have expended at renewing the Canadian social union since 1995, including negotiation of the Social Union Framework Agreement (SUFA) and various social policy agreements (e.g., Labour Market Programming for Persons with Disabilities) (Telford, Graefe, & Banting, 2008).

Two main reasons have been put forth to explain the lack of "on the ground" changes: federalism and funding (Boismenu, 2006; Graefe & Levesque, 2006). Simply put, Canadian federal and provincial governments have been caught in debates surrounding constitutional jurisdictions and accountability mechanisms. The fact that labour market programming for persons with disabilities has attracted little funding, especially when compared to the early learning and child care fields (Friendly & White, 2008), has further complicated matters. The result has been a stymieing of learning and innovation. Yet there have been few incentives to innovate, given the lack of competition for program and service provision. Hence, old programs have been repackaged to capture changing funding priorities, with provinces holding a virtual monopoly on the provision of services for persons with disabilities, including those for labour market programming (Prince, 2004). This provincial response is not unusual and is consistent with the division of powers under Canada's constitution, which assigns provinces jurisdiction for social programs.

This narrow interpretation of the situation ignores Canada's rich history of federal funding of interest groups to provide services in areas of provincial jurisdiction in order to achieve Pan-Canadian social policy goals (Graham & Phillips, 1997; Lindquist, 2005). The direct funding of disability organizations by the federal government continues to this day, albeit on a more limited scale. For example, the federal government currently provides approximately $30 million per year through the Opportunities Fund to disability organizations for innovative programming for persons with disabilities who would otherwise not qualify for other programs (HRSDC, 2008). In doing so, the federal government is recognizing limitations in current programs and the broader situation. The provinces and the federal government seem to be locked in a "tussle" with each other, and programming for persons with disabilities is caught in the crosshairs (Prince, 2004; Bach, 2002; Hanes & Moscovitch, 2002). It is simplistic to think that more federal monies provided to the provinces alone would help matters. If that were the case, then Canada's healthcare woes would have long been solved (Commission on the Future of Health Care in Canada, 2002). Instead, the real culprit may be the lack of competition the provinces currently face given its lock on the provision of these services (Powers, Sowers, & Singer, 2006; Weaver, 1994). To unleash innovation, the position advanced in this article is for the federal government to facilitate an innovative environment by recouping its proud tradition of directly funding civil society groups to meet social goals. However, in doing so, the ability of disability organizations to fulfil this innovative programmatic role is questioned.

The operational definition of “innovation” used in this research is relatively broad, and refers to a program or policy that is new to the state adopting it; can be shallow, intermediate, or deep; is often evolutionary and adaptive; and may occur at any level of governance (Walker, 1969; Desveaux, Lindquist, & Toner, 1994; Golden, 1990; Zegans, 1992). Combining employment programs for persons with disabilities from various government initiatives into one portfolio in order to claim federal funding, as was done by Prince Edward Island, does not qualify here as innovative, given that no new programs were developed and existing programs were repackaged and continued (Graefe & Levesque, 2010). Alternatively, the enhancement of labour market programming, such as an increase in the number or length of time that services are offered, would be considered innovative given such enhancements would be new to the state adopting it (even though such changes may not be the most provocative).

This article assesses the capacity of disability organizations to be vehicles for delivering innovative labour market programs for persons with disabilities. The term “disability organizations” is defined here as non-governmental organizations that provide services such as employment preparation and training and related services for persons with disabilities (see Tables 1a and 1b). In essence, it is a subset of the broad category of “interest organizations,” which Hendriks (2006) defines to include "elite and active policy actors such as stakeholders, pressure groups, lobby groups, representative organizations, secondary associations, activists, scientists, government agencies, and corporations" yet excludes political parties (p. 572). The article proceeds in three parts. Methodologies used in the investigation are first profiled, followed by a contextual overview of disability organizations and policy in Canada. Capacity issues surrounding disability organizations are then assessed and discussed.

METHODOLOGY

This article is a Canadian case study that compares two traditionally *have* provinces (Ontario and Alberta), with three traditionally *have not* provinces (Newfoundland and Labrador, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick) to examine similarities and differences in capacity that may exist among select disability organizations. Such a comparison recognizes the fact that disability organizations operate in (and depend on) provinces with different financial capacities, which may provide organizations with different limitations and opportunities. A province is labelled as being *have* or *have not* depending on whether or not it receives federal equalization payments. These payments are made to provinces whose fiscal capacity is under the national average in order to bring them up to a standard whereby they may then deliver similar services at similar levels of taxation (Bakvis, Baier, & Brown, 2009). A province that receives equalization payments is considered to be a *have not* province, while a province that does not receive equalization payments is termed a *have* province. The descriptor “traditionally” is used in recognition of the fact that since 2009–2010 Ontario has received equalization payments from Ottawa thus becoming a *have not* province, while the exact opposite situation has occurred with Newfoundland and Labrador—it is now a *have* province (Finance Canada, n.d.). However, the provinces are grouped into their traditional categories to reflect the time period of study 2005–2010, to stay consistent with earlier work highlighting funding impediments (e.g., Graefe & Levesque, 2010), and the fact that the recent changes in financial status will not yet have had adequate time to trickle down to disability organizations and dramatically alter finances.

Disability organizations selected for examination are all registered charities under the Canada Revenue Agency (CRA) regulations to facilitate data accumulation. Charitable tax returns were used to obtain a snapshot of disability organizations. Yearly charitable returns are filed with the CRA and made available to the public via the Charities and Giving website, thus facilitating data collection (see http://www.cra-arc.gc.ca/chrts-gvng/lstngs/menu-eng.html). The information is, however, not “necessarily” verified thus bringing its reliability into question (Canada

Revenue Agency, 2011). Registered charities must limit their political advocacy work on a sliding scale between 20% and 10% of their resources. Organizations with an annual revenue in excess of $200,000 are limited to a 10% allocation of resources to political activities, while registered charities with an annual income of less than $50,000 may allocate up to 20% of this revenue toward political activities (Canada Revenue Agency, 2003). Hence, disability organizations profiled herein primarily focus on service provision.

The disability organizations selected for review were first identified through website searches of the "links" pages of various disability organizations and government websites. Additional organizations were identified through Internet searches. This facilitated the development of preliminary lists for the selection of disability organizations, which were based on a convenience sample along three axes: employment services, assistive devices, and hearing services.

Quantitative data gleaned from the charitable tax returns for the years 2005–2010 was gathered to assess issues of capacity. Capacity is defined in this research as the human, financial, and technological resources of a disability organization. Human resources refer to the average number of employees and the ratio of full-time and part-time employees. Financial resources include the ability of organizations to meet their short-term obligations (liquidity ratio), an assessment of their main funding sources and expenditures, as well as their ability to raise funds (fundraising ratio). Technological resources refer to the amount invested in equipment, computers, vehicles, and furniture. It does not include land and buildings. A forensic review of selected disability organizations is not the goal of this examination, but rather it is to provide a snapshot of the relative health or vibrancy of disability organizations in order to gauge whether such organizations in traditionally *have* or *have not* provinces face similar capacity issues, and whether such issues are consistent across three specific sub-sectors—employment services, assistive devices, and hearing services.

Having the capacity to deliver innovative programs is dependent on factors beyond an organization's human, financial, and technological assets, such as social capital (Putnam, 2000). People and infrastructure are needed to deliver programs, as well as sufficient financial resources to develop and refine programs. Adequate financial resources are required if implementation difficulties arise and additional investment is required to overcome them. To be sure, adequate human, financial, and technological resources do not guarantee a quality or innovative program (especially if the program is poorly designed) but may increase its likelihood (Damanpour & Schneider, 2009; Satterthwaite, 2002; Bull & Bane, 2001; Mulroy & Shay, 1997).

The quantitative profile was then compared with interview data provided by officials from a sample of the disability organizations studied in order to evaluate its congruence. A total of six semi-structured interviews were conducted with content analyses of interview transcriptions revealing major themes for comparison.

CONTEXTUAL OVERVIEW: DISABILITY ORGANIZATIONS AND POLICY IN CANADA

Valuing disability organizations

A broad look at disability organizations conceived as voluntary and community organizations involved in service delivery and/or advocacy work on behalf of a specific clientele (White, 2005) finds that they are important conduits for learning, which leads to a vibrant and engaged citizenry over the course of one's life (Canadian Centre on Disability Studies, 2002; Eldson, Reynolds, & Steward, 1995; Putnam, 2000). These organizations represent wide constituencies and are, as such, means of inclusion, representation, and participation (Meadowcroft, 2004). Gouthro (2010) has shown how people turn to community organizations at transition points in their lives for services either they or a family member need. Combined with the fact that community care is often considered

ideal, given the importance of independence and citizenship as entitlement to rights and justice (Bron, 2003; Peter, Spalding, Kenny, Conrad, McKeever, & Macfarlan, 2007), one can see how community organizations contribute to the health of a community in many ways including employment, education, psychologically, and culturally (Gouthro, 2010).

A narrower focus on disability organizations finds a similar result. It is through the engagement of disability organizations that governments acquire information, dispel myths, and enhance the credibility of their policy or services. At the same time, the disability community benefits in the form of expanded inclusion, increased civic capacity, and sense of citizenship (Prince, 2010; Hendriks, 2006; Mansbridge, 1992). As a Canadian Centre on Disability Studies (CCDS) (2002) study found, a common public understanding of disability issues is crucial to the advancement of a disability policy agenda. This underscores the emancipatory role social enterprises may have on persons with disabilities. That is, in addition to their social purpose, organizations generate economic value relating to the production of goods and services, employment of persons with disabilities, and asset ownership (Quarter & Mook, 2010; Quarter, Mook, & Armstrong, 2009; Mook, Quarter, & Ryan, 2010).

Policy context

Disability organizations can be seen as an integral part of society, yet over the past 40 years their relationships with governments have ebbed and flowed (Roberts, 2001). As the welfare state enlarged in the 20th century, voluntary organizations increasingly became involved in both advocacy and service delivery (Graham & Phillips, 1997). This is seen in the disability policy field where disability organizations deliver key vocational training activities. Governments at the time were the main funders of these programs, which included funds to meet operational costs. By the 1980s, some organizations came under scrutiny for financial irregularities, and a decade later, while facing unprecedented high debt levels, the federal government unilaterally made deep cuts to transfers to the provinces for health and social programs and discontinued operational grants to disability organizations (White, 2008). The new norm became one of contracting with governments and strict new accountability measures (Larner, 2000). Disability organizations, like others, were now competing against each other for contracts through tendering processes, which worked against their previous collaborative behaviour (Eakin, 2002; Cloutier-Fisher & Skinner, 2004). This new climate, in particular, the loss of core operational funding, was devastating for organizations and many ceased to exist (White, 2008; Cardozo, 1996).

This crisis in the voluntary sector led to developments on two fronts. On the first front, organizations came together to address accountability and funding issues, yet these efforts were co-opted by the Liberal government's 1999–2004 Voluntary Sector Initiative (VSI), (Panel on Accountability and Governance in the Voluntary Sector, 1999). This initiative minimized or dismissed funding issues (White, 2005) and tried to legitimize the federal government's policy direction by committing it to consider the impact of its actions on voluntary community organizations (Treasury Board Secretariat, 2002). This recognition was a hollow victory at best, given the lack of funding discussions and that the process was captured by elite organizations—on the ground organizations that provided services were not involved in the process (Brock, 2003; Phillips, 2001; Panel on Accountability and Governance in the Voluntary Sector, 1999).

On the second front, the severe federal budgetary cutbacks in the 1990s, the failed attempts at constitutional change (Meech Lake and Charlottetown Accords), and the subsequent 1995 Québec referendum on sovereignty, pressured the federal government to demonstrate the positive workings of the federation through non-constitutional means (Young, 1999; Lazar, 1998). Broad framework agreements were developed, aimed at disentangling responsibilities and elaborating new rules to direct intergovernmental relations. The 1999 Social Union Framework Agreement (SUFA) was one such agreement. SUFA was a significant document in that the

federal government conceded that they would consult the provinces before spending in their areas of constitutional jurisdiction. In return, the provinces acknowledged that the federal government could spend in areas of provincial jurisdiction (Government of Canada, 1999). This pattern of cross-fertilization of jurisdictions has since waned under successive Harper Conservative governments with its emphasis on the provision of "no strings attached" funding to the provinces as they embrace a more classical model of Canadian federalism (e.g., healthcare; Stephen Harper Interview by Peter Mansbridge, January 16, 2012). However, it is from this framework agreement, the SUFA, which several social policy agreements followed such as Labour Market Programming for Persons with Disabilities.

Labour market programs for persons with disabilities

For persons with disabilities, changes to labour market programs were a long time coming. Vocational rehabilitation and training was the focus under the *Vocational Rehabilitation of Disabled Persons Act* (VRDP) from 1961–1997. While expansive in orientation in that it included support for sheltered workshops, employment research aid, and respite services, the focus was on a custodial care model and not one of independent living or full inclusion into society. Under the VRDP, the federal and provincial governments entered into two- to three-year cost-sharing agreements to deliver various programs. Cost sharing was 50:50, until 1994 when the federal government capped its contribution as part of the 1994 Program Review (Kroeger, 1996; Phillips, 1995).

A series of reports in the 1980s and 1990s challenged the custodial care model, and culminated in the 1998 *In Unison* report (Burns & Gordon, 2011; Graefe & Levesque, 2010). This document elaborated a clear vision for persons with disabilities in advancing their full participation in society. To meet this end, changes were required in disability supports, employment preparation, and income supports (Government of Canada, 1998). Foreshadowing this change in philosophy and to meet the employment preparation pole, the Multilateral Framework for Employability Assistance for People with Disabilities (EAPD) was negotiated between the federal and provincial governments in 1997, along with five-year bilateral agreements (1998) (Government of Canada, 1997; Human Resources Development Canada , 2002). The federal contribution of 50% was capped at $190 million per year and elaborate accountability provisions surrounding the preparation and sharing of annual plans and reports were introduced. The range of services funded under the EAPDs was reduced and funding for sheltered workshops and addictions services was terminated. By all accounts, the EAPDs were of limited success. Programs largely remained the same, and addictions services and sheltered workshops continued to be funded (Graefe & Levesque, 2010, forthcoming). The new accountability provisions were a point of constant friction between federal and provincial officials, given that annual plans had to be reviewed and approved by federal officials, while reporting requirements proved to be onerous (Graefe & Levesque, 2006, 2010). Further changes were required.

The successor agreement, the Multilateral Framework for Labour Market Agreement for Persons with Disabilities (2003), and its bilateral agreements (2004) have proven to be no better (Graefe & Levesque, 2010, forthcoming). These two-year agreements, continually renewed and set to expire in 2012, continued the focus on employability. That is, the focus remained on the design and delivery of a suite of employment programming, including education and training for persons with disabilities (Government of Canada, 2003). The provinces received increased flexibility in reporting requirements and a slim increase in yearly funding from the federal government (up to $230-million per year). An extensive review of three *have not* provinces (i.e., financially challenged; Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island) and two *have* provinces (i.e., financially able; Ontario, and Alberta) found that little program innovation and learning had occurred. When it did occur, as in limited cases with the *have* provinces, it was due to decisions taken and increases in funding by *provincial* governments. For the *have not* provinces, ineligible programs such as sheltered workshops and addictions services continued to be funded and

no new programs were developed. In essence, new monies were used to fund existing programs to ensure their continuation. More broadly, funding has proved to be insufficient, with officials from disability organizations stating that much more could be done if only jurisdictional battles were set aside and funding increased (Graefe & Levesque, 2010).

Overcoming the jurisdictional impasse

While enhanced funding may well help improve matters, little may be achieved if additional monies are directed to a monopoly provider. Such is the current situation in Canada, with the provinces given preeminence in the social policy realm. Few incentives exist for the provinces to innovate given the lack of competition they face for the provision of services for persons with disabilities. Coupled with the lack of a unified voice from the disability community (Elson, 2011), the provinces have had wide latitude for disability related programming. Enhanced or redirecting existing (some) federal funding, as is currently done with the Opportunities Fund, directly to disability organizations can challenge existing provincial monopolies on labour market programming for persons with disabilities by fostering an innovative environment.

The direct federal funding of interest groups is not without precedent. The Opportunities Fund (OF) could serve as a template for use by the federal government. Since its inception in 1997, the Opportunities Fund has helped persons with disabilities to "prepare for, obtain, and maintain employment or self-employment" (Human Resources and Social Development Canada, n.d.). Individuals, employers, or organizations apply directly to the federal government for funds to support employment activities such as to increase their job skills or to integrate into the workforce. Funding is targeted for persons with disabilities who are not eligible for Employment Insurance benefits. The OF is small and has been capped at approximately $30-million annually though it has received an additional $30-million over three years announced as part of Budget 2012 (Government of Canada, 2012). While appreciative of the funding, disability organizations have observed that the fund is limiting in that only national projects (i.e., delivered in at least three provinces) qualify for funding and that the funding is for short-term projects only (i.e., maximum three years) and meet strict accountability requirements (Graefe & Levesque, 2010; Human Resources and Social Development Canada, n.d.; Rioux & Prince, 2002). Provinces to date have not been concerned about this program given the relatively small dollar amounts involved (Graefe & Levesque, 2010). Hence, a mechanism exists to foster a more productive environment to spur innovation and learning yet it calls into question the capacity of disability associations to deliver such innovative programming.

PROFILE OF DISABILITY ORGANIZATIONS

Charitable returns for 15 disability organizations were reviewed for the years 2005–2010. This consisted of three disability organizations in each of the five provinces selected for the study (Newfoundland and Labrador, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Ontario, and Alberta). For each province, care was taken to select a representative organization along three axes: employment services, assistive devices, and hearing services. Tables 1a and 1b list the charities studied and provide a brief profile of their main program areas and clients as identified in their charitable returns.

Table 1a. Disability organizations selected for study, program areas, *have not* provinces

Province	Employment services	Assistive devices	Hearing services
Newfoundland and Labrador	Coalition of Persons with Disabilities	Learning Disabilities Association of NL	Canadian Hard of Hearing Association – NL Inc.
Program areas:	• 40% Advocacy • 30% Human rights • 15% Public education (multi-disability)	• 100% Literacy programs	• 75% Other • 10% Seniors' services • 10% Support & services for charitable sector
Nova Scotia	Affirmative Industry Association of Nova Scotia	Easter Seals Nova Scotia	Society of Deaf and Hard of Hearing Nova Scotians
Program areas:	• 100% Employment preparation and training (primarily mental health clients)	• 50% Services for physically or mentally challenged • 20% Promotion & protection of health • 20% Employment preparation & training	• 60% Interpreter & note taking services • 30% Services for physically or mentally challenged • 10% Literacy programs
New Brunswick	Community Industries Employment Vocational Association Inc.	Canadian Rehabilitation Council for the Disabled	South-east Deaf & Hard of Hearing Association
Program areas:	• 90% Services for physically or& mentally challenged • 10% Vocational/ technical training	• 56% Services for physically or mentally challenged • 28% Summer camps • 16% Support and services for charitable sector	• 80% Services for physically or mentally challenged • 5% Cultural programs, including heritage languages • 5% Literacy programs

Source: Canada Revenue Agency. *Charities listings*. URL: http://www.cra-arc.gc.ca/chrts-gvng/lstngs/menu-eng.html [February 5, 2011].

Table 1b. Disability organizations selected for study, program areas, *have* provinces

Province	Employment services	Assistive devices	Hearing services
Ontario	LEADS Employment Services London Inc	Ontario Society For Crippled Children	Deaf Access Simcoe Muskoka
Program areas:	• 50% Services for physically or mentally challenged • 50% Employment preparation and training	• 70% Services for physically or mentally challenged • 10% Summer camps • 10% Public education, other study programs	• 100% Services for physically or mentally challenged
Alberta	Employabilities Society of Alberta	Alberta Easter Seals Society	Alberta Deaf Sports Association
Program areas:	• 100% Employment preparation and training (multi-disability)	• 88% Services for physically or mentally challenged • 12% Housing for seniors, low-income, and those with disabilities	• 100% Services for physically or mentally challenged

Source: Canada Revenue Agency. *Charities listings*. URL: http://www.cra-arc.gc.ca/chrts-gvng/lstngs/menu-eng.html [February 5, 2011].

Disability Organizations and Capacity Issues

Context

A significant percentage of the Canadian population has a disability. As shown in Table 2, almost 17% or 4.2 million Canadians have a disability. The rate is lowest in Alberta (15.8%) and higher in Nova Scotia (23%) and New Brunswick (19.8%). The higher rates in the two Maritime provinces may be a reflection of the industrial base, with forestry and fishing activities being high risk occupations.

Persons with disabilities tend to be financially worse off than persons without disabilities. In a review of employment rates from 1993–2006, Crawford (2012) found persons with disabilities twice as likely to be unemployed when compared to those without disabilities, which, as he notes, has been long recognized by governments, disability organizations, and researchers alike (pp. 3–4). Similarly, the median total income for adults (15 years +) with a disability is 69–73% that of those without disabilities, as shown in Table 2. The gap is noteworthy especially when one considers actual dollar figures. For example, in Newfoundland and Labrador, the total median income for an adult with disabilities in 2006 was $14,761, which rose to $22,378 in Alberta. Such financial disparities challenge one's ability to meet their needs given the additional costs they often face in dealing with their disability. For instance, two thirds of persons with disabilities use at least one assistive device (e.g., respiratory aids, computers, wheelchairs), 39% of whom report their needs are either not met or only partially met, largely due to financial considerations (Statistics Canada, 2010).

Family members are heavily relied upon for financial help in 70% of cases and for the 2.4 million adult persons with disabilities that require help in meeting their everyday needs (e.g., meal preparation, household chores,

appointments), family members remain the primary caregivers in 83% of the cases (Statistics Canada, 2010). Such challenges limit the full inclusion of persons with disabilities into the work force, while increasingly challenging the time and resources of family members.

Table 2. Adults, median income of persons with disabilities (2006)

	Total population (No.)	Population persons with disabilities (No., %)	Median total income adults 15yrs+ without disability ($)	Median total income adults 15yrs+ with disability ($, %)
Canada	25,422,280	4,215,520 (16.6)	27,496	19,199 (70)
Newfoundland and Labrador	421,190	71,500 (17)	21,213	14,761 (70)
Nova Scotia	750,240	172,570 (23)	24,959	18,231 (73)
New Brunswick	595,480	117,860 (19.8)	24,337	16,796 (69)
Ontario	9,777,220	1,770,760 (18.1)	29,326	20,955 (71)
Alberta	2,596,410	410,600 (15.8)	30,525	22,378 (73)

Source: Statistics Canada. (2007). *Participation and activity limitation survey 2006.* URL: http://www.statcan.gc.ca/cgi-bin/imdb/p2SV.pl?Function=getSurvey&SDDS=3251&lang=en&db=imdb&adm= 8&dis=2 [February 5, 2011].

Human resources

Overall, two points emerge along the human dimension of disability organizations selected for the study as shown in Table 3. First, there are a higher number of full-time workers in the disability organizations in the *have* provinces, suggesting that these organizations are simply larger in size. However, when population differences are taken into consideration, one observes a higher rate of full-time employment per capita in the *have not* provinces. This suggests more people are required to deliver needed services, perhaps due to a sparse population spread out over a larger geographical area than in the *have not* provinces. A similar situation exists in relation to part-time workers, though not to the same degree. The exception to this pattern is New Brunswick where we find the greatest number of part-time workers in disability organizations. As we will see in the next section, this is part of a larger funding challenge facing disability organizations in New Brunswick who have increasingly turned to part-time workers to carry much of the workload.

Table 3. Human resources, 5-year average (2005–2010)

Province	Full-Time			Part-Time		
	Number of staff	Average wages ($)	Per capita wages ($)	Number of staff	Average wages ($)	Per capita wages ($)
Have-not provinces						
Newfoundland and Labrador	4	32,041	0.25	3	2,922	0.02
Nova Scotia	9	45,368	0.44	13	4,553	0.06
New Brunswick	11	26,251	0.39	30	3,651	0.15
Average	8	34,385	0.13	15	3,944	0.03
Have provinces						
Ontario	29	54,841	0.004	23	19,135	0.001
Alberta	20	46,284	0.01	23	8,197	0.002
Average	25	50,322	0.003	23	13,666	0.001

Note: Information derived from Section C and/or Schedule 3 of the Registered Charity Information Return. Averages and per capita calculations computed by author using population data from: Statistics Canada. (2011). *Population by year, by province and territory.* CANSIM, Table 051-0001. URL: http://www40.statcan.ca/l01/cst01/demo02a-eng.htm [February 5, 2011].

The second point to be observed is that full-time employees are on average better paid in the *have* provinces ($50,322 compared to $34,385). The five-year average yearly full-time wages are highest in Ontario ($54,841) and lowest in New Brunswick ($26,251). When broken down on a per capita basis and similar to employment numbers above, we find on average a higher level of remuneration in the *have not* provinces ($0.13) when compared to the *have* provinces ($0.003). This is a wage difference of up to 43 times larger in the *have not* provinces (with Nova Scotia an outlier). Part-time workers in the *have* provinces are also on average better paid than their counterparts in the *have not* provinces as shown in Table 3.

However, such comparisons may mask important cost-of-living differences across provinces. To address this, wages for employees in disability organizations are compared to the average wage for each province—we find that the full-time five-year average compensation for employees in disability organizations for all provinces is higher than their respective provincial average earnings of workers except for those workers in New Brunswick whose five-year average for full-time workers is approximately $2,000 less than the 2006 Census Canada provincial average (compare figures in Table 3 and Table 4). Moreover, the variation in the magnitude of the difference in wages for full-time workers is similar across provinces, suggesting similar cost-of-living effects, thus providing some confidence in the interprovincial comparisons as shown in Table 4 (with New Brunswick as the outlier). The above trends hold at the sectoral level.[1]

Table 4. Average earnings of the population 15 years & over (2006)

Province	Average earnings ($)	Average earnings as % of average provincial disability organization
Have not provinces		
Newfoundland and Labrador	27,636	86.3
Nova Scotia	30,187	66.5
New Brunswick	28,450	108.4
Average	28,758	
Have provinces		
Ontario	38,099	69.5
Alberta	42,233	91.2
Average	40,166	
Canada	35,498	

Source: Statistics Canada. (2007). *2006 Census.* URL: http://www40.statcan.gc.ca/l01/cst01/labor50a-eng.htm [April 15, 2011].

Financial resources

Measures of the financial capacity of disability organizations are their liquidity, revenue dependency, and main expenditures. Liquidity is a measure of an organization's ability to turn assets into cash quickly to meet short-term obligations. This is captured by the Quick Ratio (QR) and is calculated by dividing an organization's current assets (cash + receivables) by their current liabilities (debt + payables) (Bragg, 2006). A ratio of less than "1" (e.g., 0.75) means that an organization would be unable to meet its short-term obligations if they came due all at once (e.g., it would only be able to meet 75% of its short-term obligations) and is an indication that the organization is not in good financial health.

Quick Ratios calculated for the disability organizations studied in the five provinces show that all but one (discussed further below) are in good financial health in a liquidity sense. In the *have not* provinces, QRs range from 2.11 in Nova Scotia and 3.87 in New Brunswick to a high of 22.43 in Newfoundland and Labrador.[2] Similarly, in the *have* provinces, QRs range from 4.45 in Ontario to 9.39 in Alberta. Overall, the *have* provinces are on *average* in a slightly better financial position than *have not* provinces (average QRs of 5.79 and 4.42 respectively) and both meet industry standards (Jackson & Fogarty, 2005).

Selected revenue streams for the disability organizations studied are profiled in Table 5. The results reveal some major differences between the *have* and *have not* provinces. On average and on a per capita basis, *have not* provinces are twice as dependent on revenues from provincial governments ($0.09 vs. $0.05 per person) with funding from other levels of government limited. Combined with the fact disability organizations in the *have not* provinces are seven times more dependent on revenues from the sale of goods and services ($0.07 vs. $0.01 per person) and are three times more dependent on revenue from fundraising ($0.11 vs. $0.04 per person), these organizations face a challenging endeavour in servicing their customers. The very people these organizations are expected to serve are expected to shoulder a significantly larger fraction of the costs of the services—all in geographical areas that are traditionally financially challenged. This may explain the heavier

reliance on the provincial government for revenues and underscores the importance of equalization payments to the *have not* provinces.

Table 5. Revenue stream profile ($) for disability organizations reviewed, 5-year average (2005–2010)

Province	Charitable receipts	Federal government	Provincial government	Municipal government	From other charities	Sale of goods/ Services	Fund-raising
Have not provinces							
Newfoundland and Labrador	14,220	35,908	24,931	---	963	472	633,415
Nova Scotia	111,537	10,051	246,075	16,555	40,930	176,567	105,337
New Brunswick	44,417	48,285	312,296	481	16,346	261,327	10,095
Average (per capita)	56,725 (0.09)	31,415 (0.01)	194,254 (0.09)	5,679 (0.00)	19,413 (0.01)	146,122 (0.07)	249,616 (0.11)
Have provinces							
Ontario	2,280,456	246,635	668,385	75,045	100,504	48,038	1,084,897
Alberta	496,157	92,883	991,548	2,710	100,765	140,098	188,921
Average (per capita)	1,388,307 (0.08)	169,759 (0.01)	829,967 (0.05)	38,877 (0.00)	100,635 (0.01)	94,068 (0.01)	636,909 (0.04)

Source: Canada Revenue Agency. *Charities listings*. URL: http://www.cra-arc.gc.ca/chrts-gvng/lstngs/menu-eng.html [February 5, 2011]. Calculations (averages, per capita) made by author.

Expenditures are profiled in Table 6. They show that on average on a per capita basis, expenditures are significantly greater in the *have not* provinces. This may be related to the greater need for disability services given the higher rate of persons with disabilities in those provinces. It also places a larger financial stress on disability organizations to deliver the needed services, something for which those utilizing the services are expected to pay a larger share, as noted above.

Lastly, the fundraising ratio was calculated based on the dollars raised versus the costs spent on fundraising efforts. On average and on the whole, as Table 6 shows, *have not* provinces are much better at fundraising than *have* provinces, raising $1.43 versus $1.09 in revenues for every dollar spent of fundraising. However, note the wide variations, which may be due to a number of factors. For instance, organizational size matters, with smaller organizations tending to report increases in charitable receipts less often (Nonprofit Research Collaborative, 2012), perhaps due to the fact that on average they expect to face higher overhead cost ratios when compared to large organizations (Association of Fundraising Professionals, 2008). Much also depends on an organization's infrastructure, such as donor databases and dedicated fundraising staff (Ketchum Canada Inc., 2009). Fundraising ratios will also be affected by the type of fundraising event and time of year that the event is held (Canada Revenue Agency, 2009). It is because of these factors that many recommend the need to use three- to five-year rolling fundraising ratio averages, as well as other financial details, to obtain a fuller picture, as this article demonstrates.

These results are consistent with surveys on giving, volunteering, and participating (Statistics Canada, 2004a). Disability organizations are part of the broader social service organization category. Organizations within this category typically attract high donor rates, but experience low donation values (Heinz, 2001; Statistics Canada,

2006, 2009). Even so, fundraising efforts are considered poor, given that fundraising costs account for 70% or more of funds raised (see Canada Revenue Agency, 2009; Greenfield, 1999), something for which much work has been devoted to correcting through standards development among other things (Imagine Canada, 2011). Moreover, these results may be due to insufficient core infrastructure such as full-time employees, as shown above, and technological dimensions examined below (for a fuller discussion, see National Center for Charitable Statistics, 2005).

The above financial dimension trends for quick ratios, revenue streams, and expenditures are, on the whole, generally consistent at the sectoral level (see Note 1).

Table 6. Expenditure profile for disability organizations reviewed, 5-year average (2005–2010). Totals ($), (per capita)

Province	Total per capita	Total on programs	Total on management and administration	Total on fundraising	Fundraising ratio
Have not Provinces					
Newfoundland and Labrador	715,912 (1.41)	130,747	166,269	406,668	1.56
Nova Scotia	1,095,375 (1.17)	869,503	90,606	88,005	1.20
New Brunswick	720,432 (0.96)	574,607	110,033	29,279	0.34
Average (per capita)	843,906 (0.38)	524,952 (0.24)	122,303 (0.06)	174,651 (0.08)	1.43
Have Provinces					
Ontario	4,986,954 (0.39)	3,777,234	300,702	860,576	1.26
Alberta	2,310,814 (0.64)	1,573,643	443,856	309,245	0.61
Average (per capita)	3,648,884 (0.22)	2,675,439 (0.16)	372,279 (0.02)	584,911 (0.04)	1.09

Source: Canada Revenue Agency. *Charities listings.* URL: http://www.cra-arc.gc.ca/chrts-gvng/lstngs/menu-eng.html [February 5, 2011]. Calculations (averages, per capita) made by author.

Technological resources

Technological resources are capital assets that include equipment, vehicles, computers, furniture, and fixtures. They do not include land and buildings. Taking stock of these items provides an indication of the tools in an organization's possession available to carry out their work. As Table 7 shows, *have not* provinces are on average and across all sectors more heavily invested in technological aspects ($61,985 compared to $48,664) though some variation occurs across the sectors. Whether this is a good indication is debatable. For instance, the results suggest *have not* provinces have the tools to "do the job"; yet, this is deceiving given the sectoral differences. Moreover, *have* provinces may be renting equipment and furniture, which would not show up under this category since they would not own the material. One must also consider the fact that rental options may not

be available in the more sparsely populated *have not* provinces, thereby necessitating the purchase of equipment and further challenging the financial capacities of disability organizations in these provinces. When monies are tied up in capital assets, fewer resources are available for programs.

Table 7. Investment in technology (e.g., equipment, computers, vehicles, furniture), 5-year average (2005–2010). Sectoral Data ($), (per capita)

Province	Employment services	Assistive devices	Hearing services	Overall summary
Have not provinces				
Newfoundland and Labrador	---	6,586	144,039	50,208
Nova Scotia	11,752	57,097	43,679	37,509
New Brunswick	292,513	2,202	---	98,238
Average	101,422	21,962	62,573	61,985
(per capita)	(0.05)	(0.01)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Have provinces				
Ontario	56,732	---	3,850	20,194
Alberta	174,702	55,569	1,135	77,135
Average	115,717	27,785	2,492	48,664
(per capita)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)

Source: Canada Revenue Agency. *Charities listings*. URL: http://www.cra-arc.gc.ca/chrts-gvng/lstngs/menu-eng.html [February 5, 2011]. Calculations (averages, totals, ratios) made by author.

CONGRUENCE WITH INTERVIEW DATA

The results above paint a mixed picture. Disability organizations are limited in their capacity to offer innovative programming without funds to cover core operating expenses such as staffing. While, in the aggregate, they are able to meet their short-term financial needs, expenditures are significant especially for those in the *have not* provinces, who depend greatly on revenues from the sale of their goods and services and from fundraising efforts. This places an extra burden on the very people who need and use the services and on the need to continually seek out funds. This suggests that disability organizations are "holding their own" but that they lack the ability to undertake long-term strategic planning, thereby hampering the potential development and delivery of innovative programming. These results are consistent with a 2003 Canadian Council on Social Development report that documented the tenuous position confronting nonprofits and voluntary organizations (Canadian Council on Social Development, 2003), as well as the *2004 National Survey on Nonprofits and Voluntary Organizations* (Statistics Canada, 2004b), which came to similar conclusions, and suggests little has changed.

These results were reinforced through interviews conducted with officials from these organizations after the quantitative analysis was completed. Indeed, human resources proved to be a significant challenge due to the lack of steady funding for core operating costs. Note that funding was largely based on a per project basis and while an allowance was built in for overhead costs, *all* officials interviewed stated that the actual dollars received were meagre and did not truly cover costs. More problematic is the fact that disability organizations do not receive payment unless a successful outcome is achieved such as continuous employment for a prolonged period of time (Agency officials 4 & 5). This places an added burden on disability organizations to "find" funds to cover costs incurred in such situations and underscores the importance of recipient selection. Given such risks,

disability organizations have increasingly turned to the practice of "creaming"—serving only those people who will likely succeed, as narrowly defined by governments, and not necessarily those people most in need of the service (Agency officials 4 & 6).

Funding challenges also accentuate staffing issues. As one agency official stated, it really made it hard to attract staff given the short-term nature of positions (e.g., seven months) and the lack of benefits, and noted the high turnover in staff in nonprofits (Agency official 1). This same official lamented that even hirings for specific projects were challenging, given that many funding bodies disqualified those who had previously worked or volunteered for the organization. Not all disability organizations appear to experience such staffing challenges. For instance, some organizations in the *have* provinces noted they were fortunate in having low staff turnover. They attributed this to having "incredibly skilled" and flexible employees who could perform all positions in their organizations, thus facilitating their movement within organizations depending on changes in funding, as well as to making the organization a desirable and fun place to work (Agency officials 4 & 5).

Capacity was also found to be lacking along technological dimensions. While project funds did offer some core operating funds for some basic needs on occasion, such as for photocopies and a laptop computer on one occasion, existing core operating funding did not cover technological needs (Agency official 1). Moreover, recognition and funding was required for the higher costs associated with meetings such as for sign language interpreters, large fonts, and Braille services. Such costs can quickly add up to $750–$800 per meeting before other costs such as for meeting space and technology (e.g., screens, projectors) (Agency official 2). It was also reported that technology deficits place a significant burden on disability organizations to seek out partnerships with businesses or other organizations to share equipment and space.

The result is that organizations increasingly turn to fundraising efforts and rely on revenues from the sale of goods and services to meet core operating expenses. Yet, all interviewees recognized the precarious position this places their organizations in, that is, if the organization's focus is on one major fundraising campaign or one or two services. If fewer funds are raised than expected, workers need to be let go or need to become part-time, which greatly increases the risk organizations face of losing them. Federal funding for specific projects also does not appear to be appealing. While funding opportunities are fewer and available funds smaller in nature, especially under the current Conservative government, funding is often short-term (e.g., six months to one year), cumbersome, difficult to access, and too specific in nature (e.g., targeted) (Agency officials 3 & 6). A number of organizations are also unsure what sources of federal funding exist and have given up seeking federal funds given the plethora of changes undertaken at Service Canada in the past few years (Agency officials 3, 4, 5, & 6).

The short-term nature of funding was particularly troublesome and as one official noted was a "waste of time and energy" given that you could barely get a program up and running and a few months or a year later you could not do it anymore as the funding for it terminated (Agency official 3). Put differently, "you can't train people [our clients] in less than one year to work" (Agency official 2). Agency officials were also pressured to "mainstream" programs; failing to do so meant they lost "innovation" funds, yet they felt that funding bodies lacked an understanding of the fact that programs were innovative for a reason—they did not fit the mainstream (Agency officials 4 & 5). Combined, these challenges have had the effect of making long-term strategic planning (e.g., five-year) very difficult and has left disability organizations in a constant state of "spinning their wheels" (Agency officials 1 & 2).

CONCLUSION

This article examined one avenue for breaking the logjam between accountability and learning in order to unleash a round of programmatic innovation in relation to labour market programming for persons with disabilities: it examined the capacity of disability organizations in order to gauge their ability to provide innovative programs. Disability organizations have intimate knowledge of the needs of persons with disabilities yet seek stable long-term funding to meet their goals.

The conclusion that emerges from this investigation is that while disability organizations are relatively well positioned to deliver innovative programming, they are undermined by the lack of stable core operating funds, which have long been called for (e.g., Roberts, 2001). Broadly speaking, the figures suggest that disability organizations in the five provinces possess significant human resources. Remuneration for full-time workers is significantly higher than the provincial average earnings (except for New Brunswick). The results are even initially more favourable for the *have not* provinces where on a per capita basis, they seem to be better staffed with higher per capita average wages. Yet when one considers their sparse population dispersed over large territories, any potential human resource advantage may be negated, hence the need for a significant number of part-time workers, as was revealed. This suggests that disability organizations have a limited capacity to provide innovative programming without additional funding for core operating expenses such as for employees, a limitation that is felt more in the *have not* provinces.

Overall, the disability organizations studied are well able to meet their short-term financial obligations, with all organizations meeting the Quick Ratio standard. Of concern for disability organizations in the *have not* provinces is their significantly higher reliance on revenues from the people they serve through the sale of goods and services and on fundraising efforts as compared to the *have* provinces. However, the very people in these *have not* provinces that face the extra burden for paying for services, either through constant fundraising efforts or through service fees, is something many can ill afford, and something those in the *have* provinces do not face to the same degree. Given some of the financial challenges faced in the *have not* provinces, this places an added emphasis on government revenues. This underscores the importance of federal provincial transfers, which form a significant part of *have not* provinces revenues, up to 40% in Newfoundland and Labrador in some years and consistently between 28–35% in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick (calculations made from Statistics Canada [2004–2008] *Public Sector Statistics*). Funding parameters are also underscored by the fact that the *have not* provinces face greater expenditure costs (on average and per capita).

The net effect is the limits that the lack of core funding places on disability organizations' capacity to offer innovative programming; a point officials from these organizations emphasized and which is most acute in the *have not* provinces. If federal and provincial governments addressed this deficiency, it would allow disability organizations to more fully contribute in *governance* activities. As revealed in this examination, the federal government remains insignificant in terms of direct funding of disability organizations, even with the 2012 Economic Action Plan's proposed changes to the Opportunities Fund, which would see an additional $30-million over three years available for disability programming (Government of Canada, 2012).[3] While the increase in funding is welcomed, much more is needed to create an environment to spur innovation in order to significantly address the needs of persons with disabilities. This situation will likely remain unfulfilled given the current Conservative federal government's ideological disposition and priorities.

The above conclusions are a preliminary indication of the capacity that disability organizations in Canada possess, yet more work that examines a larger sample of disability organizations is required to ferret out capacity issues and funding mechanisms. In terms of funding mechanisms alone, research examining

fundraising campaigns by charities may help reveal best practices guidelines to guide future fundraising efforts to help ensure their success. Such examination needs to be extended to disentangling differences in technological investments so as to help inform future charitable spending decisions. Such knowledge is important in that it will facilitate a fuller participation of disability organizations in governance activities.

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NOTES

1. Detailed tables documenting sectoral data are not shown due to space limitations but are available from the author upon request.
2. For disability organizations profiled in Newfoundland and Labrador, their quick ratio of 22.43 is far beyond the desired standard of 1 or slightly higher. Such a high quick ratio figure is an indication of organizations having unproductive cash assets, that is, significant amounts of cash sitting in bank accounts that could be put to better use for the nonprofit (Jackson and Fogarty, 2005; Bowman, 2010). Further investigation is required to determine why this is so.
3. Included in the proposed changes to the Opportunities Fund was the plan to establish a panel to identify private sector successes and best practices for labour market participation for persons with disabilities.

WEBSITE

Canada Revenue Agency. *Charities listings.* URL: http://www.cra-arc.gc.ca/chrts-gvng/lstngs/menu-eng.html

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Book Review
by David Daughton

Toward Contemporary Co-operative Studies: Perspectives from Japan's Consumer Co-ops. Edited by *The Consumer Co-operative Institute of Japan*. Tokyo, Japan: Consumer Co-operative Institute of Japan (CCIJ), 2009. 247 pp. ISBN: 9784915307003

The good news is that a patient reader will come away from this collection of research papers and essays with plenty of insight into the origins and evolution of Japan's consumer co-operatives. Many Western co-operators know that a huge number (one third) of Japanese households belong to co-ops, and that many have a track record of commercial success that is considered enviable in other countries. However, few Canadians will have "drilled down" enough to understand the challenges and opportunities that Japan's co-operative sector has dealt with. Here is a book that offers a great overview of everything from the history of Japanese co-operative legislation to the future of the Social Economy and is available to English readers for the first time in one collection.

The reader must be patient because there is a certain amount of duplication and repetition in this collection, and also because the text contains numerous, minor grammatical errors that make for slower than usual reading. The collection would have benefited from a final review by an attentive and scrupulous English language proofreader in order to ensure ease of flow. Be that as it may, by the end of the book the repetition ensures that the reader will have learned a great deal about the fundamentals of consumer co-ops in Japan, and probably more than they need to about the contaminated dumpling scandal!

Joking aside, for this reader, the repetition was not altogether unwelcome as it helped me to better understand what the flashpoints and game-changing moments have been for Japan's co-operators in the post-war era. Even though six of the eleven chapters are written by a single author, Akira Kurimoto (Chief Researcher at the Consumer Co-operative Institute of Japan or CCIJ), there is sufficient variety among the remaining authors to provide the reader with a range of perspectives. I was particularly happy to encounter Mari Osawa's gender-based analysis towards the end of the book, which proved key in helping to grasp some of the changes that have swept through Japanese society over the past decades.

Appreciating the role of women as the foundation of everything from Han groups to Home Delivery is another reason to read this book. When describing Japan's post-war shift toward urban and suburban living, Otohiko Hasumi writes in the Introduction, "the most typical pattern of lifestyle … in which husbands worked long hours for their companies (the Japanese 'salary man') and wives … took charge of all household related activities" (p. x). Professor Hasumi goes on to describe such housewives as forming "the backbone of co-op's Joint Buying food

distribution system" (p. x), and attributes loyalty to their co-ops as a major factor in the consumer co-operative sector's growth and success. The key role of women in determining the evolution of Japan's co-operatives continued as women entered the workforce in ever increasing numbers during the latter half of the 1980s and the 1990s. Dual-income households increased buying power, but at the same time eroded the Joint Buying system's reliance on someone being at home during the day to accept deliveries and to divide food orders. In response, many co-ops were able to transition to a system of Individual Home Delivery that has proved to be both popular and profitable. However, the resulting reduction in neighbour-to-neighbour communications has posed new challenges for organizations that are rooted in community support networks.

Canadians should find the chapters that deal with legislative changes and with medical co-operatives particularly interesting. Canada's patchwork of Co-operative Acts seems relatively benign in comparison to the strictures of Japanese legislation that has historically enforced tight geographic market boundaries and restricted co-ops to doing business only with members. After sixty years of the Consumer Co-operative Law (1948), these rules were only minimally eased by the widespread legislative updates and amendments that took place in 2008. On the health front, we can learn much from Japan's experiences and models, whether from the emphasis on unadulterated foods in grocery stores or the focus on health promotion and disease prevention.

Notwithstanding any quibbles about unpredictable apostrophe use, this is a book that provides all manner of insight into the development of the Japanese Co-operative system and offers a fascinating and in-depth analysis of the elements that have given rise to the phenomenal growth of Japan's consumer co-ops. Particularly for Canadian readers, it is thought provoking to study the experiences of a nation with many contrasting attributes, such as very high population density and structured gender roles. Yet similarities, such as the challenges occasioned by outdated legislation, also give cause for reflection. Looking at co-ops through the lens of others' experiences creates a great opportunity for learning.

In his foreword, Professor Emeritus Naohiko Jinno concludes, with the hope, that "this book will contribute to a deeper understanding of Japanese consumer co-ops and further advancement of Consumer Co-op Studies" (p. x). I am confident that he will not be disappointed.

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Book Review
by David LePage

Social Economy: Communities, Economies and Solidarity in Atlantic Canada. Edited by *Sonja Novkovic & Leslie Brown*. Sydney, NS: Cape Breton University Press, 2012. 260 pp. ISBN 9781897009680

The authors' goal in *The Social Economy: Communities, Economies and Solidarity in Atlantic Canada* is to provide "a snapshot of the social economy as seen through the work of a large and diverse collaborative research network." This is a very audacious task when one considers that in this edited book, Luc Theriault states the often-overlooked fact that the social economy "was relatively unknown in English-speaking Canada until a few years ago" (p. 23). Within the book, this premise—that outside of Québec, the concept of social economy was not used or well understood prior to 2005—is shared amongst the authors; however, regardless of this self-identified challenge, the book manages to address and even go beyond this limitation by providing the reader something more thorough than a "snapshot."

The Social Economy: Communities, Economies and Solidarity in Atlantic Canada is the result of the research of the Social Economy and Sustainability Research Network (SESRN), the Atlantic node of the Canada-wide Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) Social Economy Research Project. The book contributes to, from the Atlantic region perspective, the evolving Canada-wide research resulting from this funding and explains the compelling place and role of the social economy in this region. The book uses the depth and breadth of the SESRN research to portray four key areas: in Part One, a macro picture in The Social Economy of Atlantic Canada; in Part Two, local stories and case studies to review Mobilizing to Meet Community Needs; in Part Three, Evaluation and Measurements; and in Part Four, looking forward with Policy Directions for Social Economy.

The book takes on the task of capturing the Atlantic research node efforts over the past six years and provides a very sound basis to understand the macro picture of the social economy in this region, especially in Parts One and Four; and on to the micro level with several case studies of social economy organizations particularly in Parts Two and Three. Sometimes the different and separate pieces of research findings made for difficult reading for me, with perspectives changing as I moved through the book, but then I realized that editorial methodology was essential in order to capture the breadth of engagement and the explorations of different uses of the collaborative research model in SESRN.

The book is a fascinating exploration of social economy definition discussions combined with local community-based case studies. Accomplishing this range of presentation of the research was done well, while still allowing

for the fact that "within the SESRN, there is certainly no consensus on a definition [of the social economy]" (p. 192). Importantly, as is apparent throughout the book, "this has not prevented us from collaborating in research, and in policy analysis and dialogue" (p. 8). In fact, *The Social Economy: Communities, Economies and Solidarity in Atlantic Canada* deals directly with the issue of definition. Jan Myers delves into the challenges of the definition and identity issues in her chapter Overview of Policy Initiatives and Gaps in Atlantic Canada.

Much of the book for me was very reflective of my experience as part of BALTA, the BC-Alberta Social Economy Research Node of the SSHRC Social Economy research. Both projects were participatory research efforts in themselves, engaging academic, community, and government partners. Along with the value of the diversity of the partners, there were the challenges created as a result of this diversity because each component of the collaboration came to the table with their own definitions, relationships, and expectations. The actual process of working on a common issue (even if it was not entirely clear or shared by everyone exactly what the issue was) created important social and intellectual capital outcomes. Although there was not a specific chapter in the book on process, this shared research model weaves value and valuable analysis throughout. Many of the chapters reflect the SESRN collaborative cross-sector engagement model of their research, which is even reflected in the writing of the book itself, where the co-authors of chapters are from various sectors and perspectives.

Brown and Millar point out early on that "[i]n the Atlantic Provinces there is no tradition of thinking about a social economy–not in government, not among organizations that are part of the social economy, and not within the universities. Indeed we found the social economy is not a term that is readily understood and embraced" (p. 40). As we see in the flow of the book, the field has changed, from a place in the beginning of the research process of asking, "what is the social economy?" to the final piece in the book by Karaphillis and Asimkos outlining Policy Recommendations for Financing Social Economy Organizations in Atlantic Canada. When you finish this book, you understand the value created by the collaboration, the development of the shared language, and developed understanding of the social economy.

In English Canada we likely will never have the robustness and shared understanding of Québec's "economie sociale" (p. 192)—but this book, as well as the entirety of the work of SESRN and the social economy research results from across Canada, definitely contribute to our understanding of the "evolving and changing nature" of the social economy in Canada.

If you're interested in Canada's social economy "story," I would recommend *The Social Economy: Communities, Economies and Solidarity in Atlantic Canada*. The book provides a solid overview of the Atlantic perspective and complements the research and experiences evolving in other geographic regions. Thanks to the authors and contributors for a valuable contribution.

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Compte-rendu de livre
par Séverine Thys

Économie et société. Pistes de sortie de crise. *Louis Favreau et Ernesto Molina*, Presses de l'Université du Québec, 2011. 168 pp. ISBN: 9782760532304

L'ouvrage *Économie et société. Pistes de sortie de crise* s'inscrit dans la foulée de la Conférence internationale de Lévis qui s'est tenue en septembre 2010, intitulée *Quel projet de société pour demain? Enjeux, défis et alternatives*. Cet événement rassemblait divers acteurs impliqués ou interpellés par les grands débats et enjeux auxquels notre société occidentale contemporaine est confrontée. Des membres de coopératives aux représentants de mouvements communautaires, en passant par des étudiants, des agriculteurs, des travailleurs ou membres de réseaux de développement local et organisations de coopération internationale, des représentants d'Europe, d'Afrique, d'Amérique latine et du Canada francophone se sont réunis pour discuter de « l'état du monde » et réfléchir à des solutions constructives. Non exclusivement scientifique, la conférence aborda de nombreuses alternatives ancrées dans les réalités de la quotidienneté. En retournant sur les débats, discussions collectives et exposés qui y furent présentés, Louis Favreau et Ernesto Molina proposent d'y puiser inspiration et réflexions en vue de construire progressivement un projet d'avenir pour le Québec, pour une société « plus équitable, plus solidaire et plus démocratique » (p. 149), respectant les « équilibres écologiques » tout en étant « porteuse de justice économique et sociale » (p. 5). Les auteurs exposent principalement des initiatives existantes, parfois de longue date, parfois innovantes, dans le champ de l'économie sociale, dans lesquelles ils conçoivent des « pistes de sortie de crise » bien réelles mais méconnues ou toujours embryonnaires.

Le livre est découpé en huit chapitres. Le premier introduit le « décor » de l'économie et du mouvement coopératif en son sein. Il interroge la « nature de la crise » (p. 11), tridimensionnelle—économique, sociale et écologique—qui s'enracine dans un décalage entre économie et société, entre « le tout au marché », « l'appât du gain » et « le triomphe de la cupidité » d'un côté et les valeurs portées par la société de l'autre, soit « la démocratie, la justice économique et sociale, le développement durable et solidaire des communautés, l'intervention de l'État pour satisfaire à un minimum de répartition des richesses » (p. 11). Face à cette crise multiple, des initiatives économiques porteuses de sens et fondées en priorité sur ces valeurs sociétales doivent être considérées comme des « pistes de sortie de crise » selon la thèse des auteurs. Une place particulière est accordée au mouvement coopératif, perçu comme une force de changements et de solutions, au moins partielles, à de nombreux défis sociétaux, et historiquement source de projets de développement « alternatif ». Ayant ainsi « planté le décor de leur réflexion », les auteurs abordent une à une les problématiques au fondement de la crise sociétale dans les six chapitres suivants.

Le second chapitre se concentre sur la crise économique ; il en rappelle la profondeur et en identifie la cause profonde : une logique capitaliste dominante. Une perspective historique des mouvements sociaux—ouvriers et coopératifs—ouvre la réflexion de possibles solutions, sous le leitmotiv « d'oser retirer des territoires d'expansion et des profits au secteur privé » par le développement d' « un tiers secteur associatif et coopératif d'utilité sociale, solidaire et écologiste » (p. 31). Concrètement, les deux propositions à suivre consistent à démocratiser l'économie et plus particulièrement le contrôle des entreprises, et à promouvoir une biodiversité économique, soit la coexistence d'entreprises privées, publiques et coopératives. Deuxième grande dimension de la crise, « l'urgence écologique » (p. 47) fait l'objet du troisième chapitre. Après un rappel succinct des menaces environnementales, Favreau et Molina soulignent la dynamique existante entre crises écologiques, économiques et sociales qui se renforcent mutuellement, annonçant un « désastre » sociétal sans commune mesure. Ici aussi, des solutions sont proposées via une « conversion écologique de l'économie » (p. 55), dont le terreau se développe dans des initiatives tangibles, parmi lesquelles des coopératives occupent une place non négligeable, les secteurs forestiers et énergétiques étant proposés en exemple. Suit la question des politiques sociales, et de la viabilité du financement public des services collectifs. Dans ce quatrième chapitre, une reconfiguration de l'État social est proposée, sur des bases démocratiques et selon des processus collaboratifs avec les communautés locales et la société civile en général. Ce renouveau de l'État social dans une synergie efficiente entre acteurs publics, privés et locaux/sans but lucratif s'appuierait sur les entreprises collectives comme vecteurs de démocratie et interlocuteurs privilégiés entre communautés locales et pouvoirs publics.

Cette primauté d'un ancrage territorial local à la source d'un renouveau du système économique se retrouve dans le chapitre suivant, s'attardant sur les enjeux agricoles. Opposant un modèle territorial à un modèle productiviste, les auteurs y prônent une agriculture inscrite dans la vie locale, acteur engagé du développement communautaire, rôle naturellement endossé par certaines coopératives. La problématique d'un développement à l'échelle internationale est ensuite abordée. Là encore, l'intervention des coopératives dans les enjeux de solidarités Nord-Sud et comme acteurs d'un renouveau des mouvements sociaux internationaux, est mis en évidence. Finalement, on rappelle la nécessité d'aller au-delà de la contingence du moment et du lieu, à travers l'action politique coordonnée, une nécessité de « faire mouvement » dans sa dimension politique et sociale. Si les coopératives, et plus généralement l'économie sociale, veulent devenir forces de changement, elles doivent s'organiser démocratiquement en vue de défendre dans l'arène politique une représentation du monde certes, mais aussi des propositions concrètes d'actions et de réformes. Ces propositions sont l'objet du chapitre final, qui en liste vingt-quatre, rassemblées dans six grands chantiers. Ces six chantiers offrent des pistes concrètes pour répondre aux six grands enjeux préalablement exposés, et résument en quelques solutions les débats et les conclusions nés lors de la conférence de Lévis et des réflexions qu'elle suscita.

L'ensemble du livre forme une dissertation cohérente et facilement abordable sur, d'une part, les enjeux sociétaux majeurs et, d'autre part, les réponses fournies ou en gestation par et dans des initiatives d'économie sociale, au cœur desquelles le mouvement coopératif semble à la fois pionnier et porteur d'importantes potentialités. Chaque thème abordé est illustré d'exemples, source à la fois de crédibilité et de clarté conceptuelle, rendant la lecture de l'ouvrage aisée et ouverte à tout public, quelles que soient ses connaissances préalables des champs de l'économie sociale (et/ou solidaire). Centrés sur l'avenir du Québec, les exemples proposés sont issus de la province canadienne, diminuant quelque peu la portée internationale des propos tenus dans le livre. Des extraits d'entretiens, d'ouvrages, d'émissions de radio, de films documentaires, d'interventions orales, etc., viennent illustrer les propos de manière assez inégale, parfois très pertinemment, parfois plus aléatoirement; ils permettent tout de même des « respirations » dans la lecture, rendant celle-ci d'autant plus facile. Le livre semble ainsi à destination d'un large public, proposant une

vulgarisation de débats parcourant le monde des experts de l'économie sociale et s'inscrivant dans une volonté pédagogique nette. Les solutions proposées sont souvent connues et peu novatrices, mais l'ouvrage a le mérite de rappeler qu'elles existent et qu'elles ne formeront un véritable socle réformateur qu'à condition d'être connues et diffusées comme forces potentielles de changement.

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Book Review
by Ryan Hayhurst

Critical Perspectives in Food Studies. Edited by *M. Koç, J. Sumner, & A. Winson*. Don Mills, ON: Oxford, 2012. 402 pp. ISBN 97801905446418

For students of agro-food systems, *Critical Perspectives in Food Studies* is the kind of book that will spend little time collecting dust on the bookshelf. This reader, intentionally designed to serve as a "formal text to represent the depth and breadth" (Koç et al., 2012, p. x) of Food Studies, will more likely be found in use, open, pages marked, highlighted and interspersed with small crumbs of food. This invaluable 400–page book features well-written, well-researched chapters penned by leading figures in the Canadian Food Studies field. This volume is a credit to the depth and diversity of the Canadian Association of Food Studies (CAFS) in which it was incubated, to its editors, contributors, and to all the institutions, organizations, and individuals that drive the food movement in Canada, from field to table.

The Food Studies movement is progressively interdisciplinary and this text demonstrates the value of bringing multiple perspectives to bear on a complex problem through critical inquiry. Contemporary Food Studies is giving rise to community engaged scholarship from its critical pedagogy, creating a new breed of activism amongst scholars and students in this field. Action research and community-university alliances are becoming commonplace as many of the chapters in this volume attest, offering a welcome dose of collaborative inspiration within the sea of silo'd academia. Ultimately, however, it is the "Emancipatory Question" (Constance, 2008) what many feel to be the leading edge in Food Studies scholarship that is at the core of this text, and the focus on interdisciplinary and organizational forms bringing social value that will be of particular interest to those interested in the Social Economy.

Smartly spliced into five parts**,** plus an introduction and conclusion, the 22 chapters of *Critical Perspectives in Food Studies* bring readers through a logical progression from the what, to the why**,** to the how of Food Studies. Through the Introduction and Chapter 1, co-editors Mustafa Koç et al. situate the emergence of Food Studies' interdisciplinarity and mixed-methods as primarily a great strength, but note that this leaves the field open to boundary, methodology, and overall clarity issues which will need to be resolved through collective engagement at the intersections within the broader Food Systems framework.

The remainder of Parts One and Two, including works by prominent scholars such as Freidmann, Albritton**,** and Cooke, showcase the diversity of analytical perspectives in Food Studies as well as the multiple levels of inquiry in scope and scale. What begins to come through in this work is the magnitude of the Food System's impacts on our socio-ecological systems. From systems of production and distribution, to evolving cultures of consumption, and linkages to health, art, education, gender, social justice, and environment, the prominence

and prevalence of food as a lens through which to critically situate oneself within society and environment, becomes clearer.

Parts Three and Four of the text offer further proof of the abundant analytical fodder for Food scholars across our troubled Food System. From the "Farm Crisis" (Wiebe) to the "Crisis in the Fishery" (Sundar), to the root causes of the diet-related health epidemic at the grocery counter (Winson), among Aboriginal peoples (Martin), and food bank users (Suschnigg), critical analyses by leading Canadian scholars offer stark assessments of the challenges in reforming the Food System. Food pricing, food labelling, and food governance are also covered herein, using a combination of theoretical analysis and case study perspectives to bring clarity to each of these critical debates. One of Canada's preeminent food policy scholars, Rod MacRae, looks at the historical unfolding of food policy in Canada at the conclusion of Part Four, highlighting that, while many of the levers in the existing political system appear to be jammed, there are still mechanisms that could help accelerate a shift to a more sustainable Food System by re-appropriating spending to program areas that generate greater triple-bottom-line returns.

The future of Food Studies scholarship, and perhaps the Food Movement in general, hang on the contributions of where Sumner, Blay-Palmer et al., and Desmarais lay out some important perspectives on "Food for the Future" in Chapters 20–22. Sumner offers a framework for sustainable Food Systems in this respect, by highlighting different projects from across Canada that are breaking new ground through grassroots approaches to inclusive community shared agriculture and cooperative food paradigms. Rebuilding a civic agro–food commons and Social Economy is at the crux of Sumner's assertion, making the case that food is not a commodity like any other as its societal value and importance to the public good cannot effectively be safeguarded by the invisible hand of economics.

The subject of Food System sustainability metrics is the central concern of Chapter 21 in which Blay-Palmer et al. explain why scholars, policy makers, and practitioners need to put more focus on data collection in Food System research. While her initial work using primarily secondary data does suggest that the Food System status quo is a good news–bad news story, the complexity of the measures makes it difficult to conclusively say whether the challenges outweigh the opportunities.

In an emphatic final chapter, Desmarais points to the Food Sovereignty movement, and the work of *La Via Campesina* in particular, as the organizing principle that offers the most promising alternative to the neo-liberal agro–food complex. While not without its challenges, Desmarais suggests that a new "Agrarian Citizenship" (Wittman, 2010) of engaged, inclusive, and democratic food politics could bring change not only to the Food System, resulting in better social and environmental health outcomes, but as well bring a broader emancipation to the disenfranchised peoples in both the North and South.

In summary, *Critical Perspectives on Food Studies* is a landmark compilation for Canadian Food Studies scholarship. It reflects not only an impressively thorough analysis overall, but as well, great integration in both analytical perspectives and scales of analysis. Each chapter has the added benefit of a lengthy bibliography, recommendations for further reading, and thoughtful "discussion questions," which will help both teachers and students maximize the impact of this volume and comprehend the breadth and depth of the field.

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