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ÉDITORIAL / EDITORIAL

Social Enterprise Gains Momentum

Les entreprises sociales prennent leur envol

Peter ELSON, PhD
Institute of Nonprofit Studies, Mount Royal University, Calgary, Canada
editor@anserj.ca

François BROUARD, DBA, CA
Sprott School of Business, Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada
editor@anserj.ca

The 2013 Social Enterprise World Forum (SEWF 2013) in Calgary will from October 2-4, 2013 bring together 1,200 individuals from more than 30 countries and speakers from more than 20 countries. Attendees will come from diverse backgrounds – social enterprise practitioners from all sectors, traditional non-profits, for-profit businesses, philanthropists, entrepreneurs, the public sector, support agencies, funders and investors, consultants, indigenous groups, and students – but all share a dedication to resolving the world's most complex and confounding social challenges. See: http://www.socialenterpriseworldforum.org/ .

SEWF 2013 will focus on six program tracks:

1. Social Finance/Impact Investing;
2. Indigenous Social Enterprise;
3. Social Enterprise Skills Building;
4. Research and Public Policy;
5. Cross-Boundary Collaboration;
6. Social Innovation.

Le Forum mondial des entreprises sociales 2013 (FMES 2013) aura lieu du 2 au 4 octobre 2013 et devrait rassembler plus de 1 200 personnes provenant de plus de 30 pays, y compris des présentateurs provenant de plus de 20 pays. Les participants auront des origines très diverses. Il y aura des praticiens œuvrant dans les entreprises sociales de plusieurs secteurs, dans des organismes sans but lucratif et dans des entreprises à but lucratif, des philanthropes, des entrepreneurs, des employés de la fonction publique, d'agences de soutien et d'accompagnement et de fondations, des investisseurs, des consultants, des groupes autochtones et des étudiants – tous partageant un intérêt pour résoudre les difficiles problèmes sociaux auxquels nous sommes confrontés. Voir: http://www.socialenterpriseworldforum.org/ .

FMES 2013 mettra l'accent sur six thèmes :

1. Finance sociale/Investissement d'impact;
2. Entreprises sociales autochtones;
3. Développement des compétences pour les entreprises sociales;
4. Recherche et politique publique;
5. Collaborations internationales;
6. Innovation sociale.

Each session will be recorded and posted online so that the discussions and insights can be consulted again and again by everyone dedicated to the advancement of social enterprise.

Les séances seront toutes enregistrées et mises en ligne afin de permettre à toute personne intéressée au développement des entreprises sociales de les consulter.

To complement the practitioner-focused SEWF, Peter Elson of Mount Royal University and Peter Hall of Simon Fraser University are organizing a SEWF Preconference Research Day on October 1 at Mount Royal University. The research day will explore the multiple connections between social-enterprise research and practice.

De plus, pour compléter les séances du FMES 2013 s'adressant davantage aux praticiens, Peter Elson de l'Université Mount Royal et Peter Hall de l'Université Simon Fraser organisent une journée de recherche précédant le FMES, le 1er octobre à l'Université Mount Royal. Cette journée de recherche explorera les différents liens entre la recherche sur les entreprises sociales et les pratiques de celles-ci.

This watershed event in Canada reflects a social-enterprise movement that is gaining momentum across the country, catching up in many respects to the flagship developments that have been taking place in Quebec since the mid-1990s. British Columbia and Nova Scotia have introduced Community Interest Corporation (CIC) legislation; other provinces are exploring social impact bonds, loan guarantees, and training and incubation programs. Enterprising Non-Profits (*enp*), launched in Vancouver in 1997, has now expanded to five affiliates in Alberta, Manitoba, Ontario (2), and Nova Scotia. See: http://www.enterprisingnonprofits.ca/.

Cet événement majeur reflète un engouement croissant pour les entreprises sociales d'une part à l'autre du Canada dans la foulée de développements qui ont commencé au Québec dès le milieu des années 1990. La Colombie-Britannique et la Nouvelle-Écosse ont toutes les deux formulé des lois sur les compagnies d'intérêt communautaire (CIC); d'autres provinces explorent les obligations à impact social, les garanties d'emprunt et les programmes de formation et de gestation. Enterprising Non-Profits (*enp*), fondé à Vancouver en 1997, comporte aujourd'hui cinq succursales en Alberta, au Manitoba, en Ontario (2), et en Nouvelle-Écosse. Voir: http://www.enterprisingnonprofits.ca/.

On the research side of the equation, the five-year social-economy Community-University Research Alliance (CURA, 2005-2011) certainly explored social enterprises to one degree or another, and a current CURA at the Social Economy Centre at the University of Toronto has a dedicated focus on social enterprise. See: http://socialeconomycentre.ca/. Peter Elson and Peter Hall have conducted province-wide social-enterprise surveys in five provinces, and more are in the planning stages. See: www.sess.ca .

Du côté de la recherche, les cinq années de l'Alliance de recherche universités-communautés (ARUC, 2005-2011), axées sur l'économie sociale ont permis d'explorer les entreprises sociales à divers degrés, et une ARUC actuelle au Social Economy Centre à l'Université de Toronto met aussi l'accent sur les entreprises sociales. Voir: http://socialeconomycentre.ca/. En outre, Peter Elson et Peter Hall ont mené des recherches sur les entreprises sociales dans cinq provinces et ils sont en train de planifier plusieurs autres recherches. Voir: www.sess.ca.

There are also research centres dedicated to social enterprise, such as the Sprott Centre for Social Enterprises (SCSE) at Carleton University,

Il existe aussi des centres de recherche consacrés aux entreprises sociales comme le Centre Sprott pour les entreprises sociales

and similar centres at Queen's University, McGill University and the University of Victoria, to name a few. Continuing in this trend, the university programs developed by some researchers interested in social enterprises provide training for students as well as outreach training and educational opportunities for nonprofit community groups.

(CSES) à l'Université Carleton ainsi que des centres semblables à l'Université Queen's, à l'Université McGill et à l'Université de Victoria. Dans cette lignée, des programmes universitaires développés par des chercheurs qui s'intéressent aux entreprises sociales offrent des formations aux étudiants ainsi que des formations hors site et des occasions éducationnelles aux membres de groupes à but non-lucratif.

In March 2013, the Government of Quebec, ahead of the curve in many dimensions of the social economy, filed a draft framework law, Bill 27: Social Economy Act, to recognize the contribution of the social economy to Québec's socioeconomic development. This bill will designate the role of government in this area, promote social-economy enterprises, and support the latter in their growth through the development or adaptation of intervention tools and strategies. Establishing general principles, the framework law will help integrate the social economy in development activities. An action plan should be available by April 1, 2014.

En mars 2013, l'Assemblée nationale du Québec, toujours en avance dans ce domaine, a déposé un Projet de loi n^{o} 27 sur l'économie sociale qui vise à reconnaître la contribution de l'économie sociale au développement socioéconomique du Québec, à établir le rôle du gouvernement dans ce domaine, à promouvoir les entreprises de l'économie sociale et à contribuer au développement de celles-ci par l'élaboration ou l'adaptation d'outils et de stratégies d'intervention. En établissant des principes généraux, la Loi 27 aidera à intégrer l'économie sociale aux activités de développement. Un plan d'action devrait être disponible avant 1er avril 2014.

ANSERJ would like to invite you to contribute to this growing momentum by submitting an article on social enterprise for the Fall 2013 issue. Ideally, submissions should be received before the end of June. As has been clearly demonstrated, research is a critical component in fostering sound practices and innovations. We welcome your contributions.

Profitant de ces circonstances favorables, ANSERJ vous invite à nous soumettre des articles portant sur les entreprises sociales pour le numéro d'automne 2013. De préférence, nous aimerions recevoir vos articles avant la fin du mois de juin. Il est clair que la recherche est une composante essentielle pour encourager des pratiques solides et innovatrices. Nous serons heureux de recevoir vos contributions.

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Indigenous Perspectives on Community Economic Development: A North-South Conversation

Gretchen Hernandez

Simon Fraser University

ABSTRACT

This article analyses an online forum on Indigenous Community-Based Economic Development (CED), in which twenty-two participants from Canada and Latin America shared and reflected on experiences ranging from cultural tourism in Bolivia to a food processing co-op in Northern British Columbia. The forum demonstrated that at least some Indigenous peoples in Canada and Latin America share common values that guide the kind of development they want in their territories and communities; and that their orientation toward collective and participatory approaches to development can be grouped together under the concept of CED. The article has two main conclusions. First, that CED can be understood as a potential path to Indigenous-defined development and complement to self-determination movements. Second, that online media is a viable option for creating spaces for learning and exchange between Indigenous peoples across national and language borders, with the potential to contribute to the creation of translocal networks.

RÉSUMÉ

Cet article analyse un forum en ligne sur les questions autochtones de développement économique communautaire (DEC), où vingt-deux participants du Canada et de l'Amérique latine partagé et réfléchi sur les expériences allant du tourisme culturel en Bolivie à un traitement coopérative alimentaire dans le Nord de la Colombie-Britannique. Le forum a démontré qu'au moins certains des peuples autochtones du Canada et de l'Amérique latine part des valeurs communs qui guident le type de développement qu'ils veulent dans leurs territoires et les communautés, et que leur orientation vers des approches collectives et participatives de développement peuvent être regroupés sous le concept de DEC. L'article a deux principales conclusions. Tout d'abord, que DEC peut être comprise comme une voie potentielle pour les communautés autochtones défini le développement et un complément de mouvements d'autodétermination. Deuxièmement, que les médias en ligne est une option viable pour la création d'espaces d'apprentissage et d'échange entre les peuples autochtones à travers les frontières nationales et linguistiques, avec le potentiel de contribuer à la création de réseaux translocales.

Keywords / Mots clés

Community Economic Development; International development; Indigenous self-determination; Sustainable economic development; Culturally appropriate development / Développement économique communautaire; Développement international; Autodétermination des autochtones; Développement économique durable; Développement culturellement approprié

INTRODUCTION

This article analyses an online forum on Indigenous Community-Based Economic Development (CED), in which twenty-two participants from Canada and Latin America shared and reflected on experiences ranging from cultural tourism in Bolivia to a food processing co-op in Northern British Columbia. The forum was designed as an experiment to explore the extent to which an internet-based, virtual platform could be an effective medium for sharing and learning across boundaries of language and space. The specific goals were to share concrete experiences of how Indigenous communities in Canada and Latin America are implementing community-based economic initiatives, to identify and discuss common values and principles, and to share specific models and strategies. The forum did not explore the political or legal contexts of the participants' countries of residence or larger questions of territorial claims. Rather, the focus was on the specificity of particular initiatives and the values that oriented these processes.

The idea for the forum arose out of a training program in Bolivia engaging traditional Indigenous authorities, municipal officials, and NGO professionals in active learning around the goals and methods of development, a project with which this author has been involved since 2007. The Bolivia training program promotes an asset-based, bottom-up approach to improving community well-being[1]. A question that emerged several times was how the situation of Indigenous peoples in Bolivia compares to Indigenous peoples in Canada, in relation to the challenges of decolonization, territorial governance, and improving quality of life. During a visit by Bolivians of Indigenous descent to a First Nations community in British Columbia, the two groups found common values and challenges, and expressed as a desire for further exchange. These kinds of questions about what could be learned from each other were the catalyst for creating an online space for South-North exchange on Indigenous perspectives on CED.

This article highlights the main themes that emerged in the online conversations and seeks to link them to the "location" of CED in relation to Indigenous struggles for decolonization. Some tentative conclusions about the meaning and implications of this cross-border virtual experience for creating "trans-local" networks for socio-economic transformation will be drawn.

A FRAMEWORK FOR CED

Community Economic Development (also called Community-Based Economic Development or CED) has been described as "a process by which communities can initiate and generate their own solutions to their common economic problems and thereby build long-term community capacity and foster the integration of economic, social, and environmental objectives" (McRobie & Ross, 1987, p. 1). CED is a movement that arose in the 1980s in Canada, the United States and the U.K., in response to the failures of globalized, neo-liberal capitalism. The movement can be understood as a reaction to Free Trade agreements, privatization and other related policies to "de-regulate" the market (Shragge & Toye, 2006). CED emerged as a response to how a perceived loss of control over national and international economic activities shaped local areas and their futures. The CED movement is not only a reactive phenomenon; it is also a proactive response by environmentalists,

social justice activists, and development thinkers seeking ways of (re)organizing social and economic relations for greater social equity and environmental sustainability (Hernandez, 2010).

CED enjoyed a period of theoretical treatment in academia, mainly in the 1990s (e.g., Boothroyd & Davis, 1993; Halseth & Booth, 1998), but in recent years more attention has turned to the Social Economy and Sustainable Development as forms of (re)conceptualized economic organization in Canada (McMurtry, 2009; Markey, Pierce, Vodden, & Roseland 2005). Yet CED remains meaningful and worthy of further analysis, as it continues to be an organizing concept for many organizations and communities (see, for example, the Canadian Community Economic Development Network-CCEDNet, the Centre for Community Renewal, Concordia University's Graduate Diploma in CED, and Simon Fraser University's Bolivian Specialization in CED Project).

A review of CED literature reveals four main characteristics of the approach, which together can be seen as a framework for CED:

1. CED is place-based: Economic activities and social relations happen in and between specific places, which have a particular set of characteristics and need particular responses. The focus of CED is on the local scale, the space which, according to Friedmann (1992), people can most directly relate to as the site of their daily lives and livelihoods. CED strategies tend to focus on strengthening the "local" or "community" economy, and building "local resilience," strategies which in turn emphasize using local knowledge and resources (Markey, Halseth, & Manson, 2008).

2. CED is participatory: The concept of community participation in development can be seen as a continuum, from contributing labour to a project at one end, to controlling all aspects of the project at the other end (Brohman, 1996). CED practice falls into the latter end of the continuum, trying to engage people as directly as possible in all stages of a project from planning to implementation. This principle can be linked to a belief in the inherent right of people to participate in decisions that affect them (Moser, 1989) and to evidence that development is more sustainable and effective if the 'beneficiaries' participate (Conyers, 1986). Either way, there is significant evidence that for an initiative to fit the local context and the needs and goals of local peoples, it is necessary to develop plans and initiatives through participatory processes.

3. CED is concerned with sustainability: The composition of the economy is important in CED practice. As Loxley (2007) writes, "what is being produced and how it is being produced are important because they are highly relevant to one's quality of life and to sustainability" (p. 12). Schumacher (1973) wrote that the modern economy treats "natural capital" (fossil fuels, forests, mineral deposits) as income items instead of capital, liquidizing them for fast profit. Sustainable economies require that we consume the 'interest' on this capital – using up only the parts that are renewable – rather than using up the capital itself. Economic initiatives developed under these principles take into account the impact on the environment, as well as social and financial well-being. This has come to be called the "triple-bottom line," a term first coined by Elkington (1998). Sustainability can also refer to creating economic activities that can be sustained over long periods and that create stable employment, therefore contributing to the long-term viability of a particular place.

4. CED is asset-based: Standard approaches to economic development focus on what is lacking in a place – that is, what the community or area does not have. CED, by contrast, starts from recognizing the existing assets or strengths of a community (Markey et al., 2005; Mathie & Cunningham, 2003). Strategies and initiatives can then be developed that build on these assets, according to the priorities of local people.

LOCATING CED

Within development literature, CED can be placed within the alternative development and post-development schools of thought – part of an enormous body of literature that explores who defines "development" and what kinds of processes and practices can create truly progressive social change. Alternative development arose in the 1970s as a critique of the failures of the "economic growth and modernization" approach in the so-called Third World. It emphasized the need for participatory approaches in which grassroots movements and organizations determine the goals and methods of development projects (Brohman, 1996; Carney, 2003). In the 1980s, the influence of postmodernism grew in development literature, with its emphasis on ideas as social constructs based on relations of power and domination. "Development" was deconstructed as a discourse that creates the idea of a "Third World" in need of help from the "First World," hiding an agenda of expansion of global power and domination (Escobar, 1994). Post-development theory emerged in the 1990s as an attempt to envisage new ways of doing development (Blaikie, 2000); a new approach that emphasizes multiple ways, paths, and goals (Gibson-Graham, 2005).

Nonetheless, large development actors such as the United Nations continue to operate on the assumptions that people who are defined as "poor" need to be integrated into the global, trade-based economy in order to see improvements in their lives. This approach is evident in the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) stated goals for Poverty Reduction:

> The UNDP promotes inclusive and sustainable human development and works to reduce poverty in all its dimensions. We focus our efforts on *making growth and trade benefit everyone* in developing countries. (UNDP, para. 2, author emphasis).

The development agenda is rooted in Enlightenment ideals of superior (scientific, rational) vs. inferior (traditional, informal) knowledge (Gibson-Graham, 2005). Superior knowledge is forward-oriented, in support of "progress," which implies that the "expert" with the "right" knowledge must intervene to set things on their correct path (Gibson-Graham, 2005). CED emerges as one alternative to this mainstream view of development, emphasizing instead the post-development principles of a multiplicity of paths, unlimited ways of doing and being, and experimentation based in local spaces and knowledge.

CED AND INDIGENOUS RESISTANCE

Although the methods have changed since the time of first contact, the assumed need for assimilation into dominant socio-economic structures is a recurring theme in relation to Indigenous peoples, whether they live in Global South or the Global North. Newhouse (2006) wonders, for example, "if economic development is just the latest solution to the 'Indian problem': instead of needing civilizing, Aboriginals now need development" (p. 160). In other words, governments and development agencies continue with an underlying assumption that Indigenous ways of doing and forms of knowledge are inferior, and that outside intervention is needed to solve their so-called problems. Historically, Indigenous peoples needed to be civilized or modernized; today, they need to be assimilated in the global market economy.

Alfred and Corntassel (2005) argue that economic globalization is in fact nothing more than a continuation and expansion of the colonial model. They call instead for Indigenous communities to "regenerate themselves to resist the effects of the contemporary colonial assault and renew politically and culturally" (p. 599). The CED movement challenges dominant paradigms and power structures and seeks to increase the participation and agency of communities that are marginalized by history, geography, or global power structures (Markey et al., 2005; Shragge & Toye, 2006). In this way, there is a conceptual link between the decolonization struggles of Indigenous peoples and social movements of resistance to the globalized, profit-driven, market economy.

The challenge of "development" is how to find ways that improve lives in material ways, but that still maintain or incorporate specifically Indigenous ways of being and doing. Newhouse (2006) believes that CED may support such processes by: incorporating the knowledge of local people, rather than that of outside experts; supporting aboriginal people to be active subjects in defining their relationship to the "modern" and the world "outside"; and offering a means to resist complete assimilation into the Western world.

The issue of knowledge is an important component of Indigenous movements, whose knowledge is recognized, and what kinds of knowledge are considered as a valid base for decision-making. (or "traditional") knowledge has been consistently de-valued and made invisible in favour of the supposedly superior (or "modern") knowledge of Europeans (Gibson-Graham, 2005). Recognition and (re)valuing of knowledge is an important foundation for peoples' resistance movements:

> A reaffirmation of Indigenous epistemological and ontological foundations in contemporary times offers a central form of resistance to colonial forces that have consistently denigrated and silenced them. (Wilson, 2005, p. 255)

FORUM PROCESS

The development of an online forum was an attempt to create a space to share knowledge based on -led or defined development initiatives, sharing what could be considered as Indigenous knowledge across barriers of language and geography. Documenting these kinds of experiences can contribute to "enlarging the field of credible experience" as a "prelude increasing the possibilities for economic experimentation around development" (Gibson-Graham, 2005, p. 6). Finding ways for Indigenous peoples to connect on an international level may also contribute to the kinds of "translocal networks" that Escobar (1994) believes are critical to creating a "counter-hegemonic globalisation."

The online forum discussed in this article ran for six weeks in the fall of 2009. The first week was simply open for participants to introduce themselves virtually and learn how to manoeuvre in the online space. In the subsequent weeks, one topic was opened each week for discussion. Two facilitators (including the author) took turns to post questions to foster conversation, and participants contributed their thoughts, as they felt moved to do so. The final week included a space for general comments on the process.

All twenty-two participants contributed to the online conversations; however, just eight participated on a regular basis, that is, bi-weekly or more often. The outcomes of the forum cannot, therefore, be ascribed as reliable research data – rather, the emerging themes are of interest as potential categories for research or a starting point for further conversation. It is notable that direct dialogue from South to North and North to South did not occur until the third week. At first, participants asked questions or made comments on posts by people from their own region. But at the end of third week, the first direct South-North question took place, and that opened up the dialogue in both directions for the rest of the forum.

In addition, participants were asked to share specific experiences of an Indigenous-led economic initiative that they knew personally, highlighting the objectives, structure, outcomes, and obstacles. Participants in the online forum shared several cases of initiatives for economic development – projects and enterprises initiated by or managed by people identifying as Indigenous living in Canada, Bolivia, and Ecuador. Table 1 shows the initiatives that were written up in detail by one or more participants, and that became the focal point for discussion.

The next sections describe and analyze the conversations that emerged around these specific experiences, focusing on two main areas of analysis:

1. Values (sub-categories: nature-human relations, reciprocity and redistribution, and continued relevance of " values")

2. Structuring models of the initiatives (sub-categories: co-ops, development corporations, and community-based enterprises)

VALUES

The forum began with participants discussing the underlying values at the core of these initiatives, and in particular whether and how Indigenous ways of being and doing are being incorporated. Values that could be considered as common to Indigenous peoples were listed, as a starting point for conversation: community working together, respect for elders, balance between humans and the natural environment, participation in decision-making, and maintaining or regenerating cultural traditions. From this starting place, the participants discussed nature-human relations, reciprocity and redistribution, and if and how specifically ' values' continue to be meaningful.

Nature-human relations

Striving for balance between humans and the natural world was affirmed as a core value by several participants from both South and North. From Bolivia, a participant described the importance of Pachamama, the word used by Quechuan and Aymaran peoples to describe the living earth or a kind of female deity linked to fertility of the earth, humans, and animals (Pachamama is translated in Spanish as "Madre Tierra" and in English as "Mother Earth"). Through daily rituals and annual festivals, Bolivia's original peoples continue to pay tribute to the Pachamama, seeking harmony between humans and their environment (Forum participant 2). As part of a resurgence of valuing the "Andean worldview," the Bolivian government has recently approved a law that make the rights of the Pachamama equal to those of humans. Among the principles upheld by the law is "Harmony: Human activities, within a framework of plurality and diversity, should achieve a dynamic equilibrium with the cycles and processes inherent in the Mother Earth." (Article 2, Ley de Derechos de la Madre Tierra, 2010, author translation).

A Forum participant from British Columbia offered a similar viewpoint:

> A value that the Heiltsuk and I think most Indigenous communities share is that we are stewards of the land and are tasked to respect Mother Earth as we utilize her resources in sustainable way, keeping in mind that future generations (Seven Generations from now) are able to enjoy the resources as we have. It is not about filling out pockets as much as we can and exploit the

> riches of Mother Earth until they are gone, but to take as much as we need only. (Forum participant 9)

Another Forum participant noted that not all Indigenous peoples share these views (Forum participant 3), and that there is often a disconnect between many original peoples and their relationship to the land due to past and contemporary colonialism. Alfred and Corntassel (2005) call this phenomenon being "incidentally " – when an Indigenous person is pulled "away from cultural practices and community aspects of 'being '" and instead focuses on how to gain access to power, resources, through their "political-legal relationship to the state" (p. 599). It is unclear in the case of the forum whether all participants shared a deeply personal connection to principles of nature-human harmony, but this value was emphasized by several participants as critically important for creating a better life in Indigenous communities.

There can be different interpretations of how to incorporate such values into practice. The first way, described by a Bolivian participant, is to seek alternatives to the economic growth/market capitalism model:

> The development models of the neoliberals are geared toward economic growth and export orientation, contrary to the cultural cosmovision of Indigenous peoples. The Indigenous principles and values are a moral reserve that generates new models of development as an alternative to neoliberal models, seeking an equilibrium and complementarity between people and nature. (Forum participant 2*)*

A second approach is attempting to live with one foot in each world. In this quote, the concept of balance is applied to finding a way to both sell resources commercially and maintain resources for traditional uses:

> We are seeking to balance the commercial use of natural resources with their long-term sustainability and the rights of families to meet their basic needs through harvesting natural/wild food, medicinal and materials (cedar bark for weaving) for art and making traditional tools and regalia. (Forum participant 8)

Another participant noted that the value of environmental sustainability must be used to monitor the impacts of each decision made, and to modify decisions periodically as needed (Forum participant 5). In other words, nature-human balance can be both a goal and an indicator for guiding economic development in Indigenous territories.

Reciprocity and redistribution

A participant from the highlands region of Bolivia emphasized "reciprocity" and "redistribution" as key values in for Andean original peoples:

> We are reclaiming the practice of reciprocity in Bolivia's highlands as the base of community life. Within the Andean cultures, reciprocity is the fundamental principal for the collective character of our Indigenous societies, involving the redistribution of assets and the avoidance of resource accumulation in the hands of few. This provides for those who need it, creates justice, and motivates the attitude of giving back equally what you have received. We do this on the ritual level, giving offerings to the Pachamama [Mother Earth] and other divine forces in thanks, and in festivals of redistribution. (Forum participant 2)

Practices of redistribution and reciprocity are also common to aboriginal peoples in Canada – such as in the potlatch tradition of Pacific Northwest peoples like the Heiltsuk and Haida. It is worth noting not only the values mentioned in this quote, but also that this practice is being "reclaimed." Cultural regeneration and renewal are fundamentally linked processes, in which a traditional value or way of doing is re-valued but also brought into contemporary times.

Redistribution can be understood as a way to maintain balance and harmony within a community of people, and this value can still be seen in aboriginal economic initiatives that seek common benefit for a nation or reserve. Strengthening cooperation and reciprocity was seen by several participants as being very important in any Indigenous economic initiative.

Decision-making practices

Forms of decision-making were another point of conversation in the forum, with several participants conveying that they see collective decision-making as a shared value for Indigenous peoples, and that their initiatives strive to foster active participation from community members. Two key challenges around participation were identified. First, that there can be significant diversity in opinions. "How do you come to a decision that everyone can live with?" asked one participant (Forum participant 5). Second, it takes real skill to communicate effectively, and people need to learn how to listen, negotiate, and solve problems. Another participant remarked that patience is very important in these participatory decision-making processes (Forum participant 4).

The integration of traditional governance system (formal and informal) into initiatives was highlighted as an important motor for incorporating culture. In the case of Bolivia, for example, a participant shared that the traditional leadership structure is intact in the community from pre-colonial times, in which leaders serve their community on a rotating basis, and each position must be filled by a man-woman pair. In addition to a governance role in their communities, these traditional leaders also manage the community's tourism project.

Continuing relevance of Indigenous values

The universality of " values" was questioned in the forum; whether there are really values that are common across various kinds of borders – North/South, urban/rural, youth/elders, male/female, and so on. One participant from Bolivia asked if " values" continue to be meaningful at all in the contemporary world:

> What do "traditional culture" and "community" mean for a second generation Aymara in the city? These people are reconstructing their identity in an urban, market economy context. They need a monetary income; they cannot rely on traditional gathering or agriculture. We cannot return to our original identities and lifestyles. (Forum participant 3)

This question relates to the larger question of "indigeneity" and "what it means to be Indigenous." In a linear approach, where societies are seen to evolve from traditional to modern, identity is associated with the past and as something that will eventually disappear as people "catch up" to the modern world. This process was coined by Tönnies (1955) as *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft* – moving from community to individualism, and from subsistence economies to mass consumption. Strobele-Gregor (1996) argues instead for the concept of "autonomous modernity," meaning that Indigenous peoples move between Western/colonial spaces and independent values and rooted in their history, creating "modes of behaviour, structures, and forms of consciousness that are part of an autonomous modernity" (p. 87). In other words, Indigenous identity and ways of doing and being emerge from a dialectical relationship between the Western/Modern and Other/Traditional – becoming something new in the process. Alfred and Corntassel (2005) argue for a dynamic understanding of

what it is to be Indigenous, that can include the multiplicity of identities that are "(re)constructed at multiple levels – global, state, community, individual" (p. 600).

Indigenous values, then, can be dynamic, rooted in history and also constantly evolving and re-evolving according to context. Wuttunee (2006) recognizes the impossibility of listing all Indigenous values; and further, that these values are not static but rather change over time. She argues that CED in aboriginal communities will thus have particularities derived from both Western and Aboriginal approaches, creating a kind of hybrid model. The manifestation of the hybridized values would be specific to the context and the particular people involved. This is because there is no one way to be Indigenous, no one list of Indigenous values: the particular mix of "Indigenous" and CED principles would emerge out of the people and the spaces in which they are situated.

STRUCTURING MODELS

The Forum participants discussed and reflected on the different structuring models used in their economic initiatives. The discussion showed that collectively owned structures were the norm in all cases, with three main types emerging:

1. Co-ops: producer co-ops that work together on marketing and/or sales.

2. Development corporations: an umbrella organization, owned by a community, which engages directly in the sale of products or services and supports small business development in a particular community or region.

3. Community-based enterprises: businesses owned by members of a community (may be a community defined by common interests or by shared territory and heritage) that engages directly in the sale of products or services.

Co-ops

> We believe that a key organizational structure for an isolated rural area like ours is the cooperative model. (Forum participant 8).

The co-op model was highlighted by a participant from Haida Gwaii. Haida Gwaii is a group of approximately 150 islands on the north coast of British Columbia, formerly known as the Queen Charlotte Islands, which are the traditional territories of the Haida peoples. The Forum participant focused on the work of Haida Gwaii Community Futures (HGCF), a non-profit CED organization with a stated mission of "supporting entrepreneurial spirit to create a sustainable economic future for Haida Gwaii" (HGCF, n.d., para. 4). The HGCF works with the predominantly Indigenous population to develop the local economy in ways that are sustainable for the natural environment. One such initiative is the Haida Local Foods Processing Co-op, in which members gather and process local wild foods like mushrooms and berries. The co-op was described as having three main goals: 1) maintain a sustainability of resources; 2) ensure a fair price or income for the member harvesters, and; 3) support the local co-op movement. The co-op sells some of their products in local farmers' markets and restaurants and is linked to the tourism trade by selling to the cruise ship industry (Forum participant 8). While the co-op emerged out of a desire by local people to increase local food security by eating more wild foods, their market so far is primarily off-island due to the small local population (Forum participant 8).

A comparable example was shared by a participant from Bolivia who had been involved in a development project in Beni, a tropical forest region in Bolivia. Located in the north of the country and more sparsely

populated than the rest of the country, Beni is home to several Indigenous groups including the Cavineño, Chácobo, Esse Ejja, Takana, Pacahuara, and Araonas (Confederation of Eastern Indigenous Peoples of Bolivia (CIDOB), n.d., para. 3). The region has historically been exploited for its rich resources, first as a site for rubber plantations and later for timber extraction. Now it is a source of hazelnuts for export (Bojanic, 2001). The Bolivian participant described how local, original peoples were harvesting timber and hazelnuts on an individual, *ad hoc* basis and selling through brokers or intermediaries, who took the majority of the profits. There were no local or regional level plans or consensus about forestry management. "The situation was unsustainable both from a human and an environmental perspective" (Forum participant 1).

A non-governmental organization (NGO) began working with local people in 1995 to establish a model for community forest management that contributes to local economic and social development while balancing with environmental sustainability (Forum participant 1). Forty Indigenous communities have established Community Forestry Economic Associations (CFEOs), bringing together individual hazelnut harvesters to sell their product in bulk. An analysis of the comments made in the forum reveals that although the CFEOs are legally registered as producer associations, they operate in much the same way as co-ops, with membership by share purchase, democratic decision-making, and profits distributed among members. The Forum participant stated that the initiative has had three main impacts:

1. By selling collectively, harvesters are able to bypass intermediaries and receive higher prices.

2. By achieving a certain scale of product, they have been able to brand the nuts in organic and Fair Trade markets.

3. The four months of harvest provide a source of cash income that allows local people to stay in their communities rather than migrating for work and thereby helps maintain ways of life that are otherwise threatened.

Economic development corporations model

Economic development corporations (EDCs) are a common model of First Nations enterprise development in Canada, as evidenced in a 2011 survey conducted by the Canadian Council for Aboriginal Business (CCAB). EDCs are established by an aboriginal government as a means to foster business development on reserve by owning, managing and investing in aboriginal-owned business (CCAB, 2011).

Participants from Latin America noted that this model does not exist in their countries. Rather, in their context, NGOs with international aid funding operate projects to support entrepreneurship or small enterprise development. Part of the difference relates to governance structures, as there is no equivalent to the band government in Andean countries.

A participant described the Heiltsuk Economic Development Corporation (HEDC), an initiative on Heiltsuk territory on the Central Coast of British Columbia. First, he described the context in which the corporation emerged, describing how eighty-five percent of the pre-contact Heiltsuk peoples were killed by disease introduced by Europeans. In the 1890s, the survivors congregated in the area now known as Bella Bella. Language and traditional ways of life were further eroded through government policies of assimilation, exacerbated by migration to cities. The Heiltsuk Economic Development Corporation (HEDC), established in 2006, was part of a strategy to create a viable community and regional economy (Forum participant 9).

It manages existing band businesses and supports entrepreneurship within the community. The participant stated that the HEDC seeks to generate income to redistribute in the community, to generate employment opportunities for band members, and to provide needed community services. In supporting entrepreneurship, the HEDC focuses on building people's capacity to initiate and grow small enterprises (Forum participant 9).

The corporation is organized around different principles from those that generally apply to a mainstream corporation. For example, creating viable economic options for band members is a means to an end, not an end in itself – the overarching goal is to maintain a way of life, sustain natural resources, and keep language and other cultural practices alive (Forum participant 9). The HEDC was specifically established to separate political governance from economic governance in the community (HEDC Vision, 2009). One participant from Ecuador found this separation very significant, arguing that this is an important model to overcome the challenge of business decisions being mixed in with other community decisions (Forum participant 4). He suggested that this model would allow for faster and more effective economic decision making. Another participant from Bolivia had a different point of view. He contended that it was important, in an Indigenous context, to maintain integration among the political, economic, and cultural dimensions (Forum participant 2). Separating the economic decisions from traditional leadership, he claimed, meant accepting the separation of the economic from community life – an approach that veered too far toward the Western approach to economics. This discussion shows that there is no one structuring model suited to all contexts. Deciding on economic models and decision-making structures goes to the heart of people's values.

Community-based enterprise

Peredo and Chrisman (2006) write that the community-based enterprise (CBE) is a model growing in importance in rural communities that are seeking sustainable economic development in the Global South. The CBE can be defined as

> [a] community acting as both entrepreneur and enterprise in pursuit of the common good. The CBE is therefore the result of a process in which the community acts entrepreneurially, to create and operate a new enterprise embedded in its existing social structure. (Peredo & Chrisman, 2006, p. 4)

Peredo and Chrisman (2006) further distinguish that this model is mainly evident in communities that share a common land base ethnic and cultural history. An analysis of the forum discussion shows that CBEs are different from EDCs in terms of the institutional actors who start them and manage them. In the case of a CBE, it is typically an NGO that works with a community in the start-up phase, and it is a community of producers that owns the enterprise. In the case of the EDC, it is a band council (Indigenous government) that starts up and owns the corporation.

One Forum participant from the Bolivian highlands shared an experience of a tourism-CBE that is co-owned by six Quechua communities. He stated that the total population of these communities is about 4,000 people and the main economic activities are subsistence agriculture and herding sheep, llamas, and alpacas. He shared that about ten years ago, the six communities began working with a local NGO to reclaim their ancestral land and to develop governance structures for autonomous territorial management. In the last three years, the communities have developed cultural tourism activities that recover aspects of their traditional economy while articulating with the modern external economy (Forum participant 2). Community leaders used the tradition of community work parties (the *minka* in Quechua) to build the infrastructure for

tourism in the six communities – to date, they have constructed a hotel, three eco-accommodations, three community museums, a restaurant, and a café. The communities communally own the tourism infrastructure and divide income into equal shares. Outside professionals continue to help with some aspects of planning and implementation of tourism activities. For example, community members participated in training in customer relations and how to be a tour guide from the NGO partner. The combination of outside expertise with local knowledge is seen to reflect the Andean value of complimentarity, by seeking a balance between Indigenous and Western, modern and traditional (Forum participant 2).

The cases shared in the forum illustrated a common emphasis on collective enterprises, whether the model used is co-ops, development corporations owned by a band, community-owned enterprise, or producer associations. The collective approach can be understood in relation to three dynamics. First, co-ops or collectively owned enterprises are a highly suitable model for people who are marginalized by mainstream political and economic systems. According to the US Overseas Cooperative Development Council (OCDC), "co-ops allow individuals to achieve mutual economic goals, from the local to the global level that cannot be met in isolation" (OCDC, 2007, p. 9). Second, co-ops allow members to achieve economies of scale – increasing their income through higher volume sales that eliminate the need for intermediaries. This is evident in the examples of the community forestry associations in Bolivia and the food-processing co-op in Haida Gwaii. Third, research on Indigenous economic initiatives reveals a tendency to seek benefits that accrue to a community rather than to individuals (Anderson, Honig, & Peredo, 2006; Peredo, Anderson, Galbraith, Honig, & Dana, 2004).

However, participants in the forum also recognized that these kinds of values play out in different ways in different contexts. For example, a band council may use the profits of an EDC to provide services to band members, whereas a producer association may distribute income among members according to amount of product each one contributed.

ANALYSIS

CED characteristics

The cases shared in the online forum exemplified CED characteristics such as being place-based, asset-based, focused on sustainability, and participatory. The initiatives are "place-based" in the ways they focus on developing local, community-based economies. Through diversification and adding value to local products and services, the initiatives create greater resilience for the communities in relation to the regional, national, and international economy. For example, the community tourism project in the Bolivian highlands diversified from subsistence agriculture to an income-generating activity owned by the community, and with benefits shared by the collective. The initiative also serves to value and strengthen local ways of life and traditional governance models.

Indigenous initiatives are also place-based in another way, owing to the importance of land to their societies. As Anderson, Dana, and Dana (2006) observe, "traditional lands are the 'place' of the nation and are inseparable from the people, their culture, and their identity as a nation" (p. 46). Thus, control over traditional territories is an important foundation for initiating enterprises, and improving the social and economic situation of original peoples.

The experiences are "asset-based" in that they respond to the natural environment, local culture and knowledge, and existing informal institutions and practices. The Haida Local Foods Processing Co-op, for example, is based on cultivation of locally grown wild foods. It relies heavily on knowledge of which plants

can be harvested, as food comes from traditional knowledge and practice. The hazelnut initiative in the Bolivian Amazon is rooted in local knowledge of forests. In that example, local knowledge is used both for harvesting products and for forestry management planning.

Environmental sustainability was a theme common to all the initiatives. In some cases, it was at the centre of the initiative; in others, it comprised one of multiple objectives. The hazelnut initiative, for example, integrated environmental objectives not only in the economic activities but also supported local communities to develop environmental policy proposals for local, regional, and national governments. The initiative demonstrates convincingly the viability of using forests in ways that produce income while conserving existing eco-systems. An article published in the *Netherlands Journal of Agricultural Science* specifically examined this initiative in Bolivia, concluding that "the extraction of NTFP (non-timber forest products) has no measurable impact on the biological diversity of the eco-system" (Boot, 1997, p. 448). This example demonstrates the effectiveness of combining traditional knowledge with Western scientific knowledge.

While all the initiatives valued "participation" in decision-making, there was variability in the degree of participation and community control among the examples. According to a Forum participant involved in the Heiltsuk experience, the local Development Corporation was initiated by the Band Council. While community members participated in electing the Council, they were not directly involved in decisions about the Corporation itself. Nonetheless, the Corporation was established specifically to support entrepreneurship by any or all community members. Profits generated by the Corporation's business activities are shared in the community through services and small business funding (Forum participant 9). In other words, there is participation in the benefits of the initiative. The Corporation also strives to operate according to principles and values shared by the wider community.

In the two Bolivian experiences, an external NGO instigated both the hazelnut and community tourism initiatives. However, an analysis of the comments made in the online forum reveal that in both cases, NGOs worked with existing practices and leadership structures in the communities—thus strengthening local leadership. Community members exerted significant control over decisions about the goals and implementation of the initiatives, and both NGOs seek to foster independence of these initiatives in the medium term. Nonetheless, broad participation in decision-making remains one of the most significant challenges in CED practice, as is evident in these experiences.

The experiences shared in this forum can therefore be grouped together under the concept of CED, based on their orientations toward collective and participatory approaches, focus on sustainability, and based in the specific assets and values of a particular local place. It is important to note that while the values and approaches of the participants demonstrated commonalities, the legal frameworks and many other dimensions of their experiences were distinct.

CED and self-determination

The forum conversation revealed that CED could be understood as a potential path to Indigenous-defined development, within local places and across international boundaries. The forum revealed that at least some Indigenous peoples in Canada and Latin America share many common values that guide the kind of development they want in their territories and communities. They are struggling with similar empowerment challenges in relation to colonial structures – past and present – and the globalization of the market economy. More significant, however, is the evident potential that the CED approach offers for Indigenous communities engaged in processes of self-determination and resistance. As part of a wave of

alternative and post-development thought and practice, CED seeks to include marginalized peoples in processes of reflection and action based on local assets and goals. The emphasis of CED on local context and self-definition of development is well suited to people engaged in (re)generating their own identities and ways of doing.

In a Marxist analysis, social movements arise from conflicts based in capitalist class relations. The conflicts arising from colonization run much deeper than class conflict, however, going to the very core of a colonized people's identity, values, and way of life (Escobar, 1992). Varese argues that the political platforms of Indigenous groups in the Americas have not changed substantively over the last 500 years since colonization began: namely, full recovery of traditional territories; autonomy in both political and economic senses; and ultimately, full self-determination (Varese, 1996). The very concept of indigeneity or what it is to be Indigenous is part of the struggle, as it is only in relation to the colonizer that one becomes defined as "Indigenous"; as "Other"; as a singular category of people. For this reason, identity and what it means to "be Indigenous" is a critical part of any conversation about economic development or the shape and form of economy in Indigenous communities.

The experiences shared in the online forum graphically illustrate the challenges and achievements of Indigenous peoples in Canada and Latin America, as they strive to create economic structures that work for them, and that are rooted in their complex and changing identity as Indigenous peoples. The bottom-up approach of CED lends itself to these kinds of processes, as identity and political struggles can shape economic practices and vice versa. However, there is a clear need for more research to adequately articulate Indigenous economic development practices within CED literature and to develop the kind of hybridization of CED theory with the specific values, objectives, and practices of Indigenous peoples.

The sharing of specific cases and experiences of what can be called " Indigenous CED" can contribute to processes of re-imagining development to articulate with struggles for self-determination. The interplay between theory and practice thus becomes an interactive, reflective interplay—developing theory from real world examples, observing more cases to see if the theory fits, adjusting the theory and so on and so on. Such a process connects to Gibson-Graham's (2005) notion of the importance of credible experiences to help re-envision development theory and practice. This article has attempted to establish that the sharing of such experiences between peoples across international boundaries can contribute to their own re-envisioning processes within and between communities.

Connecting across space and borders

The Internet has been acknowledged as a space for democratic access to information (Ferdinand, 2000), in particular for communications by and between individuals and groups that would not otherwise have a voice in mainstream media. Many examples can be cited in which the Internet increased grassroots and resistance movements' ability to communicate and organize across borders, such as the Zapatistas in the early 1990s, the Seattle WTO protests in 1999, and the Arab Spring events of 2011. The speed of transmission on the Internet allows for a kind of compression of space and time, reducing the barrier of physical geography to communication.

This forum experimented with creating an online space for exchange across languages and national borders and showed that this kind of exchange is possible. People from the North and South began to understand each other, to relate to one another, and to learn from each other over the course of the forum. The participants expressed that they had valued the experience and asked for more opportunities

for this kind of sharing and learning. Barriers of distance, language differences, and context were overcome to at least some degree through this process.

At the same time, there is increasing recognition that access to technology is a real limitation to connecting in a virtual environment (Ghemawat, 2009). In Latin America, only people in urban areas could access the Internet to participate in this online forum, and their bandwidth did not allow for uploading of videos or photos. Access can also relate to having the opportunity to learn how to use the various programs associated with virtual communications; youth and people in professional positions are most likely to be able to operate comfortable in such an environment. Uneven access to technology is therefore a significant barrier to this kind of exchange with a broader cross-section of people.

Another challenge was in fostering active participation. A few people dominated the conversation in the forum, in terms of the amount of posts contributed and the number of experiences written up and discussed, compared to the total number of participants. There was no evaluation to determine why this dynamic occurred; however, a few possible reasons can be postulated. First, the participants were from very different contexts, in terms of the way colonialism has played out, current legal and political frameworks, and even in styles for participating in learning activities. It took until half way through the forum for the first Southern participant to venture a comment and question directly to a Northern participant. Up to that point, back and forth comments had only been between people speaking the same language and from the same part of the world. The facilitators made every effort to overcome such barriers by asking clarifying questions so that participants could explain their contexts in greater detail, or by spelling out acronyms, and by ensuring that translations were as accurate as possible. Nonetheless, it is difficult to convey significant differences in historical processes and legal frameworks, for example, in a period of five weeks.

Second, fostering active participation is a significant challenge even in an in-person workshop or classroom setting. There are always people who are more comfortable or vocal in contributing to a conversation, and other people who tend to sit back and observe. These differences are partly attributable to personality differences, but a good facilitator can find ways to encourage more diverse participation. Putting people into small groups or pairs is one method; another is to ask each person in turn to contribute their thoughts to the discussion. Adapting such methods to an online environment is challenging, but merits further reflection and experimentation. This forum only used spaces that were open to all participants, to post in as they felt moved to do so. Other formats might have fostered more active participation.

A third factor affecting participation levels may be related to motivation. There was no grading or credit for participating in the forum, nor any plan of action arising out of the forum. In other words, there may have been a perception of limited benefits to participation, in concrete terms, for some people. Further, the topics, as framed, may not have moved each person. On the other hand, it could simply be that some people were more comfortable communicating in writing than others, or that some felt hesitant to expose their thoughts to people they did not know personally. Evaluating these kinds of factors in participation would be valuable to incorporate into another such online activity.

Translocal networks

Finally, the online forum raises questions about the potential of the Internet to create translocal networks among Indigenous peoples. When Escobar (1994) advocates translocal networks, he is referring to the need for local experiences to link together in order to gain impact or influence at regional, national, or

international levels. Within a post-development framework, it may be possible to link local actions for transformation at a larger scale, thereby creating a significant counter reality to the dominant discourse. This may have particular significance for Indigenous peoples who are often minorities within a country, and can find connecting at an international level important for strengthening their worldview and differentiated approaches.

CONCLUSION

This online forum revealed that it is possible to use online media to create spaces for learning and exchange between Indigenous peoples across national and language borders. It remains to be seen if such online spaces could create a space for meaningful connection and organizing over time. This particular forum did not generate any collaborations or networking beyond the particular time-space of the online forum itself. To move someone to participate in an ongoing online relationship would likely require a specific joint project, with concrete results that can be seen or experienced.

A related question is what kinds of activities or impacts could emerge from such spaces. Transnational Indigenous networks have often focused on articulating rights, such as through the United Nations conferences on Indigenous peoples. The U.N. Declaration on Indigenous Rights has been used by minority Indigenous populations within nation states to advocate for the inclusion of such rights in national constitutions (e.g., in Bolivia, Guatemala, etc.). However, there is potential for many kinds of collaborations. Durham, an activist in the American Indian Movement in the 1970s and delegate to the first U.N. Conference on Indigenous Peoples, suggested direct trading between Indigenous peoples internationally.

This is a call to bypass the mechanisms of the nation state, and to assert an identity as independent nations. CED initiatives could be linked into international or regional markets through these kinds of mechanisms, and virtual communications would play a critical role in organizing across the globe. This may seem like an unrealistic idea, but the point is that there is a need to further explore the potential for translocal networks of Indigenous peoples. The online forum on Indigenous CED showed that the Internet has potential as a space for international learning between people identifying as Indigenous.

NOTE

1. The Bolivian Specialization in Community Economic Development (CED) is an initiative of the Centre for Sustainable Community Development at Simon Fraser University in Canada, the Asociación de Instituciones de Promoción y Educación (AIPE) – a network of twenty-two Bolivian organizations focused on food security and local economic development, and the Centre for Graduate Studies in Development at the Universidad Mayor San Andres in Bolivia. The project is funded by the Canadian International Development Agency, and runs from 2007–2013. The CED curriculum was designed through a participatory process involving academics, Indigenous leaders and development professionals in Bolivia. The curriculum is responsive, adapting to the particular context and learning goals of participants. The pedagogy is responsive, with learning activities that build on the experience and knowledge of participants, with the instructor acting as a facilitator and co-learner. The program is in high demand from traditional Indigenous authorities and leaders of the emerging autonomous municipalities in Bolivia, particularly in the highlands region of Oruro, La Paz, and Chuquisaca. To date, more than 300 people have participated in the training programs, and graduates have trained more than 4000 people at the community level in the CED approach.

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR / L'AUTEUR

Gretchen Hernandez is a PhD Candidate in Geography and Researcher at the Centre for Sustainable Community Development at Simon Fraser University. Email: gretchen_hernandez@sfu.ca

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Knowledge Mobilization, Collaboration, and Social Innovation: Leveraging Investments in Higher Education

Naomi Nichols

The Hospital for Sick Children and York University

David J. Phipps
York University

Johanne Provençal
University of Toronto

Allyson Hewitt
MaRS Discovery District

ABSTRACT

This article is a qualitative literature synthesis in the areas of community-campus collaborations, knowledge mobilization and social innovation. The article aims to be useful to people who work in academic settings, community organizations, public institutions, and government. The authors utilized a purposive sampling methodology to explore the following questions: 1. How can university-based knowledge mobilization leverage investments in higher education research and development (R&D) through community-campus collaboration and social innovation? 2. What is the role of university-wide knowledge mobilization projects in supporting community-campus connections and ultimately social innovation strategies that contribute to the public good? Our review indicates considerable interplay between community-campus collaborations, knowledge mobilization and social innovation given that knowledge mobilization facilitates – and is facilitated by – collaboration. With sufficient knowledge mobilization, community-campus collaborations stimulate social innovation. The article concludes with recommendations based on our review of the literature.

RÉSUMÉ

Cet article se fonde sur une synthèse littéraire qualitative portant sur les collaborations communautaires/académiques, la mobilisation du savoir et l'innovation sociale. Il se veut utile pour toute personne travaillant dans un milieu académique, un organisme communautaire ou une institution publique. Les auteurs ont recours à une méthode d'échantillonnage raisonné pour répondre aux questions suivantes : 1. Comment la mobilisation du savoir universitaire – au moyen de la collaboration communautaire/académique et de l'innovation

sociale – peut-elle faire augmenter les investissements en recherche et développement dans l'enseignement supérieur? 2. Comment les projets de mobilisation du savoir universitaire peuvent-ils resserrer les liens entre campus et communauté et, en fin de compte, appuyer des stratégies d'innovation sociale qui contribuent au bien commun? Notre évaluation indique qu'il y a beaucoup d'influences réciproques entre les collaborations communautaires/académiques, la mobilisation du savoir et l'innovation sociale, surtout que la mobilisation du savoir facilite la collaboration et vice versa. En effet, avec une mobilisation du savoir suffisante, les collaborations communautaires/académiques stimulent l'innovation sociale. Cet article se termine par des recommandations provenant de notre analyse documentaire.

Keywords / Mots clés : Social innovation; Knowledge mobilization; Community-academic collaboration; Research; Development / Innovation sociale; Mobilisation du savoir; Collaboration communautaire/académique; Recherche; Développement

INTRODUCTION

An innovation can be understood as a product, intervention, process, or idea that is "discontinuous from previous practice and yields new pathways for solving acute problems or fulfilling [a] mission" (Rockefeller Foundation, n.d., p. 1). Innovation is widely regarded as central to industry progress and the development of workforce talent. Increasingly, there is recognition that innovation is critical to cultural, environmental, social, and artistic progress as well. With the move from industrial economies to knowledge- and service-based economies, some scholars have observed an "innovation system paradigm shift" (Bullinger, 2006, p. 14, in Howaldt & Schwarz, 2010, p. 12). Although innovation in science and technology remains critical, there is increasing recognition that *social* innovation is required to achieve sustainable social and economic impact.

Social innovations require a willingness to "do things differently" (Goldstein, Hazy, & Silberstang, 2010). Put simply, social innovations are changes that are observed at the level of social practice (Howaldt & Schwarz, 2010, p. 21). Social innovations often result from unique combinations of knowledge, practice, techniques, products, and so forth. A social innovation is "a hybridization of existing elements that are combined across boundaries in new ways to yield better solutions, also leaving healthier social relationships in their wake" (Rockefeller Foundation, n.d., p. 1). Optimally, social innovations result in "effective, efficient, sustainable, or just" solutions that benefit society as a whole (Phills, Deiglmeier, & Miller, 2008).

Social innovations change the systems within which they work. These changes can be felt at a local, regional, or national level. Some examples of social innovation that we have observed include

- Planned Lifetime Advocacy Network (PLAN), a non-governmental organization (NGO) based in Vancouver, B.C., works to benefit the benefit the lives of people with disabilities and their families. PLAN pioneered the Registered Disability Savings Plan (RDSP) to allow parents of a child with a disability to save for their child's future financial security. The RDSP was adopted by the Government of Canada and now benefits children and families across the country.

- The Green Economy Centre is a result of a collaboration between York University and Nottawasaga Futures, a nonprofit community futures agency in rural South Simcoe, Ontario. The Green Economy Centre is an innovative service to help rural businesses adopt green business solutions and help develop a culture of sustainability in the region.

- A collaboration with between York University and a community organization led to the development of a Life Skills Mentoring Program at the Youth Emergency Shelter in Peterborough. This is an innovative program that trains and matches mentors from the local college with clients of the shelter. Providing life skills in a one-on-one fashion as opposed to traditional group work reduces the length of stay of youth in crisis and turned the shelter into a social enterprise. The shelter earns revenue by providing life skills mentoring to other agencies, which has generated a new revenue stream of program funding from the provincial government.

This expansive understanding of innovation (e.g., as a process, a product, and an interconnected system of activity) is particularly relevant for higher education research and development (R&D). As sites of knowledge generation and learning, universities and colleges are well positioned to contribute to innovative discoveries and practices. However, traditional strategies for supporting innovation in institutions of higher education (e.g., technology transfer and commercialization that focus on science, technology, engineering and medicine) do not maximize the social, environmental and economic impact of university research that is not aimed at commercial potential (Mulgan, Tucker, Ali, & Sanders, 2007). Although there has been significant investment (in Canada and internationally) in technological innovation and commercialization of research, the focus on stimulating social innovation is fairly recent and has not yet begun to sufficiently influence planning and development.

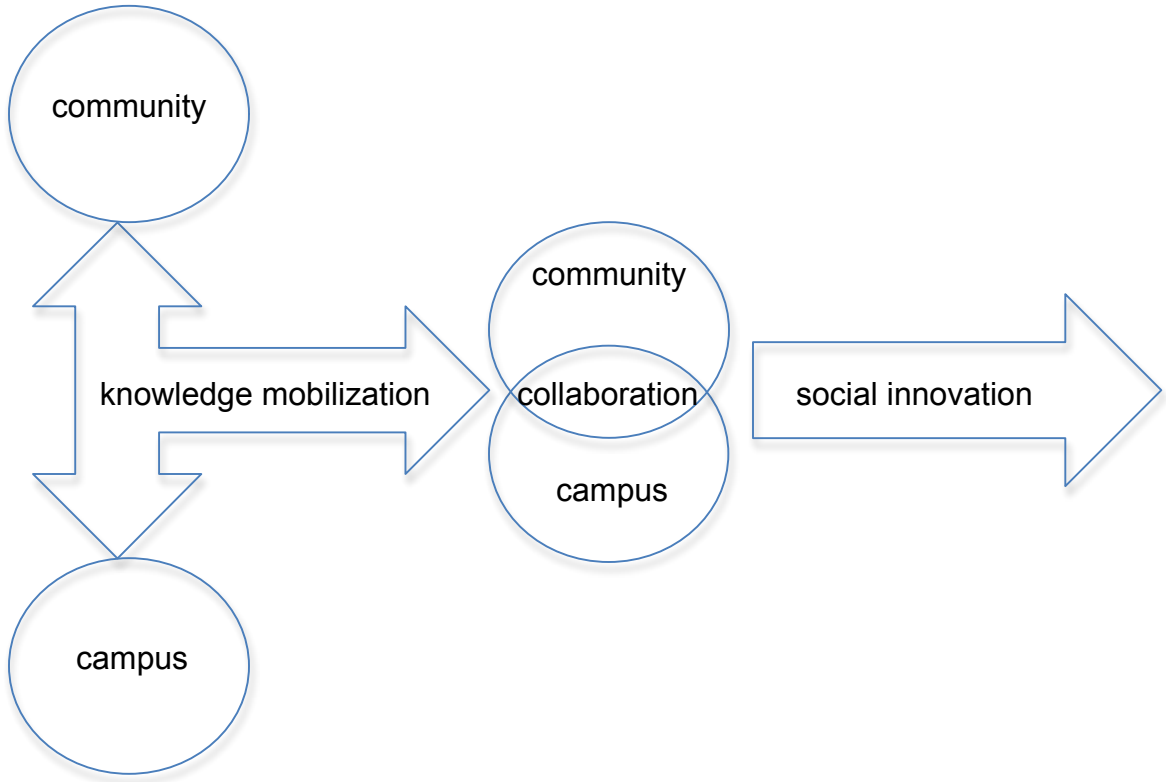
This article synthesizes the literature in the areas of community-campus collaborations, knowledge mobilization, and social innovation. Given the suggestion that innovation can result from the "hybridization of existing elements," we desired an improved understanding of the relationship between community-campus collaborations and social change. We have included the literature on knowledge mobilization in our review because we recognized that collaborators require processes and/or mechanisms that support unique re-combinations of existing knowledge and practice (Nichols, Gaetz, & Phipps, in press).

Community-campus collaborations take multiple forms. An international scan of community-campus interactions identifies four broad categories: 1) relationships between individual faculty members and community organizations that are not supported by institutional structures; 2) centres or institutes that support community-campus collaboration; 3) institutional structures organized within and across academic settings to systematically engage community partners in research; and 4) multi-institutional community-based research partnerships operating regionally, nationally, and internationally (Office of Community-Based Research, 2009). Knowledge mobilization is a similarly multi-faceted concept. For the purposes of this review, we adopt Bennett and Bennett's (2008) conceptualization of knowledge mobilization as "collaborative entanglement" between the users and producers of knowledge.

Our review explores how activities and structures that contribute to mutual learning or knowledge mobilization across community and academic settings (e.g., service-learning opportunities, collaborative research, resource and asset-sharing structures, community-academic colloquia, and knowledge sharing ventures) support collaborative relationships and have the potential to stimulate social change (Pearlman & Bilodeau, 1999; Roche, 2008; Viswanathan, Ammerman, Eng, Garlehner, Lohr, Griffith, Rhodes, et al., 2004; Office of Community-Based Research, 2009). We are keen to understand how community-campus collaborations – facilitated by knowledge mobilization processes – lead to "cross pollination" (Phills et al., 2008, p. 41) between sectors and ultimately enable social innovation.

We utilize a purposive sampling methodology (Suri, 2011) to explore the following questions: 1. How can university-based knowledge mobilization leverage investments in higher education R&D through social innovation and community campus collaboration? 2. What is the role of university-wide knowledge mobilization projects in supporting community-campus connections and ultimately social innovation strategies that contribute to the public good? We examine the literature on collaborations between community members or organizations and post-secondary education institutions (i.e., community-campus collaborations). We investigate the supporting role that knowledge mobilization plays in facilitating community-campus collaborations, and explore how inter-sectoral collaborations lead to change. In so doing, we elucidate a relationship between community-campus collaborations, knowledge mobilization and social innovation (see Figure 1).

Figure 1: A simplified model of the relationship between community-campus collaboration, knowledge mobilization, and social innovation.



Note: Please see Bennett and Bennett (2008) for a fuller, more complex depiction of the relationship between collaboration, knowledge mobilization, and the production of new knowledge (as cited in Phipps, Jenson, & Myers, 2012, p. 183).

A synthesis of the literature and an examination of practice indicate that inter-institutional knowledge mobilization personnel, structures, and processes support community-campus knowledge exchange processes and other collaborative activities (e.g., research or service learning). In turn, productive collaborative activities stimulate innovation (see for example, Phipps & Shapson, 2009). The simplified relationship that we describe between community-campus connections, knowledge mobilization, and social innovation (see Figure 1) does not attempt to capture the other inter-related factors that influence how community-academic research collaborations contribute to innovation and change (Israel, Schultz, Parker, & Becker, 1998; Nichols, Gaetz, &

Dyck, in press; Nichols et al., submitted). Figure 1 offers a basic illustration of how knowledge mobilization processes facilitate interdisciplinary and inter-sectoral learning and planning in support of social innovation.

This literature review is designed to be of assistance to people who engage in or facilitate community-campus research collaborations and who want to understand how such collaborations contribute to social change. The findings will also be of interest to the research and nonprofit granting bodies, as well as university R&D Offices that support community-campus collaborations. Specifically, the following two interrelated observations will be useful to readers: first, institutionally supported opportunities for learning across professional, disciplinary, and organizational borders set the stage for social innovation, and second, in order to actualize this potential, collaborators require effective mechanisms or strategies for supporting knowledge mobilization (or learning).

METHODOLOGY

This article presents the results of a qualitative research synthesis. A qualitative research synthesis is a type of literature review that aims to identify unifying threads, gaps, and critical themes across a body (or bodies) of work. Quantitative and qualitative, unpublished and published primary research sources can be synthesized in this way. Unlike systematic reviews of the literature, which attempt to produce an exhaustive summary of the research in a given area, a qualitative research synthesis explores connections and tensions within a given research area or across research streams. A qualitative research synthesis is useful for exploring conceptual or methodological patterns across diverse bodies of literature. For our purposes – that is, to consider how to leverage investments in higher education R&D in support of social innovation – a qualitative synthesis is an appropriate approach.

The resources synthesized in this article were collected by three of the article's authors. The synthesis does not reflect an exhaustive review of the literature in the areas of community-campus collaborations, knowledge mobilization, and social innovation; rather, it is a synthesis of our professional libraries and those of our colleagues. Many of the sources reviewed in this article also inform our practice as knowledge mobilizers and researchers. As such, there will be bodies of literature – particularly sources in languages other than English – that were not reviewed for this article. This is a shortcoming of our approach; at the onset of the article, therefore, we want to be clear about this limitation.

Our aim was to map key findings from research in our three fields of interest, explore our research questions, and identify key gaps in the three areas of literature. The process of study selection was informed by Arskey and O'Malley's (2005) scoping methodology, as well as Suri's (2011) thinking about purposive sampling in qualitative research syntheses.

Arskey and O'Malley (2005) identify a five-stage scoping study design, which requires an iterative implementation process:

> Stage 1: identifying the research question
> Stage 2: identifying the relevant studies
> Stage 3: study selection
> Stage 4: charting the data
> Stage 5: collating, summarizing and reporting the results (p. 22)

In our study, we did not progress through these stages in a linear fashion. As we have worked with our three distinct bodies of literature, we have adjusted our guiding research question, sourced additional relevant

studies, charted and re-charted the data in order to draw conclusions about the unifying threads in this literature. This article is a final iteration of earlier preliminary syntheses.

As a process, our approach to study selection was non-standardized. We did not use a standard set of inclusion and exclusion criteria, rather we focused instead on selecting a wide variety of primary research sources that would allow us to broadly review our three areas of interest in the context of our over-arching questions. Our goal was to explore a range of primary research in the areas of community-campus collaborations, knowledge mobilization and social innovation. Our use of a purposive sampling search methodology facilitated an in-depth analysis of purposefully selected studies (Suri, 2011). We recognize that there may be other important contributions related to the topics of community-campus collaboration, knowledge mobilization, and social innovation that are not included in our review.

We used a variation of the snowball sampling method, based on the identification of key sources. In order to identify relevant studies to include in the review, we searched electronic library databases (e.g., Social Science Abstract; Web of Science) and specific topically relevant journals (e.g., journals that focus on community engaged scholarship). We reviewed reference lists of key sources and consulted experts in the fields of knowledge mobilization, social innovation, and engaged scholarship. We also utilized an opportunistic sampling methodology, seeking out resources that allowed us to explore our evolving understanding and questions about the relationship between our three areas of interest. We limited our review materials to those materials that were available in English and those produced within the last 15 years (i.e., between 1997 and 2012).

Analysis was guided by a review and coding process. After an initial review of the sources, the authors of this article identified a number of themes to explore in greater detail. At this first stage of analysis, themes remained linked to particular bodies of work (i.e., themes that were identified as pertinent to our understanding of the social innovation literature were different from those identified for the knowledge mobilization literature). Some particularly generative themes included innovation at a systems level; innovation as a process; innovation as a product; institutionalized knowledge mobilization structures; knowledge exchange processes; collaborative processes that facilitate/hinder knowledge exchange; inter-institutional structures that facilitate/hinder knowledge exchange. Once the distinct bodies of literature were coded in this way, we examined relationships between thematic categories. For example, how do institutional structures support inter-institutional/inter-individual knowledge exchange, and how does knowledge exchange lead to innovation? Subsequent sections of this article convey the findings from our synthetic review.

Community-campus collaborations

Strong collaborative relationships (e.g., between post-secondary institutions and the community, broadly conceived [Phipps & Shapson, 2009] or between government, the nonprofit sector, and business [Phills et al., 2008]) are seen as important drivers of social change. It is widely understood that complex problems – for example, health, social, and environmental problems – are multi-dimensional with inter-dependent causes. Arriving at innovative solutions to these multi-dimensional problems requires multi-dimensional perspectives (see, for example, Emschoff et al., 2007). Inter-systemic, inter-institutional, and inter-disciplinary collaborations are a means for addressing such complex problems, while also maximizing resources, reducing inter-institutional fragmentation and service duplication, creating conceptual and organizational synergy, building community capacity, and engaging people in research (see, for example, Emshoff, Darnell, Darnell, Erickson, Schneider, & Hudgins, 2007). This section on community-campus collaboration explores the relationship between community-campus collaboration and social innovation with the aim of understanding how these collaborations leverage investments in higher education R & D through knowledge mobilization.

Community-campus collaborations are "collaborations between community organizations and institutions of higher learning for the purpose of achieving an identified social change goal through community engaged scholarship" (Curwood, Munger, Mitchell, MacKeigan, & Farrar, 2011, p. 3). Engaged scholarship is distinguished by democratic values: partnership, reciprocity, and action (Campbell & Lassiter, 2010); citing Saltmarsh et al., Campbell and Lassiter (2010) note, it "seeks the public good *with* the public" (original emphasis). Community-based and participatory research approaches, service learning opportunities, joint-problem solving, collective advocacy, and open forums and debates, can all signal instances of engaged scholarship. For the purposes of this review, the term 'engaged scholarship' references any collaborative activity or interaction that promotes learning and knowledge exchange – or "cross pollination" (Phills et al., 2008, p. 41) –across academic and community settings.

Collaborative processes that shape knowledge exchange for innovation

Notions of reciprocity and inclusivity are important to all collaborative endeavours, but they are considered vital to community-campus collaboration (Campbell & Lassiter, 2010; Carlton, Whiting, Bradford, Hyjer Dyk, & Vail 2009; Curwood et al., 2011; Flicker & Savan, 2006; Israel et al., 1998; Pearce, Pearson, & Sam, n.d.; Vazquez Jacobus, Baskett, & Bechstein, 2011). Mutual trust is another pillar of community-academic collaborations (Carlton et al., 2009; Israel et al., 1998; Wright, Williams, Wright, Lieber, Carrasco, & Gedjeyan, 2011; Vazquez Jacobus et al., 2011), which is established through dialogue and deliberation among stakeholders. In turn, dialogue and deliberation are seen as indicators that the process is guided by democratic values and that public or community participation is a valued asset (Campbell & Lassiter, 2010; Carlton et al., 2009; Israel et al., 1998; Wright et al., 2011).

Dialogue and deliberation can also signal knowledge exchange. Positive community-campus collaborations recognize and build on the divergent expertise that partners contribute to the collaborative process. Terms like "co-researchers," "co-development," "co-creation," and "knowledge exchange" are used to signal the centrality of the reciprocal partnership in community-campus collaborations.

Collaborative research

It is common for community-campus collaborations to revolve around research. The use of community-based research (CBR) and community-based participatory research (CBPR) methods are meant to ensure that research is ethical, attentive to the needs of research subjects, includes structures for participation by communities and/or community organizations, improves community health and well-being through action and social change, and is useful outside of academic settings.

Community-campus research collaborations recognize a continuum of participatory strategies for collaborators. The use of multiple methods is one way to encourage interdisciplinary knowledge exchange, and the involvement of a diversity of stakeholders. Many collaborative projects have a mixed methods research design that uses a combination of qualitative and quantitative research strategies. Methodological reflexivity and flexibility are also key facilitators of a collaborative research agenda (Carlton et al., 2009; Nichols, Forthcoming; 2010; Roche, 2008; Israel et al., 1998). In a community-informed research framework, methods should be informed by the purpose of the study and collaborators' desired use for research findings.

Research methods and instruments also need to be culturally appropriate (Flicker, Travers, Guta, McDonald, & Meagher, 2007; Koné, Sullivan, Senturia, Chrisman, Ciske, & Krieger, 2000; Kovach, 2005; Wright et al., 2011). Particularly when engaging in participatory community-based research approaches, culturally relevant research tools and methods are essential to an equitable and rigorous research partnership (Koné et al., 2000; Wright et al., 2011). Some studies describe the use of collaborative or team ethnography to facilitate a community-

university partnership (Austin, 2003) and community engagement in research (Campbell & Lassiter, 2010). Collaborative ethnography is a form of qualitative community-based research that uses observation, text analysis, and various forms of interviewing to understand the cultural and social norms of a people or place. Other popular CBR methods include arts-informed research strategies (Sakamoto, Khandor, Chapra, Hendrickson, Maher, Roche, & Chin, 2008), photo-voice projects (Carlson, Engebretson, & Chamberlain, 2006), and community mapping (Amsden & VanWynsberghe, 2005; Burke, O'Campo, Peak, Gielen, McDonell, Trochim, 2005).

Institutional factors that shape collaboration

Differences in disciplinary culture, paradigm, or institutional values need to be taken into consideration when undertaking inter-institutional collaboration (Carlton et al., 2009; Henderson, MacKay, & Peterson-Badali, 2010; Lowe & Phillipson, 2009; Nichols et al. forthcoming). Researchers have identified structural or organizational barriers to collaboration (e.g., Bowen & Marten, 2005; Curwood et al., 2011; Flicker et al., 2007; Flicker & Savan, 2006; Lantz, Viruell-Fuentes, Israel, Softley, & Guzman, 2001) and knowledge mobilization (Cooper & Levin, 2010) across sectors. The following institutional conditions shape community-campus engagement: the control and distribution of funds; competing institutional demands; funder timelines, reporting requirements, and expectations; ethical review processes; and, university tenure and promotion practices. The emergent or responsive aspects of community-based research mean that there are aspects of a research plan that cannot be articulated prior to beginning fieldwork; this continues to pose challenges for research funders and other stakeholders charged with responsibility for assessing the potential of a research proposal or the rigor of a program of work (Ahmed & Palermo, 2010; Israel et al., 1998). In order to institutionally support the use of community-based research strategies, research funding timelines and budgets need to acknowledge the value added from collaboration. Understanding how collaborations lead to change (or innovation) will help in this regard.

The literature also identifies key institutional conditions that support community-campus collaboration. Institutional policies and structures that are implemented with an explicit goal to support community-engaged scholarship are essential facilitators of community-engaged research (Israel et al., 1998; Knowledge Mobilization Works, 2010; Roche, 2008). Inter-institutional mechanisms for fund distribution, shared meeting spaces, institutional commitment (e.g., in the form of an official mandate), details of people's workload adjustments, communication strategies, and community access to data management and storage programs need to be addressed prior to initiating a collaboration (Eckerle Curwood et al., 2011).

One valuable institutional mechanism is a community outreach partnership centre or community engagement institute. Whether institutes or centres are community-based (Cherry & Shefner, 2004) or housed within an academic organization (Hart & Northmore, 2012; Northmore & Hart, 2011), they have been found to successfully increase community-campus outreach activities. These centres can also support project management and mediate between the different institutional demands arising from academic and community settings.

Face-to-face or technologically mediated contact is also important (Koné et al., 2000). Communication facilitates and is facilitated by: co-developed collaborative principles, a memorandum of understanding, co-developed operating norms, and/or a statement of ethics are (Campbell & Lassiter, 2010; Carlton et al., 2009; Isreal et al., 1998; Lantz et al., 2001; Pearlman & Biladeau, 1999; Wright et al., 2011). Structured and informal opportunities to network and learn together may serve to unsettle people's misconceptions, nurture relationship building, and allow individuals and institutions to establish confidence in one another (Bowen & Martens, 2005). While relationship building is facilitated by opportunities to learn across difference it also engenders mutual learning as

a critical outcome of productive collaborations. Diverse partners bring divergent expertise to the collaborative process that, when mobilised, increases the capacity of the group as a whole (Wright et al., 2011).

When appropriate institutional and interpersonal conditions are in place, community-campus collaborations are sites of knowledge exchange and social innovation (see, for example, Azaroff, Nguyen, Do, Gore, & Goldstein-Gelb, 2011; Krebs, Holden, Williams, Basualdo, & Spence, 2008; McNall, Reed, Brown, & Allen, 2009; Nichols, Gaetz, & Phipps, in press; Phipps, Jenson, & Myers, 2012; Redmond, Spoth, Shin, Schainker, Greenberg, & Feinberg, 2009; Spoth, Guyll, Redmond, Greenberg, Feinberg, 2011). Social innovations require mechanisms for working across disciplinary and institutional silos. When inter-institutional knowledge exchange processes are coupled with organizational mandates, bridging structures, and/or strategic plans that privilege collaborative work, community-campus collaborations are well positioned to stimulate interdisciplinary and inter-professional problem solving and exchange.

Supporting collaboration through knowledge mobilization

Institutionalized knowledge mobilization is increasingly common in post secondary education, government, and in non-governmental organizations (Phipps & Shapson, 2009; Phipps, 2011). Knowledge mobilization supports collaboration when institutional knowledge mobilization units or offices facilitate interdisciplinary, inter-professional, and inter-sectoral links. Knowledge mobilization professionals are "boundary spanning agents" (Weerts & Sandmann, 2010, p. 704) or "innovation brokers" (Klerkx & Gildemacher, 2012, p. 221) who facilitate "productive interactions" (Spaappen & van Drooge, 2011) between diverse stakeholders.

There is a growing literature describing structures, processes, and efforts of knowledge mobilization and related activities (such as knowledge transfer and engaged scholarship) that connect research to decision-makers. Bennet and Bennet (2008), for instance, suggest that knowledge mobilization can increase the impact of social sciences and humanities research on social policy and social services. They describe knowledge mobilization as "collaborative entanglement"; knowledge mobilization allows people "to purposely and consistently develop and support approaches and processes that combine the sources of knowledge and the beneficiaries of that knowledge to interactively move toward a common direction" (Bennett & Bennett, 2008, p. 48). Bennett and Bennett's description evokes the messy ("entanglement") and social ("collaborative") nature of the relationships that are central to knowledge mobilization processes.

Like those who conceptualize social innovation as a process (e.g., Phills et al., 2008; Phipps, Jenson, & Meyers, 2012), Nutley, Walter and Davies (2007; see also, Davies, Nutley, & Walter, 2005; Walter, Nutley, & Davies, 2003) emphasize social interaction as a central component of effective knowledge mobilization. The co-creation of knowledge supports impactful knowledge exchange processes (Prahalad & Krishnan, 2008). Gagnon (2011) points out that collaborative knowledge production is associated with research impact. In each of the stages described in the "Knowledge To Action" cycle, strong relationships between researchers, practitioners, policy makers and advocates will maximize the impact of evidence on policy / practice (see for example, Lavis, Robertson, Woodside, McLeod, & Abelson, 2003). Institutional knowledge mobilization or engagement centres are emerging to facilitate and sustain these relationships (Phipps & Shapson, 2009; Phipps, 2011).

When opportunities for collaborative entanglement or "productive interactions" (Spaapen & van Drooge, 2011; Molas-Gallart & Tang, 2011) lead to the production of new ideas, practices, policies, or products, these unique outcomes can be described as innovations. The collaborative work of academic and non-academic practitioners that is supported by knowledge mobilization activities may result in social innovations that can address a broad spectrum of social issues and needs that cannot be met by technology transfer and commercialization of research alone (Krebs et al., 2008; Phipps & Shapson, 2009). Knowledge mobilization creates value for the

institution as well as for researchers and their decision-maker partners, both in the impact of research used to launch new services or better policies, and in leveraging additional investment of resources (Phipps, 2011).

Social innovation

Serrat (2010) observes that the turn toward social innovation reflects a growing demand for "good ideas, put into practice, that meet pressing unmet needs and improve people's lives" (p. 1). Our review of the literature suggests that unique combinations of knowledge and practice are facilitated by collaboration and knowledge mobilization across community and academic sectors. The degree to which these collaborative endeavours result in social innovation, however, depends on how the term, social innovation, is defined. Pols and Ville (2009) suggest that a lack of "terminological precision" (p. 878) undermines the impact of interdisciplinary knowledge production. Tabling a definition that is much like Serrat's, Pols and Ville (2009) suggest that any new idea that has the "potential to improve the [macro-] quality or quantity of life is a social innovation" (p. 881). Pols and Ville go on to observe that a social innovation can contribute to profit maximization or not – just like a business innovation can improve the quality or quantity of life for a group of people, or not. While the potential overlap between the terms is substantial, the two terms (i.e., business innovation and social innovation) are not synonymous.

Other scholars define innovation as a process, rather than an outcome (e.g., and idea or a product). In this school of thought, an innovation is defined as "encompassing the entire process –from idea to implementation – for new products, services, processes, practices, and policies" (Gardner, Acharya, & Yach, 2007, p. 1052). In either case, the call for 'social' innovations reflects a widespread recognition that complex and interconnected social problems require a conception of innovation that is not limited to scientific and technological advancement (see Mulgan, Simon, & Murray, 2008; Howaldt & Schwarz, 2010; and, Dahrendorf, 2009).

An example of a social innovation in a Canadian context is a new Pension Project that began as a collaboration between a feminist nonprofit Connector Organization that supports joint work between women's community groups and university researchers and a Community Services Unit in a comprehensive public French-language university (for a full description, see Nichols, Gaetz, & Phipps, in press). People who work in community-based organizations may retire into poverty due to lack of pension plans. The Pension Project aims to support economic stability among people who work in the province's community and nonprofit sectors. The University Community Services Unit provided the research and pension planning expertise, and the community practitioners collectively determined the pension planning strategy and tools, as well as their training and recruitment approach. The creation and conception of the plan by and for representatives of the community sector *for* the community sector distinguishes this pension plan from others that exist.

Since it's inception in 2008, the Pension Plan has grown from zero to ten million dollars. It has a growing membership of 2,700 employees from 365 different community and women's groups, and it has won awards for innovation from Benefits Canada and the Committee of Labour and Social Economy Community Action. Project participants suggest that it contributes to labour consistencies in the nonprofit sector, allowing them to continue working in the nonprofit sector throughout their careers.

Other examples of social innovations in Canada exist, but many such examples remain undocumented. In "Social Innovation in Canada: An Update" (2009), Goldenberg, Kamoji, Orton, and Williamson indicate that despite Canada's historical contributions to social innovation (in nonprofit, government, and for-profit sectors), the country is lagging behind other Western nations in certain areas. Notably, Canada has not adopted strategic models for public support, funding, and facilitation of social innovation processes. There is a lack of infrastructure and support for innovation on the one hand and a lack of formal analysis of social innovation

processes and outcomes on the other. Research in the field of social innovation could usefully inform decision-making, problem solving, resource allocation, and knowledge exchange in support of social innovation capacity building (Restler & Woolis, 2007; Goldenberg et al., 2009; Choi, 2003).

While some individual organizations have created programming streams for social innovation, as an overall field of research and practice, social innovation remains highly fragmented. In turn, this fragmentation has an adverse effect on the extent to which investment in higher education R&D enables innovation generally and social innovation in particular. A systems level – or ecological – approach to supporting social innovation will require a research framework and tools that account for innovation inputs, processes, outputs, and outcomes across institutional settings. Such tools would also need to be flexible enough to capture the complex "processes of interaction" (Spaapen & van Drooge, 2011), through which collaboration and knowledge exchange (or mobilization) occur among stakeholders and enable innovation. Any change or impact that results from a social innovation is ultimately also shaped by the people who inform, develop, implement, manage, monitor, and/or otherwise experience an innovation, as well as any number of broader social, political, and institutional conditions. It is thus argued that any conceptualization of a social problem, its potential solution, and the evaluation of any social innovation include multiple indicators of participant characteristics as well as characteristics of the organization (e.g., leadership, composition, size, reinforcement system, etc.) and the community or environment in which it operates [e.g., socioeconomic indicators, geographic culture, relationships to other organizations, etc.] (Hazel & Onaga, 2003).

To understand how social innovation operates at a systems level, descriptive accounts of the organizations involved, advisory and support services, mentorship strategies, research activities, events, networking approaches, and marketing techniques are needed. Finally, it is important to note that measurement tools and research/evaluation designs should be guided by the same principles of collaboration that underpin innovation (e.g., collaborative study designs, shared terms of reference, distributed leadership/decision making, and mutually beneficial research outcomes). Such a comprehensive account of the inputs, processes, and products of social innovation – particularly at a systems-level – is currently lacking.

Our discussion of social innovation points to various factors that have the potential to facilitate innovation processes at an institutional level. Our review of the literature indicates that systems-integration and research could play a role in the development of an effective, efficient, and coordinated innovation system. In the next section, we explore some policy and practice implications of the results of this synthesis.

DISCUSSION

Facilitated opportunities for "collaborative entanglement" between community and academic organizations have the potential to stimulate social change. This section of the synthesis identifies the kinds of institutional and social conditions required to effectively leverage resources between communities and higher education institutions to enable social innovation.

Reciprocity is the key to sustaining community-campus collaborations. Effective community-campus collaborations leverage the stability and infrastructural supports of academic institutions *and* the organizational "nimbleness" of community organizations (Northmore & Hart, 2011). In order to engender sustained engagement across community and academic settings, there is a need to identify the factors that foster reciprocity and mutual benefit between community and academic partners, as well as their respective institutions (Northmore & Hart, 2011).

It is also important that higher education institutions, community organizations, industry, governments, and funding agencies recognize that equitable and effective collaborations need to be organized, supported, and rewarded differently from traditional, faculty-driven or commercial profit-driven research and development. Building meaningful and effective collaborations between communities and academic institutions requires significant inputs of time and human resources. Sustaining these collaborations requires ongoing attention to, and deliberation about, collaborative processes *and* outcomes.

Social innovation is fundamentally an "action-oriented, problem-focused approach … [that] requires a broader view of the processes and structures that contribute to the social problem" (Hazel & Onaga 2003, p. 287). Knowledge mobilization is fundamental to a productive collaborative process. As a process, knowledge mobilization supports collaborative activities; as an outcome of collaboration, knowledge exchange (i.e., mutual learning) can also be transformative for collaborators. Social innovation is evident in new forms of knowledge exchange, unique collaborative groupings, and ground-breaking applications of new knowledge. Processes of knowledge exchange and innovation can occur iteratively throughout the life cycle of a collaboration; knowledge exchange can also lead to innovation as an essential outcome of collaboration.

The relationship between collaboration, knowledge exchange, and innovation is a central motivation for community-based, collaborative and/or interdisciplinary research. Some have proposed that social scientists should work collaboratively with people who have been most affected by a particular social issue, as a general rule (Hazel & Onaga, 2003). As people engage in the collective pursuit – or evaluation – of an innovative solution to a complex problem, they share knowledge (Goldstein et al., 2010). In the processes through which knowledge is exchanged, applied, and/or recombined, new knowledge is created (Restler & Woolis, 2007) and existing social relations are reinterpreted and reimagined (Moulaert & Ailenei, 2005). In this context, the diverse perspectives and needs of stakeholders are resources that lead to new ideas or strategies (Biggs, Westley, & Carpenter, 2010).

The benefits of collaboration notwithstanding, productive collaborative processes are not easy to sustain. A number of social, institutional, and political factors shape how collaborations unfold and the social impacts they stimulate. Key facilitating factors at the level of individuals (e.g., leadership, mutuality, communication, and trust) must be coupled with similar supports at the level of institutions (Nichols, Phipps, Gaetz, Tanguay, & Fisher, forthcoming). Compatible institutional mandates, shared leadership/will, and institutional reciprocity are critical facilitators of community academic collaboration. Of course, collaboration between individuals and between institutions depends on sufficient investments in, and strategic support of, knowledge mobilization, collaboration, and social innovation.

Andrew and Klein (2010) suggest that government has a role to play in this regard. Particularly in the context of inter-sectoral collaboration, government policy is needed to support "the development of strong, and positive, links between sectors" (p. 40). Andrew and Klein argue that social innovation requires institutionalized supports in the areas of capacity building, partnership development, and knowledge transfer, all of which will require public policy frameworks. Traditionally, public policy decision makers have not drawn on the growing body of research about social innovation. Instead, policy decisions have reflected a model of innovation informed by the manufacturing sector, rather than the services management, community/nonprofit, or post secondary education sectors (Osborne & Brown, 2011). Better links between researchers and policy decision makers can support the creation and implementation of evidence-based social innovation policies and government infrastructure.

That said, we attend to King's (2011) observation that more recent interests in creating and measuring research impact by forging links between university researchers and policy decision makers in the U.K. has the potential

to undermine scholars' academic freedoms – that is, their abilities to conduct critical social science research. King also recognizes that the push (from federal funders) for demonstrations of measureable research impact has the potential to undermine basic or "pure" research in favour of research that is applied or oriented to particular policy/practice outcomes. While we do not wade into these debates in this synthesis, we are cognizant of a number of political and ideological tensions shaping the increasing focus on improving the applicability of research knowledge in policy and practice settings.

In part because we are protective of some of the autonomies that post-secondary institutions in Canada share, we believe there are steps that can be taken by universities and colleges, particularly in the areas of knowledge transfer, knowledge mobilization, and knowledge exchange. Goldenberg et al. (2009) note that the creation and implementation of "knowledge mobilization units" in Canadian institutes of post-secondary education serve as central offices, which "connect the wider community with researchers and graduate students on campus … to link up the university's skills and interests with the needs and aspirations of the public, private and not-for-profit sectors" (p. 26). The facilitation or brokering skills exercised by the people in these institutional centres may prove pivotal to a collaboration's ability to stimulate innovation (Klerkx & Gildemacher, 2012; Restler & Woolis, 2007). A strategic and collaborative approach to addressing these limitations – involving government, community organizations, funding agencies, academic organizations, and university infrastructure – is key for leveraging investment in higher education research and development for social innovation as integral to innovation strategies in Canada.

CONCLUSIONS AND POSSIBLE WAYS FORWARD

In March 2012 the Public Policy Forum released "Leading Innovation: Insights from Canada's Regions." The report suggests that, "collaboration is the lifeblood of innovation" and "fostering these relationships takes more than a simple introduction, it requires consistent networking capacity" (Canada, 2012). Our own literature synthesis supports this view of campus community collaborations as key to social innovation. As shown in Figure 1, knowledge mobilization is a process that helps identify and sustain community-campus collaborations. Post-secondary institutions, governments, research and nonprofit funders, and community organizations will need to collaborate in order to leverage investments in higher education research and development and make social innovation an active component of Canada's innovation strategy.

In the interest of providing clear and actionable next steps for how community-campus collaborations, knowledge mobilization and social innovation can leverage investment in higher education research and development, this article concludes by identifying possible ways forward for research funding, government, community and academic institutions in Canada.

Extending the research arena

Research is needed that describes the relationship between, and impacts of, community-campus collaborations, knowledge mobilization and social innovation. There is also a need for research that tracks the broader impacts of collaborative work. While university benchmarks and performance indicators have been developed to measure socio-economic and cultural contributions in the U.K., few standardized assessment tools or outcomes-focused evaluations exist (Hart & Northmore, 2012). Part of the challenge in this is that, in contrast to community development (understood as service to the community), community engagement is a reciprocal relationship based on "non-market forms of reciprocity" (Pearce et al., 2007) and requires more than a quantitative (numeric or economic) evaluation. Hart and Northmore (2011) suggest that the paucity of outcomes-based evaluation of engagement may also be linked to timing. A long-term timescale would be required to capture higher-level institutional outcomes and broader social or community-level impacts. Although some valuable studies have been done, a significant gap in the literature involves assessing the outcomes or

impacts of community-campus collaboration. In order to facilitate the production of research that is useful to a diversity of stakeholders, federal research granting bodies, government, and academic institutions should enable longitudinal research on the processes and impacts of community-campus collaborations, knowledge mobilization, and social innovation.

The need for a systematic approach

Although there is much work being undertaken in universities, government, and industry and community organizations that contribute to social innovation and knowledge mobilization, there is a need for a systematic approach to coordinating those efforts and supporting sustained collaborations. Coordination will require committed resources to collaborative planning for social innovation and knowledge mobilization across sectors. Innovative funding mechanisms (e.g., funding that is flows across institutional silos) will be essential to increasing collaboration and coordination in support of inter-institutional planning for knowledge exchange and innovation. In institutions of higher education, institutional supports for social innovation and knowledge mobilization should be integrated into research service offices. Academic institutions should also build on regional and national initiatives to network, share practices and tools and build a pan-Canadian capacity for knowledge mobilization.

A strategic and informed approach

There is potential for sustained collaborative relationships between universities and other sectors to contribute to social innovation and comprehensively address complex social issues. In any collaborative relationship, there are also significant challenges, however, that must be recognized and addressed. Although universities, government, industry, and community organizations can benefit greatly from collaboration and social innovation, the communities of practice and particular needs in each sector differ from each other. Strategies, policies, programs, and plans to support and sustain social innovation must therefore be adequately informed by an understanding of the differences across sectors as well as by the complexity of the problems that social innovation aims to address. Government, nonprofit sector, and research funders need to recognize the value of social innovation as a missing element in Canada's innovation strategies, and explore possibilities for policies and programs that identify and bridge the needs of academic, industry, and community organizations in regard to social innovation and knowledge mobilization.

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ABOUT THE AUTHORS / LES AUTEURS

Naomi Nichols, Ph.D., is Applied Scientist, About Kids Health, The Hospital for Sick Children Email: naomi.nichols@sickkids.ca and Research Associate, York University; Email: naomi_nichols@edu.yorku.ca

David J. Phipps, Ph.D., MBA, is Executive Director, Research & Innovation Services, York University Email: dphipps@yorku.ca

Johanne Provençal, Ph.D. is Acting Director, Strategic Initiatives, Office of the Vice-President, Research and Innovation, University of Toronto. Email: johanne.provencal@utoronto.ca

Allyson Hewitt is Director, Social Entrepreneurship, and Director, SiG@MaRS
MaRS Discovery District. Email: ahewitt@marsdd.com

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Flooding Hope and Livelihoods: Lake St. Martin First Nation

Myrle Ballard & Shirley Thompson

University of Manitoba

ABSTRACT

Lake St. Martin First Nation, a community situated in the Interlake Region of Manitoba, was permanently displaced in 2011. After they were flooded out of their ancestral lands and left homeless, the Province of Manitoba further disempowered the members of the community by refusing to listen to their preference for a new site. That a nearby Cold War radar base was selected by the Province as an interim location, against the wishes of the community, further victimized the members and left them in limbo. This article, incorporating both Indigenous and Western methodologies, examines the consequences of community displacement on sustainable livelihoods, homes, health, and sociocultural integrity in the Lake St. Martin First Nation.

RÉSUMÉ

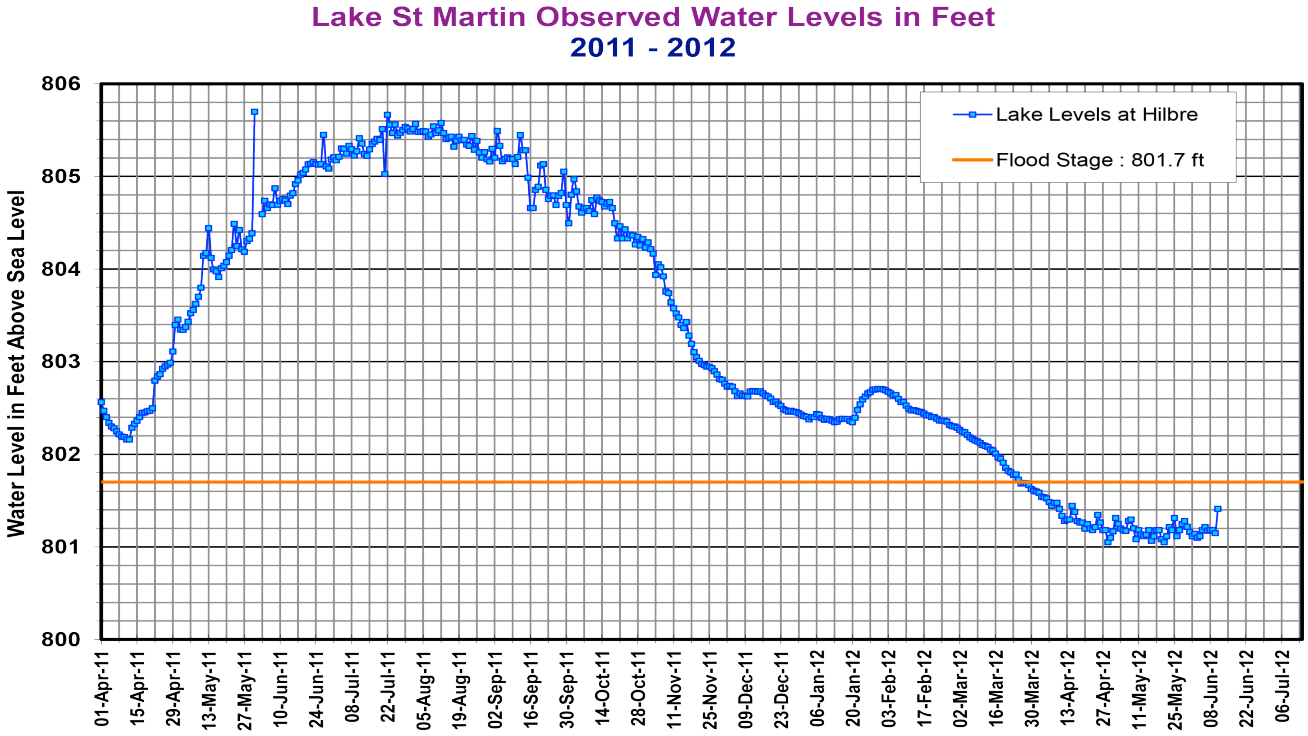
La Première Nation de Lac St-Martin, une communauté autochtone de la région Entre-les-Lacs au Manitoba, a été déplacée en permanence en 2011. Une inondation a couvert ses terres ancestrales et a laissé ses membres sans domicile. Le gouvernement manitobain a diminué encore plus le pouvoir de ceux-ci en refusant de tenir compte de leurs préférences pour un nouveau site. Il a exacerbé leur statut de victime en choisissant un emplacement intérimaire contre leur gré – une ancienne base radar à proximité utilisée pendant la Guerre froide – les laissant ainsi dans une situation incertaine. Cet article, recourant à des méthodologies autochtones et occidentales, examine les conséquences du déplacement de cette communauté sur le travail, le logement, la santé et l'intégrité socioculturelle de ses membres.

Keywords / Mots Clés : Flooding; Displacement; Community development; Sustainable livelihoods; Indigenous; First Nation; Relocation / Inondation; Déplacement; Développement communautaire; Travail durable; Autochtone; Première Nation; Relocalisation

INTRODUCTION

Lake St. Martin First Nation (FN), a community of 2394 people (Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, 2012), was permanently displaced in May, 2011 by a devastating "superflood" (Galloway, 2012). More than two years later, the community continues to be without a land base. Considered the "largest spring runoff in the province's history" (Galloway, 2012), the geographical scope and duration of the 2011 flood also surpassed previous provincial records (Province of Manitoba, 2012). The Manitoba provincial government elevated the water levels by using a water control structure. The result was that people with a deep ancestral and spiritual connection to the land were displaced, while cottages and agricultural land used by people with only economic and recreational interests, were salvaged (Galloway, 2012). In 2011, "[the] water [at Lake St. Martin] peaked at 806 feet, almost 3 feet higher than the historic peak of 1955" (KGS Group and AECOM, 2011, p. 2; see Figure 1), which flooded the three reserves adjacent to Lake St. Martin, but hit Lake St. Martin FN the hardest.

Figure 1: Flood water levels in 2011 and 2012 at Lake St. Martin



Source: Province of Manitoba (2012)

The water level in Lake St. Martin was increased to reduce levels on Lake Winnipeg, thereby protecting cottagers and farmers on both the Assiniboine River and Lake Manitoba at the expense of the people and houses of Lake St. Martin FN (Galloway, 2012). A report commissioned by the Province regarding the 2011 flood stated:

> If no action is taken, extremely high water levels on Lake Manitoba and Lake St. Martin are expected to continue for an extended duration, leaving communities, homes … at high risk of further damage from flooding, wind and waves. The spring break-up of lake ice at such elevated water levels also has the potential to cause devastating damage to properties around the lakes. (KGS Group and AECOM, 2011, p. 2).

The research presented in this article evolved from Dr. Ballard's PhD dissertation on her home community of Lake St. Martin FN. Specifically, this article documents the impact of the 2011 flood on Lake St. Martin FN community and their struggle for a new community with *pimachiwiin*, an Anishinaabe word meaning looking after the next seven generations, or sustainable living.

Lake St. Martin FN was part of a larger group of some 4,525 FN people in Manitoba—displaced from 17 FN communities—who were impacted by the 2011 flood. According to a Southern Chiefs' Organization (SCO) resolution in May 2012: "there are currently 2,427 displaced evacuees from the eight affected communities, which comprise of two (2) Southern First Nations completely evacuated and unable to return to their respective community with six other communities" (SCO, 2012, p. 1). Lake St. Martin FN was one of two communities to be completely evacuated.

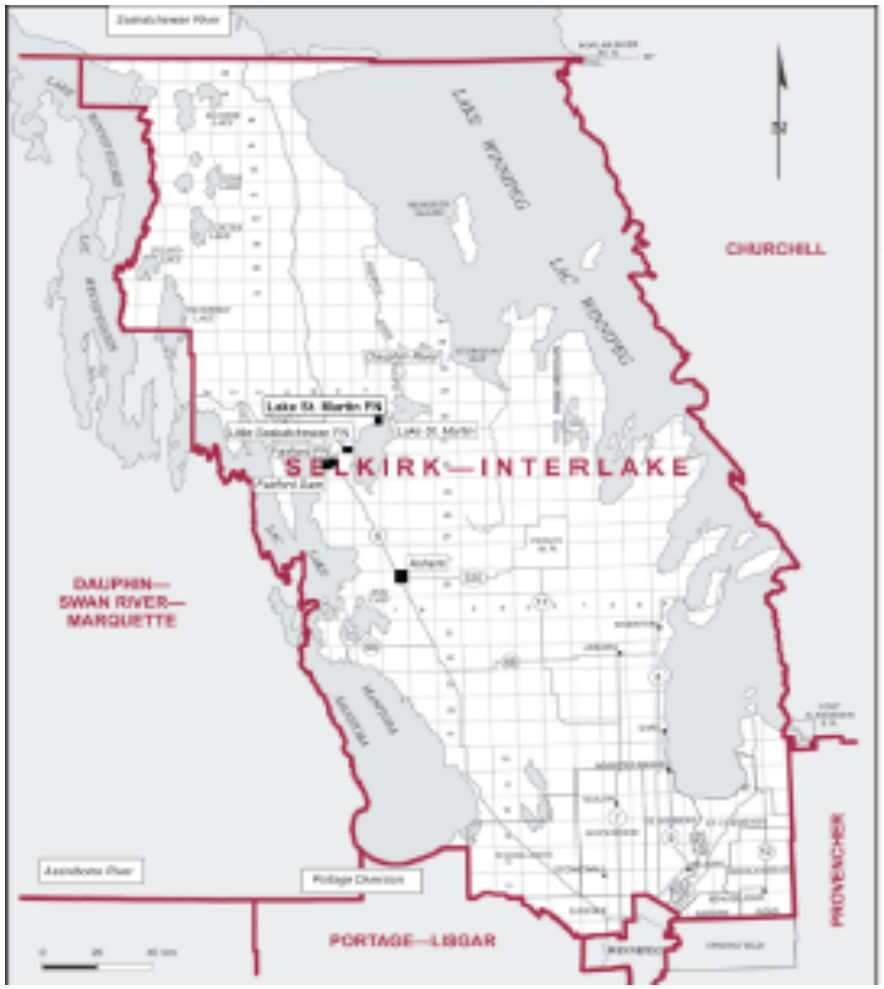
History and description of Lake St. Martin First Nation

Lake St. Martin FN is an Anishinaabe community located in the Interlake region of Manitoba, Canada, 225 km northwest of Winnipeg. The community is situated on the northwest shore of Lake St. Martin. The community lacks paved road access, but is accessible by the gravel Provincial Road #513 and then by a 10 km dirt road. The Lake St. Martin FN Reserve is situated in boreal forest, and its geomorphology consists of intermittent karst topography and soluble limestone bedrock.

The Anishinaabe people of Lake St. Martin FN have lived on the shores of Lake St. Martin for many generations. Traditionally, the people of Lake St. Martin were mainly fishers and buffalo hunters, although they pursued other hunting and agricultural activities. Women would get together to prepare the fishing nets and men made canoes for travel and fishing. In 1871, Lake St. Martin took part in Treaty 2, leading to the creation of Reserve No. 49, and Treaty 5, leading to the creation of Reserve No. 49A. As a result of these two treaties, the people of Lake St. Martin FN were forced to occupy a very small land base of less than 24 square kilometers (Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, 2012), which was only a small part of their traditional territory. Treaty No. 2 was negotiated and agreed to at Manitoba House in August, 1871. First Nation communities that entered into Treaty No. 2 include: Dauphin River, Ebb & Flow, Keeseekoowenin, Lake St. Martin, Lake Manitoba, Little Saskatchewan, O-Chi-Chak-Ko-Sipi, Pinaymootang, and Skownan (Ballard, 2012). Canadian settler communities that came to own land that originally belonged to FN peoples and that share in Treaty No. 2 obligations include: Dauphin, Melita, Minnedosa, Roblin, and Virden.

After settlement started in the mid-1850s, fishing, apart from being an important source of sustenance, provided an income for the Anishinabek peoples. Despite diminishing resource access due to settlers' superior technology and their ability to overharvest for export, and by settlement reducing wildlife populations (Ballard, 2012), the community of Lake St. Martin FN adapted to their new circumstances, retaining their language, having a day school rather than a residential school, and practicing agriculture to maintain their food self-sufficiency. At Lake St. Martin FN, people lived sustainably until the mid 1960s when a water control structure increased water levels and flooded their land. While the Portage Diversion moved water from the Assiniboine River to Lake Manitoba and the Fairford River, the Fairford control structure on the Fairford River diverted water from Lake Manitoba to Lake St. Martin. Lake St. Martin's outlet, the Dauphin River, which leads to Lake Winnipeg (see Figures 2 and 3), has higher water levels (Traverse, 1999). Thus, Lake St. Martin became a reservoir. Figure 3 shows how Lake St. Martin is overflowing its banks, while the Dauphin River in the northwest corner of the map is not.

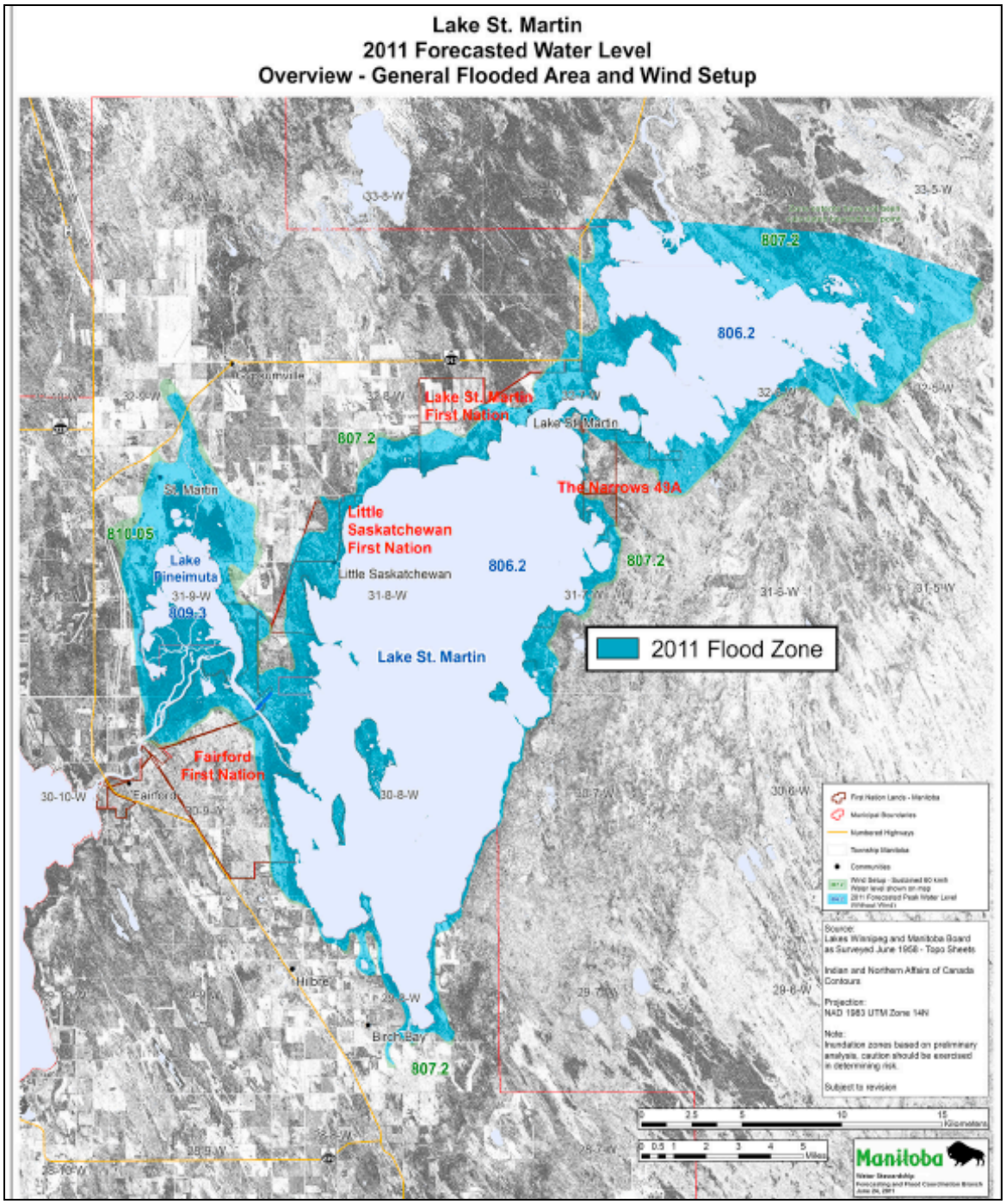
Figure 2: Lake St. Martin First Nation's location in the Interlake of Manitoba, Canada



Source: Revised by Chan and Thompson 2013 based on Province of Manitoba, 2009

Ballard & Thompson (2013)

Figure 3: Flooding levels on Lake St. Martin



Source: Province of Manitoba, 2011

Lake St. Martin FN was negatively impacted by the Fairford water control structure, constructed in 1961, as it flooded out agricultural activities and diminished fishing livelihoods at Lake St. Martin FN (Traverse, 1999). The construction and operation of the water control structure were carried out by the Province of Manitoba, without FN communities being warned, consulted, or compensated (Ballard, Klatt, & Thompson, 2012). Slowly, as the water levels rose and more water was sent into Lake St. Martin, annual spring flooding impacted most of the community's housing stock, and generally higher water levels permanently saturated lands underneath the Reserve (Traverse, 1999). In 1970, the second water control structure, the Portage Diversion, was constructed to keep the City of Winnipeg safe and dry and led to the increased elevation of water levels in Lake St. Martin. From 1961 until today, hectares of hayfields and beach land on the reserve have gradually disappeared due to the higher water levels (Traverse, 1999).

As water levels increased each year since the 1960s, so too did poverty at Lake St. Martin FN. The community did, however, manage to retain its social cohesion, culture, and housing. At the time of the 2011 flood, the nearest town, Gypsumville, located approximately 10 km from Lake St. Martin FN, with a population of approximately 100 people, had paved roads, a full grocery and hardware store, fire hall, hotel, post office, police station, a provincially funded health care centre, and a town hall. Meanwhile Lake St. Martin FN, lacked these services and infrastructures, despite having a population more than ten times as large. As the increasingly flooded Reserve offered no viable means of economic development, Lake St. Martin FN community members have thus had to rely on services in Gysumville.

The Fairford control structure played a key role in the 2011 "superflood." With high water levels on the Assiniboine River, the water control structure was opened to its maximum to divert water to Lake St. Martin. This diversion had significant impacts on Lake St. Martin FN, and others. The water levels started to rise during the winter of 2011 / 2012 reaching a peak of 817.5 feet above sea level (KGS Group and AECOM, 2011). Figure 3 shows how the only road to Lake St. Martin FN and the two other FN communities on the lake was flooded out, as well as the communities' housing, located by the lake, were underwater. It is also apparent in Figure 3 that Lake Manitoba and the areas upstream of Lake St. Martin do not experience the same high water levels. This water diversion structure is operated by the Province of Manitoba to protect Lake Manitoba cottagers and farmers from flooding by diverting waters to Lake St. Martin (Province of Manitoba, 2012). On May 8, 2011, unprecedented water levels forced the evacuation of the entire community of Lake St. Martin FN. In the spring of 2013 the community remains evacuated with no land base, and no hope for return. People have been living in hotels throughout Winnipeg and other parts of the Manitoba for almost two years, with a permanent community site yet to be established.

The long history of flooding First Nation communities in Manitoba

Government and hydro projects flooding FNs is not a new phenomenon. Hydro dams have previously disempowered and displaced FNs communities situated along the path and flows of hydro dams in the name of development. One such example is the relocation of the Chemawawin Cree when Manitoba Hydro began damming the Saskatchewan River to start the development of the Grand Rapids generating station (Loney, 1995). The cumulative impact of altered water levels caused a giant reservoir to form on Cedar Lake, thereby destroying the livelihoods of the people, the habitats of species that provided sustenance for those people, and ultimately forcing the relocation of the community of Chemawawin.

In his book called *As Long as the Rivers Run*, Waldram (1993) quotes a FN person who gave testimony for the

Manitoba Hydro Easterville brief:

> We want to tell a story, our story, of what can happen to Indian people when their land is flooded by a hydro project and their way of life is forced to change… It is only ten years since we left the home we had chosen about one hundred years ago when the white men first came into our country and told us that we must give up our land and settle down to live on a reserve which we chose at that time. We were told that this reserve would be our home as long as the sun shines, the river flows and the grasses grow (Waldram, 1993, p. 3).

The community of Easterville was flooded by the Grand Rapids Dam, which was completed in 1964 on the Saskatchewan River near the community of Grand Rapids. What happens to the promise "as long as the rivers run", when the rivers no longer flow? Waldram indicates that flooding constitutes breaking of the treaties asking: "When Indian reserve land has been flooded, has the spirit of the treaties been broken?" (Waldram, 1993, p. 4).

Since time immemorial, the rivers, lands, and lakes were occupied and used by the original peoples of Canada, believing that the waterways were given to them by the creator (Waldram, 1993). To FN peoples, water is considered life and the rivers are considered the veins of Mother Earth. Some legal cases have even shown that FN peoples have riparian rights (Waldram, 1993). However, the Province of Manitoba and their utilities have taken the view that waterways are a common property resource and that FN peoples have no special rights to them, and thus dams are developed to create hydro electricity for the "common good."

In Manitoba, many other FN communities have been flooded due to hydro damming. Damming the Nelson River reversed its flow and increased water levels, displacing the South Indian Lake FN community (Thompson et al, 2011a). The ability of FN peoples to live off the land has been compromised at South Indian Lake FN and other communities, with South Indian Lake fishers reporting catching four tubs of fish with 40 nets when before they caught 40 tubs with four nets (Thompson et al, 2011b).

Community Development Planning

Community development is a process whereby: "communities [address] problems and opportunities, on their own behalf, which they perceive to be of importance to their quality of life or their community's viability" (Douglas, 1994, p. 10). Community development planning consists of a participatory and usually interactive form of planning and design (Hoch, Dalton, So, and ICMA, 2000). "Community" is a broad term that requires planning to consider the local infrastructure, services, expertise, and natural resources that are available (Shragge, 2003). Self-sufficiency, local decision-making, and community ownership are priorities in community development (Loxley, 1986). Diverse community members help to determine the goals, objectives, planning, funds / resource identification, documentation, and direction of planned project implementations (Hoch et al, 2000). At a minimum, community consensus is sought for proposed allocations of scarce resources among competing demands. However, access to a wide range of planning tools can be applied to allow community members to shape the local plan content, and to influence development budgets and projects, and thus future infrastructure and land uses (Hoch et al, 2000).

To be sustainable, a community plan should consider how a community can meet their own needs whenever possible (Maser, 1996). Clearly, Lake St. Martin FN's land base is no longer able to meet community needs, and there is a need for community development. The needs of Lake St. Martin FN are many, including the establishment of a permanent land base and infrastructure. Douglas (1994) considers community involvement asking some key questions: What is being developed? By whom? How is it being developed? And on whose behalf? These are all key questions that need to be asked within the context of a strategic analysis framework.

Strategic Analysis Framework

A strategic analysis was undertaken to weigh choices in a complex and shifting situation with the goal of sustainable community and livelihoods development. This strategic analysis tool has previously been used in regional development and municipal planning (Halla, 2007; Terrados, Almonacid, and Hontoria, 2007; Vonk, Geertman, and Schot, 2007). Sustainable development considers those capitals or assets (natural, physical, human, financial, and social; Chambers & Conway, 1991; Department for International Development, 2001, 2008; IMM, 2008; Clark & Carney, 2008) that determine quality of life (Ellis, 2000), at household (Scoones, 1998) and community levels (Thompson et al., 2011a; Ballard, 2012).

A sustainability analysis is generally absent from community development evaluation (Brocklesbury and Fisher, 2003). In this study, sustainable livelihoods assets (human, social, natural, physical and financial) are modified to PESCE (political, economic, social, cultural, and environment), in a modified version of the sustainable livelihoods framework. This modified framework was analyzed to determine impacts, and judge the different development options for Lake St. Martin FN in addressing the flood impacts. These frameworks, the strategic analysis and sustainable livelihoods framework, were assessed for their practicality in addressing the flood impacts. The medicine wheel did not provide a critical analysis that was needed in this research. It is our view that Indigenous research also should not be limited to one methodology.

The five key sustainable livelihoods assets in Lake St. Martin are profiled here:

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 (Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, 2012) However, traditional knowledge is still abundant among elders and traditional livelihoods users (i.e., those who live off the land).

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 colonial day school system, reserve settlements, the “sixties scoop” (e.g., government practice starting in the 1960s and continuing through the late 1980s, of apprehending high numbers of FN children to send to foster homes or put up for adoption usually into white families), and the settler education (LaDuke, 2002). This apartheid, where FN people were restricted to reserves and oppressive policies, resulted in few opportunities for Aboriginal peoples to influence policies, programs, and their own development (Thompson et al., 2011a; Ballard, 2012).

3. Natural or environmental capital (that is, resources and land management practices) is limited, as 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 Lake St. Martin FN with only gravel roads, and lacking adequate healthy housing, safe drinking water, stores, industrial or employment facilities, and without even a community centre, despite its large population.

5. Financial capital (that is, savings and credit) is generally low, as community lands and housing is the property of the Crown (Ballard, 2012); without collateral, FN peoples have limited ability to obtain credit to build enterprise.

The sustainable livelihood framework also considers political assets and other aspects in its general framework. Creating barriers to or facilitating sustainable livelihoods, are the pervasive institutional structures (e.g., rules, customs, and land tenure) and processes (e.g., laws, policies, societal norms, and incentives), which operate at multiple levels (e.g., regional, government, and multinational corporations; Carney, 1998, 2002; 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 Lake St. Martin FN has been under third party management for over 10 years (Ballard, 2012). Third party management is a requirement of the federal government whereby external accounting firms control a FNs internal funding and management.

Cultural capital (language, spirit, close bonds that facilitate cooperative action and sharing of ideas and resources) and Indigenous worldview are what make FN communities and individuals strong. Future development in FN communities must consider cultural priorities (Ballard, 2012; Ballard et al, 2012; Davidson-Hunt, Turner, Mead, Cabrera-Lopez, Bolton, Idrobo, Miretski, et al, 2012) and be based in the Indigenous worldview, which incorporates cyclical thinking, reciprocal relations, responsibilities to the earth and creation, and decentralization (Ballard, 2012). LaDuke (2002, p. 79) states that Indigenous communities should be based on the Indigenous concept of Minobimaatisiiwin, an Anishinaabe word meaning the "good life" of "continuous rebirth."

Methodology

This study incorporates both Indigenous and Western methodologies. The Indigenous research methodologies undertaken included storytelling, experiencing traditional activities, and visiting. One of the co-authors is a member of Lake St. Martin FN, and spent the first 18 years of her life living in the community. She worked for the community at the time of this research and has strong ties to the community, with her mother and many relatives and friends still living in Lake St. Martin FN. A long-term relationship with the community, and being able to speak the language were invaluable during this vulnerable period in the people's lives. On-going communication was maintained with the community to validate the initial research findings.

Traditional activities that the co-author participated in, as a community member, included Seneca root digging, berry picking, and preparing fish, moose, deer, and goose. As well, cultural activities included family outings and gatherings, community feasts, and wake services and burials.

Western research methods included 12 interviews with Elders, two focus groups, four workshops on strategic analysis, and community planning. Four different community workshops / forums were held in Lake St. Martin FN and Winnipeg. The involvement of school children and youth from Lake St. Martin FN resulted in their drawing and telling their stories.

Participatory Video

Participatory video research allowed the people of Lake St. Martin FN to tell their story, often in their own language. This method values and validates oral culture (Thompson and Lozeznik, 2012). For the participatory video interviews, written consent was obtained to identify participants by name. Draft versions of the film were screened at different events to provide community members on-going input into the storyline. After the screenings, more interviews and scenes were added based on community input.

The video was widely circulated using Facebook and social media campaigns. The film, *Flooding Hope* was featured in *Intercontinental Cry International* and the *Winnipeg Free Press*. As well, in an effort to influence policy, the film was shown at film festivals, more than 20 workshops and conferences, at the Provincial Legislature in Manitoba, and at the Assembly of First Nations Chiefs gathering in Ottawa.

PESCE Strategic Analysis

A strategic analysis was carried out in workshops with the Anishinabek from Lake St. Martin FN, creating a list of priorities for their quality of life and the viability of their new community. The modified sustainable livelihoods framework addressed the need for sovereignty in decision-making to consider political, economic, social, cultural, and environmental needs / capitals, or PESCE (Wakefield and Cottone, 1986). The flood impacts were analyzed using interview and workshop data and applied to each category. The alternative relocation sites were analyzed to assist Lake St. Martin FN to identify a preferred site for community development.

Analysis of Different Sites by PESCE

An analysis of the three rural sites proposed by the Province of Manitoba were assessed by band staff, chief, and council, in additional to the four sites proposed by the community (two rural and two urban). This preliminary analysis of five rural sites was taken to the community for input. The urban sites were not considered for permanent occupation, but as possible temporary sites. Lake St. Martin FN developed criteria for judging the sites that augmented the Province's very limited analysis which was only based on three criteria: road access (existing road), infrastructure, and easement. The list of criteria developed by the community grew as community members contributed items they felt were important. The federal government, who has a trust responsibility for "Indians and Lands Reserved for Indians", did not meet their responsibility to act in the best interest of the community. The federal government participated as an "observer," but also sanctioned the Province to monopolize a relocation process that was against the expressed wishes and best interests of Lake St. Martin FN.

Community criteria included language, gendered needs, political sovereignty, sustainability, and Anishinaabe Knowledge Systems (AKS) as priorities for site analysis. The Lake St. Martin FN list prioritized cultural aspects, including *Anishinaabe* language considerations, new economic development opportunities, as well as traditional sustainable livelihoods activities such as hunting, fishing, and berry picking. Also, community members' gendered needs throughout their entire life cycle were considered including youth, mothers, families, and elderly. The analysis (see Table 1) was discussed and reviewed by chief and council and community members and revised until the analysis was considered acceptable to the community. The analysis in Table 1 was presented at the relocation meetings with the Provincial and Federal governments, prior to the Province's unilateral decision regarding relocation to the site that the community considered least acceptable.

A PESCE analysis was used both during workshops to record how the flood impacted the community, and to judge the best site for development. The PESCE tool provided the *Anishinabek* with a way of organizing and thinking about the assets or capitals needed to create a sustainable livelihoods and a high quality of life for community members. The flood impacts on political, environmental, social, cultural, and economic aspects are divided into different sections.

Table 1: PESCE Analysis for Lake St. Martin First Nation Permanent Site

PESCE Analysis (Physical, Environment, Social, Cultural, Economic)							
Site Name / Number	Pinemuta Radar base (interim site)	Halaburda	Rohl	Grahamdale Site 7 (preferred site chosen by community)	Kiesman/ Lowry	Kapyong Barracks	Swan Lake
Political							
▪ Interim site	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
• Permanent community	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
• Band office facilities	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
• Supports Good Governance	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
• Impact on Remedying 3rd vs 1st party management	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
Environment							
▪ Hunting	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
▪ Fishing	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
▪ Forest	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
▪ Cleared land	P	Y	Y	P	P/N	Y	Y
▪ Good drinking water	N (water tracked to cisterns)	N	N	WELL	WELL	Y	Y
▪ Access to surface water	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N
▪ Wildlife co-management	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
▪ Walkable community from central facilities to homes							
▪ Paved rather than gravel roads							
Social							
▪ Recreational spaces and facilities	N	P	P	Y	Y	Y	N
▪ Gender consideration	N	N	N	TBP	TBP	N	N
▪ Facilities to deal with trauma of displacement	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
▪ Church/spiritual/ place of worship	N	N	N	TBP	TBP	N	N
▪ Adequate cooking facilities and restaurants	N	N	N	TBP	TBP	Y	N

Social cont'd	Pinemuta Radar base (interim site)	Halaburda	Rohl	Grahamdale Site 7 (preferred site chosen by community)	Kiesman/ Lowry	Kapyong Barracks	Swan Lake
▪ Healthy housing	M	M	M	M	M	Y	N
▪ Daycare facilities	TBP	TBP	TBP	TBP	TBP	-	-
▪ Anishinaabe ▪ Language focus	TBP	TBP	TBP	TBP	TBP	N	N
▪ School with gym and food services (K-12)	N	N	N	TBP	TBP	N	N
▪ Health/nursing facilities	T	N	N	TBP	TBP	N	N
▪ Wheel chair access in Elder facilities	N	N	N	TBP	TBP	N	N
▪ Recreational facilities	N	N	N	TBP	TBP	N	N
▪ Youth recreation Facilities	N	N	N	TBP	TBP	N	N
▪ Library	N	N	N	TBP	TBP	N	N
Health issues							
▪ Promotes wellness versus Diabetes/illness	N	N	N	TBP	TBP	N	N
▪ Disability or wheelchair access	N	N	N	TBP	TBP	N	N
▪ Addresses Social determinants of health (e.g., poverty, etc)	N	N	N	TBP	TBP	N	N
▪ Addresses Chronic disease prevention	N	N	N	TBP	TBP	N	N
▪ Assisted living facilities for elders	N	N	N	TBP	TBP	N	N
Cultural							
▪ Access to traditional medicines	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
▪ Places and soil to Garden	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
▪ Language facility	N	N	N	TBP	TBP	N	N
▪ Language classes	N	N	N	TBP	TBP	N	N
▪ Elders meeting space	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
▪ Traditional Land use	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
▪ Cultural gathering space/grounds	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
▪ Cultural facility	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
▪ Hunting	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N

Economic	Pinemuta Radar base (interim site)	Halaburda	Rohl	Grahamdale Site 7 (preferred site chosen by community)	Kiesman/ Lowry	Kapyong Barracks	Swan Lake
▪ Ecotourism							
▪ Commercial Fishing	N	N	N	N/Y	N/Y	N	N
▪ Seneca root digging	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
▪ Close to highway	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
▪ Paved road	Y	N	N	TBP	TBP	Y	Y
▪ Paved driveways	Y	N	N	TBP	TBP	Y	N
▪ Alternative Energy ▪ Biomass/geotherma	N	N	N	TBP	TBP	N	N
▪ Lagoon	Y	N	N	TBP	TBP	Y	N
▪ Waste disposal site	Y	N	N	TBP	TBP	Y	Y
▪ Sewer system (inground and piped with treatment plant – level 2 not just lagoon)	N	N	N	TBP	TBP	Y	N
▪ Healthy food access	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
▪ Piped water to all houses and facilities							
▪ Ability to develop supermarket	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
▪ Market activities	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
▪ Casino Potential	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
▪ Gas bar	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
▪ Restaurant	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
▪ Ranching	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
▪ Cattle farming	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
▪ Dairy farming	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
▪ Other livestock	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
▪ Grains and vegetable farming	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
▪ Subsistence activities	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
• Recreation	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
• Adequate Infrastructure	P	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
• Central office complex/mall	N	N	N	TBP	TBP	N	N
• Conference facility	N	N	N	TBP	TBP	N	N
• Arena	N	N	N	TBP	TBP	N	N

Notes: Y = Yes; N = No; M = Modular; P = Partial; TBP = To be planned – recognizing that a site no planning for long term sustainability is possible; T = Temporary

Findings

Sustainable livelihood capitals

The authors of this article wrote a resolution for the SCO (passed in 2012) that highlighted the findings of this research. Many of the impacts to sustainable livelihoods are listed, particularly regarding social, environmental, and physical impacts. The resolution, in part, reads:

> Whereas: Social impacts from the stress of displacement from the 2011 flood included attempted and actual suicides, family break-ups, increased family violence, drug use, alcoholism, and recruitment of community members by gangs in urban centres and host communities …
>
> Whereas: Impacts of the flooding on the health of the community members has resulted in miscarriages, depression, other mental health symptoms, difficulties addressing those who have a chronic disease, etc., and have resulted in premature deaths …
>
> Whereas: Environmental impacts of the flood include water saturated land that does not support forests or agriculture; unsafe drinking water contaminated from waste and wastewater lagoons, toxic impacts from landfill, destruction of fisheries, ecosystem and habitat; and,
>
> Whereas: Physical impacts on infrastructure include housing deterioration due to mould and chronic dampness, roads degradation, unsafe drinking water, destruction of schools, a loss of churches and other public buildings. Resettlement of community members of some reserves is needed to pursue the development of a community base capable of economic development opportunities to ensure basic needs for safe drinking water, healthy and sufficient housing, … food security and capacity building … . (SCO, 2012)

After detailing these impacts, there was a call for action for community planning in the last part of the resolution:

> Community planning that is culturally appropriate and community-driven is required to ensure resettlement incorporates healthy and culturally appropriate and adequate housing, adequate and sustainable infrastructure, an economic base, access to healthy affordable and traditional foods for food security and safe drinking water. (SCO, 2012)

This is in acknowledgement that:

> There is no needs assessment or comprehensive community plan for any flood impacted community that considers cultural integrity, healthy living, and natural resources (water, forest, solar, wind, geothermal, agriculture, and country foods) and economic development for sustainability. (SCO, 2012)

Site analysis

To determine community priorities for a new site for Lake St. Martin FN a number of participatory workshops provided feedback. Community youth and elders provided input into the community plan for development and the priorities in Table 1 based on the five PESCE criteria.

Political Assets

Institutional structures (e.g., rules, customs, and land tenure) and processes (e.g., laws, policies, societal norms, and incentives) operate at multiple levels (provincial government, federal government, multinational corporations) on Lake St. Martin FN community (Carney, 1998; Ellis, 2000; Scoones, 1998; Thompson, Kamal, Alam, and Wiebe, 2012). The Indian Act and colonial policies that continue to this day take away local decision-making and increase the vulnerability of FN communities (Ballard, 2012; Thompson et al, 2012). Accounting firms put in place by Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, control communities' funding and management (Ballard, 2012). Money that would normally go to programs and the *Anishinabek,* pay salaries to the third party managers in Winnipeg.

Institutional structures and processes worked against Lake St. Martin FN interests again and again. Colonial structures meant that the FN had no power to control the water levels. The same applies to their interim community—the community had no power to influence the results of where the community would be relocated. The Province chose to flood and temporarily relocate the community to an abandoned military base against their wishes and despite the community democratically voting for an immediate permanent site with economic, cultural, and environmental potential. The two parcels of land selected by the community were inexpensive at $79,000 and $1 million, which was much cheaper than the $14 million payout received by the Province through the Disaster Financial Assistance Arrangement (DFAA) Fund for the interim development of the military base. Clearly, this permanent site would have saved money. Then, the Province unilaterally decided to put a $100 million water channel adjacent to the flooded Lake St. Martin FN without consulting the community, and with the objection of the community.

Economic Assets

The people of Lake St. Martin FN lost their ancestral lands and their sustainable livelihood based on fishing, farming, and hunting due to the flood and their subsequent relocation, without sufficient compensation. Destruction of the fisheries, vital to the Lake St. Martin FN, resulted in local fishermen losing their commercial licenses—receiving only $5000 compensation each. These fishermen cannot survive on this low level of compensation.

Each family lost their home, and although not titled to them, the homes were in some cases in the family for generations. These same families were left with no more than a few suitcases, which they had to shuffle from one hotel to another. Almost all of their furnishings and personal effects were destroyed as community members were told by authorities not to take them—and were not provided with any storage facilities.

The Winnipeg Humane society played an interesting role. The Winnipeg Humane Society is a "registered charity dedicated to protecting animals from suffering and to promoting their welfare and dignity". This Humane Society provided much appreciated assistance by rescuing dearly loved pets from the community after the evacuation. However, pictures of the pets were put on their website advising evacuees to pick up their pets, which was inconsiderate and to some degree slanderous (Beeston, 2011; Winnipeg Humane Society, 2012). In their newsletter, they reference the plight of the dogs but not the people: "the plight of the Lake St. Martin dogs … spearheaded the food drive for the dogs … and removing nearly 300 dogs from flood-affected communities, nearly 160 of these were Lake St. Martin First Nation." The article in the Winnipeg Free Press (Beeston, 2011) shows a dog that was shot and seems to blame inhumane community members with the Winnipeg Humane Society CEO Bill McDonald stating: "Leaving your dogs behind (in a flood) is not standard practice … . At the end of the day, reserve dogs are owned and not-owned," explaining many roam free on the Reserve (Beeston, 2011). How could evacuees living in hotels, where pets were not allowed, pick up their pets? This added to the distress among children and families and further turned the public against the flood victims. Their '"humane"-

ness seemed to extend only to animals and not to the people. They seemed to condemn the flood victims in the article. Although animals impacted by the flood were protected—nobody protected the flood victims from suffering, and nobody promoted their welfare and dignity.

As FN members' homes and land are owned by the Crown and not the inhabitants, compensation for the houses never materialized (Ballard, 2012). Without collateral, FN peoples have limited ability to obtain credit to build new enterprises. The houses, churches, schools, and almost all buildings were destroyed by mould and chronic dampness, and cannot be rebuilt without compensation. For example, a 78-year-old grandmother, and lifetime resident on the Reserve, lost her family home that she had renovated using her own money, to include a porch and a garage, but received a letter from the Provinces' Emergency Measures Organization (EMO) stating she was ineligible for compensation. Other people received similar letters stating they were ineligible for compensation, despite losing everything (Figure 4: Letter from Manitoba EMO).

Figure 4: Letter from Manitoba EMO

Manitoba

Emergency Measures Organization
Disaster Financial Assistance Program

800-259 Portage Ave
Winnipeg MB R3B 2A9
Phone: (204) 945-3050
Toll free: 1-888-267-8298
Fax: (204) 948-2278

JUL 2 6 2012

[redacted]
Gypsumville, MB
R0C 1J0

Claim Number: [redacted]

Re: Damage to Lot # 92 during the 2011 Spring Flood

Dear [redacted]

The Emergency Measures Organization has now had the opportunity to review your claim for Disaster Financial Assistance (DFA). Based on DFA Policies and Guidelines, your losses are not eligible for financial assistance.

The DFA program provides assistance for eligible costs related to a disaster. Assistance is available for owner occupied or tenant occupied principal residences, eligible businesses and farm operations and certain non-profit organizations when damages are neither insurable nor recoverable through other government programs.

We have completed an evaluation of your claim. It was determined that your application is not eligible for assistance therefore, your file is closed.

If you require further clarification on this matter please contact your Recovery Advisor at (204)945-3050 or toll-free at 1-888-267-8298. Our business hours are 8:30 a.m to 4:30 p.m., Monday to Friday.

Sincerely yours,

Randy Gibbons
Supervisor of Disaster Financial Assistance - Private Sector

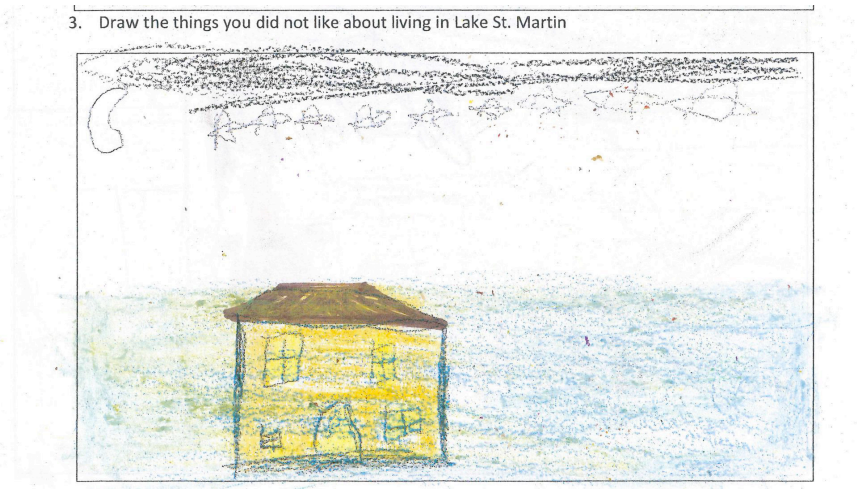
Social Assets

Social capital or assets (the close social bonds that facilitates cooperative action, social bridging, and linking to share and access ideas and resources), once strong, have been weakened by separation and the negative media against Lake St. Martin FN members. Lake St. Martin FN members had little influence over policies, programs, or development (Ballard, 2012; Thompson et al, 2011c). No charities, NGOs, or development agencies rose up to assist the FN as they struggled with the impacts of the flood (Ballard, 2012; Ballard et al, 2012). Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs, Assembly of First Nations, and SCO were supportive and provided media releases but lacked capacity or funding to provide more tangible supports.

Social and health impacts from the stress of displacement from the 2011 flood include attempted and actual suicides, sudden deaths, family-breakups, increased family violence, drug-use, alcoholism, and recruitment of community members by gangs in urban centres and host communities (Ballard et al, 2012; SCO, 2012). Reported impacts of the flood on the health of community members included miscarriages, depression, other mental health symptoms, and premature deaths from chronic diseases. The many elders who died prematurely could not be buried in their home communities due to high water tables.

The people of Lake St. Martin FN continue to suffer from deep trauma, with high stress and anxiety reported by community members. According to the World Health Organization(WHO), mental health issues result from flooding and displacement: "floods take a heavy toll on the mental health of the people involved'' (WHO, 2001, p. 43). Evidence points to mental disorders (anxiety, depression), posttraumatic stress syndrome, and suicide (WHO, 2001; Ahern, Kovats, Wilkinson, Few, and Matthies, 2004) as possible outcomes of flooding and displacement. People feel that they can no longer fulfill their assigned roles in life, vision, and purpose of why they were created. With so little hope, depression and suicide result. Elders, confined to the small space of a hotel room, reported being so depressed they could not get out of bed (Ballard, 2012). The nurse for Lake St. Martin FN noted seeing many signs of chronic depression, which can result in self-destructive behaviour. The children, when asked to draw their pictures of impacts, showed their community under water and stated how sad they were from missing their home and community (see Figure 5).

Figure 5: Children's drawing about missing their community



Cultural Assets

Spirituality was an important part of life for Lake St. Martin FN community members. Spiritual activities are missed, particularly the gatherings, which were a form of spiritual retreat, visiting, and fellowship. Community members stated in interviews that they miss the gathering activities: during the summer months, the communities had outdoor spiritual gatherings for weeks at a time, which were followed by feasts. Visiting each other is an important part of native culture, but now people are so dispersed that they have lost track of each other. This dispersal has also meant that people are not able to visit and communicate in their *Anishinaabe* language. Moreover, deaths are spiritual events in Lake St Martin FN where the whole community mourns for many days. The Lake St. Martin FN members have not been able to have wake services in their community, although there have been many deaths since the evacuation, many of them sudden and violent. Wake services are part of native culture and it has been difficult to say goodbye to loved ones and it is impossible to bury people in saturated ground. A 2012 article by Galloway in the *Globe and Mail* mentions an elder who lost her fight to cancer. Instead of spending her final days and dying in her community, she died "nearly 300 kilometers to the south – on the 23rd floor of a hotel near Portage and Main" (Galloway, 2012, p. F1).

Environmental assets

Environmental assets include both natural capital (resources and land management) and physical capital (equipment and infrastructure). Natural capital in fisheries, forests, minerals, and non-timber products in the Lake St. Martin FN's territory is abundant but they have no regulatory or ownership rights to their territory's resources (Ballard, 2012; LaDuke, 2002; Thompson et al, 2011c). The lake has flooded and spilled over the waste and wastewater lagoons and waste dump contaminating both the groundwater and the lake. The fisheries, ecosystem, and habitat has been destroyed and contaminated. All infrastructure, including roads, has since been decimated by flooding. Resettlement of community members is needed to enable the development of a community base capable of sustaining economic development opportunities and the basic need for safe drinking water, healthy and sufficient housing, health, food security, and capacity building.

Water-saturated land no longer support forests or agriculture. The beautiful community lined with beaches and lakes to swim in is now a wasteland. The community once held annual baseball tournaments and boasted several baseball teams and three baseball diamonds. Now these geographically dispersed people seldom physically get together for community gatherings.

PESCE overall analysis

Most relocation sites chosen by the Province did not fare well because they offered no hope for permanent settlement due to their lack of *pimachiwiin*. The radar base was the worst of the seven options due to this lack of *pimachiwiin*: e.g. an absence of good drinking water, lakes for fishing, and land to grow food. The radar base lacked any facilities to build a community including places for worship, schools, or elders' facilities. Culturally and economically, the site offered no possibilities. Despite the fact that the people spoke against the radar base, the provincial government developed the base and tried moving Lake St. Martin FN members. Community members refused due to the rigid Manitoba Housing tenancy agreements and the lack of *pimachiwiin.* By the spring of 2013, only 13 of the approximate 60 homes were occupied. In this temporary community, infrastructure such as church or school were never offered or part of the provincial plan

The planning of the temporary community did not consider any cultural elements. For example, grandparents, who wanted bigger two- and three-bedroom units because their grandchildren live with them, were denied these units without legal guardianship documents. These elders were forced to live in one-bedroom row housing,

which disrespects FN's culture where grandparents look after their grandchildren, and continue living with them, until they are teens and adults with the blessing and assistance of the parents. Much pressure and lobbying continues with the Province to change its policies to allow grandchildren to live with their grandparents.

The most favourable location, according to community members, was considered to be the Grahamdale Site. This site was the only location Lake St. Martin FN wanted as a permanent site. Lake St. Martin FN developed a plan for the sustainable development (an "eco-reserve" model community) of the Grahamdale Site during workshops. Community members planned a walkable and self-sufficient community with local renewable energy, food, and water resources. The community wanted infrastructure and services, generally not available on FNs, but commonly available elsewhere, including a fire station, laundromat, grocery store, and daycare, but also cultural facilities.

The children planned their new home community with a school, church, and houses around a lake with paved roads. One showed music coming from homes, schools, and churches (see Figures 6 and 7). Many children drew two story homes and all drew paved roads, probably due to the dust, mud, and nuisance that gravel roads cause. Paved roads are rare in Manitoba FN reserves but standard in non-First Nation communities.

Figure 6: Children's drawing about their community

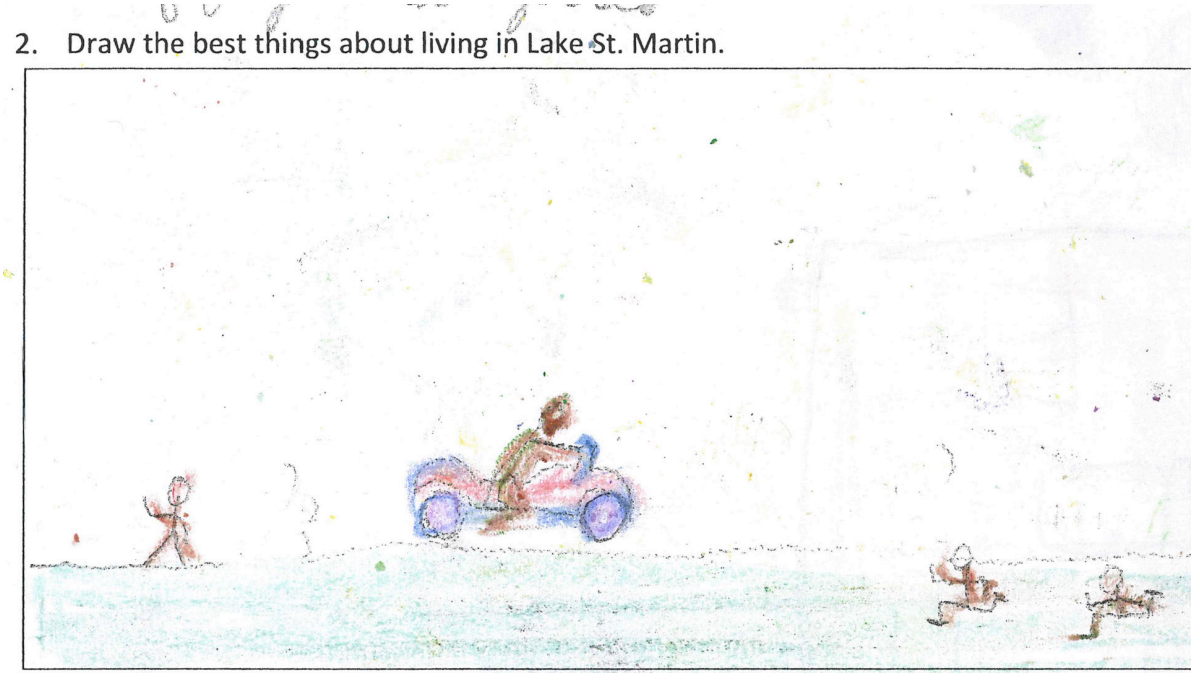
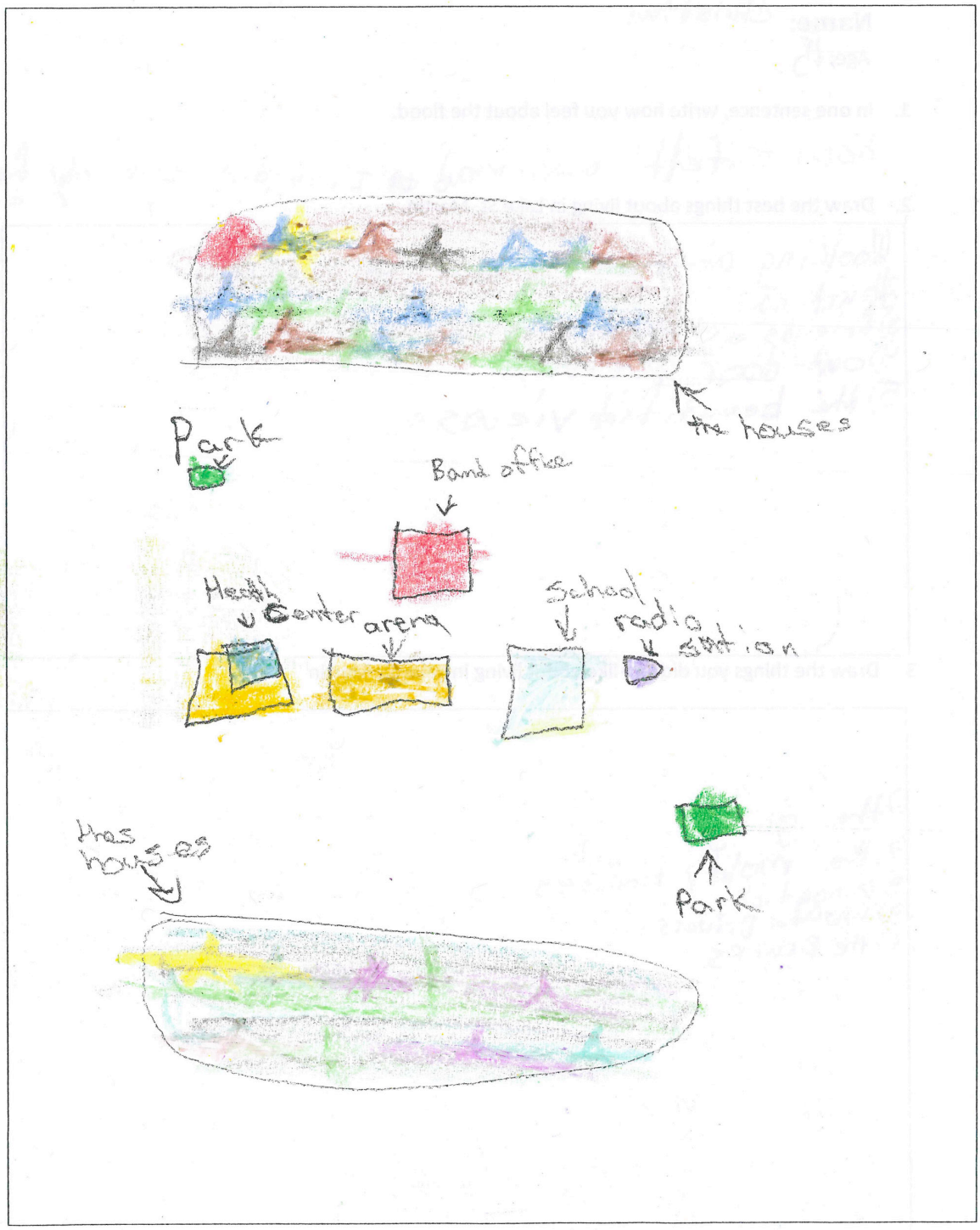


Figure 7: Children's drawing about their community

4. Draw what you want the new community of Lake St. Martin First Nation to look like in the box below.



CONCLUSION

The "superflood" of 2011 heading towards Winnipeg was diverted towards Lake St. Martin FN. The entire community was permanently displaced from their homes, losing their livelihoods, health, and socio-cultural integrity. The provincial government used the Fairford water control structure to flood people with a deep history to the land, compared to cottagers and farmers, who had an economic and recreational interest.

The flood caused great distress and trauma to people, but so did the way the Province dealt with it. The Province, after flooding the people of Lake St. Martin FN out of their ancestral home, has left them homeless by selecting an old military base as an interim camp—a site that lacks infrastructure and that community members call an internment camp. People refuse to live there and most houses remain empty. The PESCE analysis clearly shows that this site lacks *pimachiwiin*, or the capacity to look after the next seven generations. The people prioritize their need for access to water, food, and land, for *pimachiwiin*, for future generations of Anishinabek, and socio-cultural integrity. The community wants an "eco-reserve" that is sustainable and walkable, and control over their future.

Lake St. Martin FN aspires to be healthy, sustainable, walkable community, but the land and plan the community voted for was undermined by the actions of the Province. The lack of control over their future has taken a heavy toll on community members. Ultimately, the community decision on a permanent site, and plan to meet the community's cultural priorities, was overpowered, leaving them nowhere.

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ABOUT THE AUTHORS / LES AUTEURS

Myrle Ballard is a PhD graduate, in the Natural Resources Institute, University of Manitoba. Email: ballamyr@gmail.com

Shirley Thompson is an Associate Professor, Natural Resources Institute, University of Manitoba. Email: s.thompson@ad.umanitoba.ca

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Resource-Based View (RBV) of Unincorporated Social Economy Organizations

Kunle Akingbola

Lakehead University

ABSTRACT

This article examines three related questions about unincorporated social economy organizations (USEOs): What are the characteristics of these social economy organizations? What is the unique bundle of resources that gives rise to and sustains their operations? Is there evidence of bricolage in these organizations? The findings suggest that USEOs are driven foremost by a social mission. USEOs provide diverse services and products including economic and specialized social activities, which are integral to the social fabric of society. The results also show that they combine and leverage two core resources – social capital and human capital – to support the operations of their organizations. Moreover they appear to draw on whatever resources are at their disposal to support the activities of the organization. This suggests that USEOs are involved in bricolage activities, which could explain the longevity of many of the organizations.

RÉSUMÉ

Cet article répond à trois questions étroitement liées sur les organismes d'économie sociale non constitués en société : Quelles sont les caractéristiques de ces organismes? Quelles sont les ressources particulières qui leur permettent de fonctionner? Ces organismes ont-ils recours au bricolage (dans le sens que Claude Lévi-Strauss prête à ce mot)? Les résultats indiquent qu'une mission sociale est ce qui motive les organismes d'économie sociale non enregistrés. Ces derniers fournissent une diversité de produits et services, y compris des activités économiques et sociales spécialisées qui sont essentielles pour la solidarité sociale. Les résultats montrent aussi que ces organismes combinent deux ressources clés – le capital social et le capital humain – afin d'appuyer le bon fonctionnement de leurs organisations. En outre, pour ce faire, ils ont apparemment recours à toute ressource qui soit à leur portée. Cette dernière pratique indique que les organismes d'économie sociale non constitués en société mènent vraisemblablement des activités de bricolage, ce qui pourrait expliquer pourquoi bon nombre de leurs organisations ont si longue vie.

Keywords / Mots clés

Unincorporated; Social economy; Resource-based view; Bricolage / Non enregistré; Économie sociale; Théorie des ressources; Bricolage

INTRODUCTION

> It is important to recognize that most organizations are simply legal fictions which serve as a nexus for a set of contracting relationship among individuals. This includes firms, non-profit institutions such as universities, hospitals and foundations, mutual organizations such as mutual savings banks and insurance companies and co-operatives, some private clubs and even government bodies such as cities, states and the Federal government, government enterprises such as TVA, the Post Office, transit systems, etc. (Jensen & Meckling, 1976, p. 8)

Organizations are an enigma of modern society. Not only are we amazed and intrigued by what they are, what they do, and how they change, we continue to try to understand how they are different. The interest in organizational heterogeneity and how new forms of organizations emerge, has preoccupied scholars in different fields of study (Castells & Portes, 1989; Jepperson & Meyer, 1991; Schneiberg, 2002). While there are critiques (see Carroll, 1993), one of the ways organizational theorists tend to explain differences between organizations is the diversity of the environments and the unique bundle of resources they are able to put together (Hannan & Freeman, 1977; Oliver, 1997; Scott, 1987). Through institutional instruments such as the legal system, society grants legitimacy and provides access to resources that facilitate organizations. Hence, it has been suggested that the extent of diversity of organizations and the ability to create new organizations, vary between societies (Jepperson & Meyer, 1991). However, research interests in management studies have largely omitted organizations below the radar of legal incorporation or registration (Godfrey, 2011), such as unincorporated social economy organizations (USEOs).

USEOs are organizations that are not formally registered or incorporated under a legal regime. Essentially, they are part of the informal economy, which "is unregulated by the institutions of society, in a legal and social environment in which similar activities are regulated" (Castells & Portes, 1989, p. 12). Examples include farmers markets, sports and recreation associations, and advocacy groups. Research on these social economy organizations, which fall within the cracks of the legal institutions of society, is particularly lacking. We know very little about the estimated tens of thousands of unincorporated organizations that contribute to the economic and social health of Canada.

This article draws on a resource-based view (RBV; Barney, 1991; Wernerfelt, 1984) and the concept of bricolage (Levi-Strauss, 1968) to examine USEOs. It addresses three related questions: What are the characteristics and challenges of this organizational form? What is the unique bundle of resources that gives rise to and sustains the operations of these organizations? Is there evidence of bricolage in these organizations? This study is predicated on the need to understand and learn from organizations that straddle the space between business firms and nonprofits in their activities and operate outside the legal system of regulation in society. RBV is a particularly rich framework for analyzing the activities of USEOs because of its focus on the characteristics of resources, and how an organization deploys its resources. RBV proposes that the capability of an organization to acquire, develop, combine, and effectively deploy its physical, human, and organizational resources provides critical value and competitive advantage (Barney, 1991; Wernerfelt, 1984). Elsewhere, Oliver (1997) has extended the RBV, proposing that both resources and the institutional context of resources influence how an organization creates value and organizational heterogeneity.

The concept of bricolage has been defined "as making do by applying combinations of the resources at hand to new problems and opportunities" (Baker & Nelson, 2005, p. 333). Fundamentally, bricolage has been used to explain the process through which individuals acquire, accumulate, and combine available resources and

deploy whatever strategies are required to achieve different ends, and/or to adapt to existing situations (Di Domenico, Haugh, & Tracey, 2010). They noted that the concept emphasizes resourcefulness in action under various circumstances. The importance of the social context of resources and capabilities evidenced in RBV and the concept of bricolage underlie this research.

While the core idea of RBV was developed to examine firms (for-profit organizations) and firm heterogeneity in terms of competitive advantage, the theory is particularly relevant to the context of social economy organizations for three reasons. First, the focus on resources and on decision-making regarding the allocation of resources to gain competitive advantage is consistent with the characteristics of, and interactions that underlie social economy organizations. Following Barney (1991), this article posits that the creation, growth, and sustainability of social purpose ventures depend to a large extent on their ability to acquire and effectively combine resources that are difficult to imitate. Second, RBV posits that resources and capabilities which are socially complex, are likely to be sources of sustained heterogeneity (Barney, 1995). As explained below, socially complex resources and capabilities tend to be an important paradigm in the activities of social economy organizations. Moreover, the question of how these create sustained heterogeneity is central to strategic management in the sector. Third, RBV has been applied to examine factors that shape human resource management in nonprofit organizations, a major type of social economy organization (Akingbola, 2012; Ridder, McCandless Baluch, & Piening, 2012). Thus, RBV's emphasis on resources is important in the analysis of the core resource of these organizations. Although this article draws on an entrepreneurial process framework in RBV to examine the resources of USEOs, this article is not about social enterprise or entrepreneurship.

The article proceeds as follows. After a discussion of the domain of USEOs, the next section presents the theoretical framework that draws on RBV to analyze the context of USEOs. This is followed by the methodology used for the study. The subsequent section presents the empirical findings with analysis. Finally, a discussion of the implications for research and practice is provided.

UNINCORPORATED SOCIAL ECONOMY ORGANIZATIONS

The domain of USEOs stretches the imagination of what is an organization. This is why it is logical to explain the boundaries by offering the definition of the two concepts that capture the characteristics of the organizations. The two concepts are: social economy and informal economy. Following Quarter, Mook, and Armstrong (2009), social economy is a bridging concept for organizations that have social objectives central to their mission and their practice, and either have explicit economic objectives or generate some economic value through the services they provide and purchases that they undertake. Basically, social economy organizations include different types of nonprofits and cooperatives that emphasize social mission, manifest social objectives in their practices, and can generate economic value (Mook, Quarter, & Ryan, 2010). To understand social economy organizations, one must recognize the core functions of their activities. Social economy organizations perform three main functions (Enjorlas, 2010). First, they perform a solidarity function by providing a social space outside of the market, the state, or the family, for individuals to participate voluntarily in reciprocal exchanges. Second, social economy organizations perform a democratic function. They offer individuals the opportunity for direct or participatory democracy unlike the representative democracy of modern government. Finally, they perform a productive function. Enjolras (2010) notes that social economy organizations perform productive functions that are different from for-profit organizations and the government because of the unique dimensions that characterize their production of services. The functions of social economy organizations are built on a foundation of common interests and shared values that reflect the characteristics of the context (Bouchard, 2010) such as the identities or orientation of stakeholders, and the space unoccupied by government and for-profit organizations.

In addition to operating in the social economy, the organizations in this study are also part of the informal economy. While many social economy organizations operate within the formal economy and under institutional regulation, unincorporated organizations are outside of the formal economy. The main characteristic of the informal economy is that it is "unregulated by the institutions of society, in a legal and social environment in which similar activities are regulated" (Castells & Portes, 1989, p. 12). Castells and Portes posit that the informal economy exists because there is a formal economy. They contend that regulation creates the difference between formal and informal economies and that if there is no regulation of any kind, all economic activities will be classified as informal. French theorists have consistently recognized informal organizations with social objectives as part of the social economy (Laville, Bélanger, Boucher, & Lévesque, 1994; Vienney, 1994). Specifically, Laville et al. (1994) characterize organizations in the social economy as "community groups, intermediaries between the anonymous collectivity and the family, … places likely to foster real and free solidarity, to which many people aspire" (p. 208). This perspective is evident in the classification of practices associated with the informal economy as part of the social economy (Quarter et al., 2009). In line with Godfrey (2011), consideration of USEOs in this article proposes that the informal status is "based on conscious values-driven criteria rather than economic necessity or advantage" (p. 235). However, it is relevant to note that the informal economy also includes actors and organizations operating with an upfront organization but excludes domestic and illegal activities (Godfrey, 2011).

Social relations, networks, institutionalized power relationships, and the access to resources that come with them, could influence the ability and interest of actors to create formal or informal organizational forms (Stinchcombe, 1965). Thus, actors who prefer not to play within institutionalized regulations need to learn about alternatives, possess resources to leverage, and power to resist entrenched interests in order to create new organizational forms (Schneiberg, 2002). Following this line of argument, whether an organization is in the formal or informal economy could depend on the willingness and ability of actors to operate, source, and acquire resources within the system of institutionalized regulation. As explained in the next section, the question of access to resources is particularly important in USEOs not only because they operate in the informal economy but also in terms of their social economy paradigm. Thus, understanding the characteristics of USEOs and the resource bases that support their activities is important because the characteristics and context of incorporated organizations may not apply.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The fundamental construct of RBV and the concept of bricolage are central to the question of resources. From the perspective of RBV, organizations are heterogeneous bundles of idiosyncratic, hard-to-imitate resources and capabilities (Thornhill & Amit, 2003). Organizations are made up of diverse resources and capabilities, which they require to function and achieve competitive advantage. Hence, the focus of RBV is the characteristics of the resources and capabilities of organizations (Amit & Schoemaker, 1993; Barney, 1986,1991; Wernerfelt, 1984). Scholars posit that RBV explains how organizations develop, combine, and deploy resources and capabilities to achieve above average returns and competitive advantage. While having resources and capabilities is important, it does not necessarily determine competitive advantage and organizational heterogeneity. What is critical in order to achieve sustainable competitive advantage, are the rational decisions on which valuable, rare, and difficult to copy resources to use, and how to use them (Barney, 1991).

Oliver (1997) proposes that the acquisition and use of resources and capabilities is not only mediated by strategic market factors, but also by the social context within which decisions are made. Oliver argues that the institutional context significantly impacts resources, how they are selected and the competitive advantage

outcome of the process. She categorizes three levels of institutional context: individual, firm, and inter-firm. The individual level is characterized by norms and values of decision makers. The focus of the firm level is organizational culture and politics. The inter-firm level includes public and regulatory pressures and industry-wide norms. The social context at the firm level mediates the procurement and optimal use of resources.

This social context of resources and capabilities is evidenced in the entrepreneurship paradigm of RBV. The entrepreneurship perspective of RBV considers the sourcing of appropriate resources and the ability to combine them as the key to building a new venture (Alvarez & Busenitz, 2001; Conner, 1991). Thus, the focus on how resources are sourced, acquired, and deployed by entrepreneurs to create new opportunities is intended to explain entrepreneurial ability as a distinct resource. The key question for this perspective is: where do resources come from (Rasmussen, Mosey, & Wright, 2011)?

Similarly, the acquisition, combination, and use of resources are at the core of the concept of bricolage introduced by Levi-Strauss (1968). However, bricolage is premised on the idea that whatever resource is at hand could be deployed for new purposes, opportunities, or for future use (Baker & Nelson, 2005; Di Domenico et al., 2010; Levi-Strauss, 1968; Soteri-Proctor, 2011). Therefore, for the bricoleur (the individual engaged in bricolage), what is important is "always to make do with 'whatever is at hand' " (Levi-Strauss, 1968, p. 17). In a way, bricolage is about non-selective resource maximization in that it emphasizes a pragmatic approach in the use and reuse of resources. As noted above, Baker and Nelson (2005) define bricolage “as making do by applying combinations of the resources at hand to new problems and opportunities” (p. 333). They note that this definition incorporates Levi-Straus’ (1968) original construct and prior literature on bricolage. Baker and Nelson (2005), outline three elements of their definition: making do; combining resources for new purposes; and resources at hand. They explain that “making do” suggests a preference for action and being immersed in the problems or opportunities, while “combination of resources for new purposes” describes how resources are adapted and applied for different outcomes and uses. The construct of “resources at hand” speaks to the accumulation of resources such as skills, based "on the principle that 'they may always come in handy" (Levi-Strauss, 1968, p. 18).

Unlike prior conceptualizations of bricolage that suggest that actors refuse to test the limitations imposed by the institutionalized environment in order to see the possibilities (Weick, 1995), Baker and Nelson (2005) emphasize that bricolage includes actors’ conscious attempt to test the resource limitations imposed upon them. They contended that actors put in substantial effort to resist the constraints of the system and refuse to see the resources they have as valueless. This, in effect, triggers a process of mix and match, trial and error, and intense creative combination of resources to make something out of nothing (Baker & Nelson, 2005). This process is fundamental to bricolage.

In his case study of Olivetti, Ciborra (1996) found that strategy and outcomes are by-products of an implicit process involving pragmatic muddling practices rather than a laid out plan. Essentially, Ciborra found that managers work as “smart bricoleurs” by engaging in a collective process of trial and error of new organizational combination (Ciborra, 1996, p. 116). In this instance, bricolage is exemplified by the resourceful appropriation of existing organizational mechanisms and forms, that is, the recombination of existing resources for new purposes.

Although the concept of bricolage has been applied extensively in the literature (see Baker & Nelson, 2005; Soteri-Proctor, 2011), the question of “making do by applying combinations of the resources at hand to new problems and opportunities” especially in the resource-poor environment illustrated by Baker and Nelson (2005), is particularly relevant to the context of USEOs. Moreover, the social characteristics of the organizations

and the resource constraints imposed by their unincorporated status points to resource limitations entrenched in their institutional settings.

The closest application of the concept of bricolage in the social economy domain can be found in research that examines social entrepreneurs. According to Zahra, Gedajlovich, Neubaum, and Shulman, (2009), social bricoleurs are driven by the goal of addressing local social needs, within their area of expertise and which they could acquire resources to solve. They note that those social bricoleurs who work collectively to achieve such a social mission, have the ability to identify opportunities and translate small-scale local social opportunities into problem-solving organizations.

To investigate the resource base of USEOs, this article draws on Alvarez and Busenitz's (2001) construct of entrepreneurial recognition and process. They suggested that the process of entrepreneurship involves first, the awareness of opportunities, second, the ability to acquire the resources needed to exploit the opportunity, and finally, the organizational ability to recombine homogeneous inputs into heterogeneous outputs.

Consistent with this paradigm, this article proposes that USEOs are founded by social purpose entrepreneurs who follow a similar trajectory. However, since social economy organizations, whether incorporated or unincorporated, are established primarily to achieve social objectives (Quarter, 1992), the goal of the venture process is different. The social economy is a

> [large] and diverse group of free, voluntary microeconomic entities created by civil society to meet and solve the needs of individuals, households and families rather than remunerate or provide cover to investors or capitalist companies …, and is involved in a varied spectrum of activities, market and non-market, of mutual interest or of general interest. (Chaves & Monzón Campos, 2007).

As a result, the social economy venture process involves three similar steps. First, there must be an "awareness of opportunities" to translate shared values into a problem-solving organization. Second, the ability to "source and acquire the resources" needed to solve mutual or general needs. Finally, the problem-solving organization must have the ability to "mobilize and combine homogeneous inputs into heterogeneous outputs."

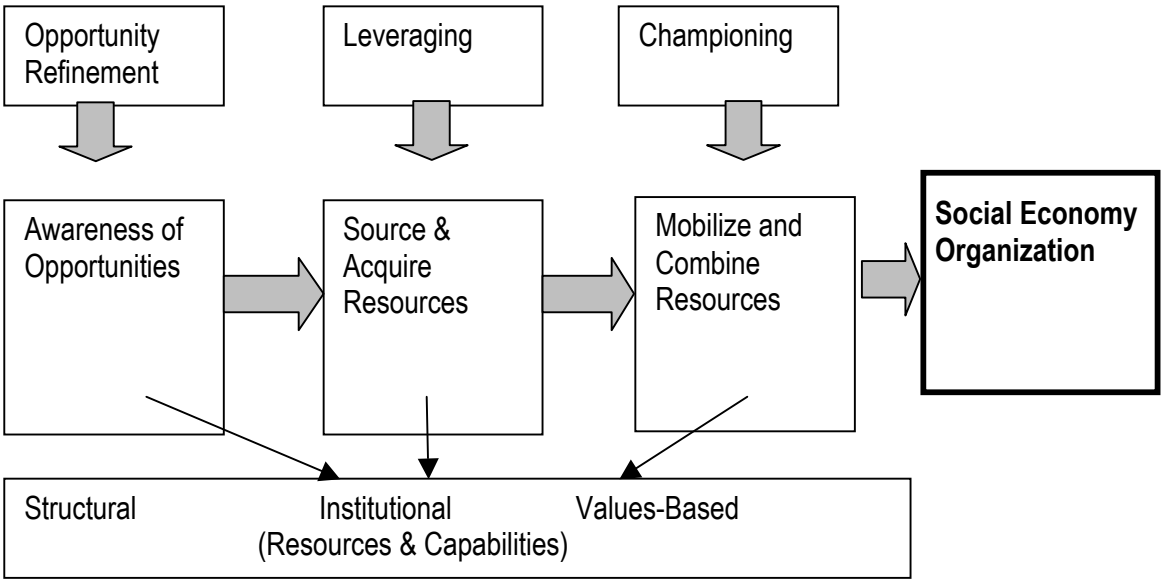
Moreover, social economy organizations tend to have distinct resources and capabilities, which are a by-product of their social complexity. Research suggests that some of the competencies required to meet the complex organizational realities of the nonprofit type of social economy organizations are unique (Akingbola, 2006; Herman, 2004; O'Neill, 1998). Akingbola (2012) suggests that there are three distinct sources of resources and capabilities of nonprofits. First, are the "structural resources and capabilities," such as the human capital of volunteers, employees, and retained earnings that are derived from the nonprofit status of the organization. In the article, human capital emphasizes the strategic importance of the knowledge, skills, and capabilities of volunteer members and employees to an organization (Wright & McMahan, 1992). Second, are the "institutional resources and capabilities," that are a by-product of the confluence of social, political, and economic relationships and the complex set of historical forces that give rise to nonprofits (Salamon & Anheier, 1998). Through social interactions, nonprofits acquire, develop, and deploy competencies, social networks, and tangible assets to gain a competitive advantage. A key component of institutional resources is social capital, defined as the character and value of relationships within and outside the organization (Snell, 1999). Finally nonprofits have "values-based resources and capabilities," that differentiate the organization from the competition. Frumkin and Andre-Clark (2000) argue that the ability of nonprofits to emphasize the values-driven side of strategy over operational efficiency will result in sustainable competitive advantage. The values that

constitute the core characteristic of nonprofits are a critical resource and source of capabilities that can be deployed to achieve the goals of the organization.

The capabilities of social economy organizations are embedded with competencies that are similar to those required to access resources in entrepreneurship. Rasmussen et al. (2011) identify three categories of entrepreneurial competencies that are important for nascent ventures to achieve credibility: opportunity refinement competency; leveraging competency; and, championing competency. The authors explain that "opportunity refinement competency" is the awareness of an opportunity and "the ability to further refine and develop the opportunity into a clearly articulated and commercially viable business concept" (p. 1327). "Leveraging competency" is the ability to source and acquire resources to build a venture, while "championing competency" is about the leadership ability needed to sustain the venture start-up process.

Figure 1 illustrates the relationship between social economy venture process, categories of entrepreneurial competencies, and the distinct resources and capabilities of social economy organizations. Together, these concepts underlie the central questions of this research: What are the characteristics of USEOs? What resources are critical to the USEOs? How do the organizations acquire and combine the resources they require to function? Due to the informal characteristic of these organizations, little is known about their scale, dimension, or operations. An understanding of the resource base and how USEOs use inputs to create value for mutual and / or general interest is necessary in order to begin to investigate strategic management practices and lay a foundation for research to map the sector.

Figure 1: Unincorporated social economy venture process



METHODOLOGY

Design and data collection

This exploratory research (Stebbins, 2001), which was conducted between 2009 and 2010, employed a qualitative methodology supplemented with quantitative data to provide an overview of the characteristics of the organizations. Since most nonprofit social economy organizations in Canada are small (McMullen & Schellenberg, 2002), and the unincorporated organizations are known to be smaller and informal, this study adapted key informant interviews (Gilchrest & Williams, 1999) to investigate the context and lived experience of USEOs in Ontario.

To understand the different context of the organizations, this research adopted purposive sampling (Sommer & Sommer, 1992) of diverse categories of USEOs. The major categories include farmers' markets, hobby groups, food banks, sports clubs, and community associations. It is important to note that many of the groups cannot be found in a directory. This necessitated the use of snowball sampling (Heckathorn, 1997) to reach hidden organizations. Seventy-two social economy organizations agreed to participate in this research, however, only 41 (57%) met the unincorporated criteria and participated in the study. Informants from each USEO participated in semi-structured interviews (Borg & Gall, 1983) and an online survey. The survey focused on descriptive characteristics and categorical questions on the financial resources, employees, and volunteers of the organizations. A number of the organizations provided secondary data such as a strategic plan, constitution, and by-laws. Table 1 provides an overview of the descriptive characteristics of the organizations, the distribution of the respondents by type of organization, and membership size. Generally, the study sample is representative of the major categories of organizations and groups in the unincorporated social economy in Ontario that are relevant to this study.

The interviews followed a narrative approach (Polkinghorne, 1988). After the interviewer described the research objectives, participants were then asked to explain their involvement in the organization, as well as the background and goals of the organization. Consistent with Rasmussen et al. (2011), the interview process emphasised listening to interviewees with limited interruption and did not use the concept of resources to avoid biases. Broadly speaking, interviews focused on: the goals of the organization, structure, financial resources, human capital, unincorporated status, and growth plans.

Analysis

The interviews were read and reviewed extensively and where necessary, follow up questions were sent to research participants. Demographic data were entered into statistical software to provide simple descriptive statistics. The interviews were analysed extensively to elicit themes that were specific to the research. The entire interview text was combed for descriptive categories, which were then reviewed to highlight themes that were consistent with the theoretical concepts (Orton, 1997). The focus of the data analysis was to elicit narratives provided by the different participants that most illustrate the resources and interactions that support their organizations.

RESOURCE DRIVERS OF UNINCORPORATED SOCIAL ECONOMY ORGANIZATIONS

One of the objectives of this study was to explain the system-level resources that shape the emergent characteristics of USEOs and how institutional processes and relationships facilitate their adaptive capabilities. If USEOs operate without formal access to resources granted through institutional instruments of society, especially incorporation, what resources support their activities and how do they access such resources. Consistent with Rasmussen et al. (2011), the findings presented below integrate the organizations analyzed by

this research with the relevant scholarly literature. First, the descriptive characteristics of the organizations are presented to provide an overview of the scale, dimension, and operations.

Characteristics of unincorporated social economy organizations

Although USEOs are relatively undefined, the organizations analyzed in this research were similar to incorporated nonprofit organizations in terms of their social mission (Quarter, 1992). The missions of the study organizations are centered on one or more of the following areas: mutual benefit goals; public benefit market goals; non-market social goals; or political interest goals (Bouchard, 2010; Chaves & Monzón Campos, 2007). Table 1 shows the major characteristics of the study organizations. There are five important conclusions to be drawn from the descriptive characteristics of the USEOs in this study.

First, the unincorporated organizations operate in the economic, social, and political sectors of society (Castells & Portes, 1989). Many of the organizations are primarily seeking to establish their niche in spaces unoccupied by government, business, or the incorporated nonprofit sector. For example, the mission of USEO Alpha is to provide a market venue for local farmers and craftspeople to sell their produce and products directly to local consumers. Similarly, the mission of USEO Beta is to provide safe haven for people in need in the organization's local community. In some cases, the purpose of the organization is to offer an alternative space to the goals of mainstream organizations. USEO Gamma's mission to fund social enterprises that employ marginalized populations is an example of such a focus.

Second, the majority of the USEOs are very small, both in terms of membership and revenue. Eighteen (53%) of the organizations have less than 50 members. Although this finding is consistent with the generally small size of nonprofit-type social economy organizations in Canada (McMullen & Schellenberg, 2002), the relatively high number of the study organizations that have 50 or more members – 16 of the 34 organizations that provided membership numbers – appears to indicate a healthy level of participation in these USEOs. Moreover, the findings indicate that most of the organizations have the characteristics of formal organizations. Thirty-three of the participating organizations have a formal organizational structure with executives, while 18 reported that they have a constitution or by-laws.

Third, the USEOs provide a wide-ranging number of products/services and activities to the community and/or to their members. The products/services and activities such as food, weaving, education, and community support are indicative of the diversity of causes in the unincorporated social economy space. Although diverse, the products/services and activities are a by-product of the social mission of each organization. In many of the study organizations with mutual benefit goals, the social mission often transcends the members to the public domain mainly through social network activities and grassroots advocacy. As discussed below, the social networks of the mutual benefit organizations are coopted through the bricolage process.

Fourth, the majority of the organizations – 24 of the 34 that provided information about age – have been operational for more than 10 years. The findings from the descriptive characteristics on size and age of the organizations are particularly important in the analysis of access to resources and capabilities that support and sustain the unincorporated form of organization. On one hand, the small size of the study organizations means that they have fewer resources to draw upon and have limited ability to access resources (Baum & Singh, 1994; Hager, Galaskiewicz, Bielefeld, & Pins, 1996; Hager & Galaskiewicz, 2000; Tucker, Baum, & Singh, 1992). On the other, the finding that many of the organizations are older – more than 10 years – suggests that they have established some level of social legitimacy and built social networks that could be leveraged to access resources (DiMaggio & Anheier, 1990).

Table 1: Descriptive Characteristics of Organizations

*Seven organizations did not provide this information. ** Nine organizations did not provide this information.

Type of Social Economy	Number (in sample)	Types of Organizations	Number of Members*	Range of Services	Age	Revenue Last Fiscal Year**
Un-incorporated non-profit organization	34	Farmers' market, recreational, union, advocacy, neighborhood, community, cultural, sports	4 (Up to 20) 10 (21-50) 2 (51-100) 6 (101-200) 6 (200+)	Food, education, hobby, safe haven, consultation, negotiation, sports training, services for clients with disabilities, advocacy, forum, market, local agriculture, community, networking, childcare, recreation	4 (40 years+) 5 (31-40 years) 6 (21-30 years) 7 (11-20 years) 9 (1-10 years)	Up to $30,371.19
Un-incorporated for-profit business	3	Neighborhood, community, cultural, sports	1 (Up to 20) 1 (200+)	Community-based art, training	2 (1-5 years)	Up to $16,000.00
Combination of (a) and (b)	4	Community, advocacy	3 (Up to 20) 1 (51-100)	Community health, children and parents, membership support	2 (20-30 years) 1 (1-5 years)	$1210.00

Opportunity recognition competency

As evidenced from the organizational characteristics, the USEOs in this study have crossed the opportunity recognition (Alvarez & Busenitz, 2001) phase of their social economy venture. Their missions represent clear articulations of their understanding of mutual or general interest needs. In addition to their missions, other findings provide further evidence of opportunity recognition. For example, USEO Alpha contends that customers come to the farmers' market because they have a serious distrust of corporate agriculture. The customer-base provides an opportunity for the market. USEO Zeta's opportunity was based on the needs of neighbours who wanted to organize around a particular issue such as safety and create a better sense of community. For USEO Eta, opportunity recognition was centered on the need to protect workers' rights through the collective agreement process. Opportunity recognition competency suggests that the USEOs in this study have a key characteristic that is common among social purpose organizations and business entrepreneurs. However, due to a variety of factors, discussed below, they opted to deploy their competencies in the informal sector.

Resources

For many of the study organizations, their primary resource is derived from their structural characteristic as social economy organizations. Their social mission attract members who identify with the causes and values of the organization. They in turn become the volunteers and core resource of the organization. This resource is manifest in the financial, human, and social capital of each organization.

Financial capital

Fifty-one percent of the organizations identified membership fees as their main source of revenue (see Table 2). Notwithstanding the unincorporated status of the study organizations, 46 percent indicated that funding from government, foundations, and corporations is also a major source of revenue. This raises a number of questions that are addressed below. The other sources of revenue include sales, fees for services, and donations. The key finding regarding financial resources is that they appear to not be a major driver in these organizations. This is attributable to a number of factors. First, as noted in the descriptive characteristics, the organizations were

established mainly to achieve social objectives. The examples below illustrate the limited emphasis on financial resources.

> [USEO Zeta] does offer programming but they try to run it on a non-profit basis. The revenue is almost solely from the programming and this revenue always equals the expenses. In the history of the [USEO Zeta], there have been grants given to the organization. (USEO Zeta Interview Respondent)

Although USEO Eta (a ski club) can generate sales revenue, the question about sales revenue, for example, was deemed irrelevant because according to the respondent the operation of the organization exists on a fine balance.

At USEO Theta:

> In the past, fundraising included bingos, which required reporting to the City. At present, the club is not fundraising. (USEO Theta Interview Respondent)

Second, many of the study organizations are recreational or artistic organizations that offer limited services to the general public. This means that the organizations may be financially self-sufficient through membership fees or the revenue generated through in-kind support. Hence, financial resources are less important. Third, and related to the second factor, twenty-nine (70%) of the organizations indicate that financial sustainability is either not a problem, or a small problem. Fourth, the experience of some of the organizations in fundraising could also explain why financial resources are not a major driver. Some of the study organizations report that they tried fundraising, but discovered that they are disadvantaged in the eyes of funding organizations that fund specific types of services. Some of the study organizations explain that they find writing grant application to be overwhelming. A member of USEO Pi, a hand weavers and spinners club noted that: "There aren't very many members who have comfort or knowledge about successfully going through the grant-writing process." Finally, the amount of the financial resources is relatively small. The largest revenue reported for the previous fiscal year was $30,371.19 and the combined total revenue of the 32 organizations that provided financial information was $855,652.00.

Human capital

Human capital – knowledge, skills, and capabilities of members – appears to be the USEOs' core resource. Unlike financial capital, human capital permeates the activities and functioning of these organizations. Sixty-five percent of participating organizations indicate that they meet their human resource needs by using volunteers. Twelve organizations (32%) note that they have employees, while another 10 (27%) have individuals who can be categorized as community volunteers to meet their human resource needs. Four organizations declined to provide this information. Similar to incorporated nonprofits (Akingbola, 2006; Barbeito & Bowman, 1998; Light, 2003), the skills, knowledge, and behaviour of volunteer members are the most significant resources. Even for the organizations that indicate that employees provide their services, twenty (98%) of the groups note that volunteer members are involved in organizational activities. Moreover, the number of employees in the USEOs is small. In many of them, the volunteer members are the only input for the production of outcomes (Akingbola, 2012). For example the respondent from USEO Xi, a naturalist club with 175 members provided this insight: "The current President of the club is the best field naturalist and nature communicator I have ever met. The presidential leadership seems to be a big draw."

USEO Pi, a hand weaver and spinner association, also exemplifies the importance of the human capital volunteer members provide as the core input for organizational outcomes.

> Members of USEO Pi meet in the [Community's] Historical Museum. We have an extensive "outreach program" and we make a point of sharing our craft with the community. We teach weaving and spinning to those who express interest; we also teach about our crafts within the school system. [USEO Pi] is asked by teachers to come into the schools and do a small program over the span of an afternoon. (Interview respondent from USEO Pi)

The importance of the human capital provided by volunteer members is also reflected in the financial resources of the study organizations. In some cases, the revenue that supports the activities of the organization is tied to the social legitimacy and human capital of the volunteer members. USEO Kappa, a food bank and USEO Xi, a naturalist club, illustrate this link:

> There are so many different sources of revenue for this food bank in particular. It just works. We also have organizational continuity because the President has been in her role for 11 years. (USEO Kappa Interview Respondent)

> We generate a tiny bit of cash from sales of publications by … our president. He gets them at deep discount from his publisher, and we sell them to membership and to the public for profit. (USEO Xi Interview Respondent)

The main type of human capital that supports the activities of the USEOs appears to be the social engagement skills of active volunteer members. This group uses their skill set to keep members together (Seabrook, 1984). Once they are able to acquire the initial social equity – based on the opportunity recognition of the need to solve a mutual or general interest need – the human capital provided by members is combined as the homogeneous input for the organization (Alvarez & Busenitz, 2001). They leverage this resource to focus on the mission of the organization. Similar to formal social economy and business organizations, the social context of the organization affects how they are able to use resources (Oliver, 1997) to facilitate the mission of the organization. The social context presents opportunities, challenges, and threats to the activities of the USEOs (Baum & Oliver, 1996; Crittenden, 2000). This inextricably leads to the creation of social capital for the organization.

Social Capital

The findings suggest that social capital is critical to the operation and survival of the studied USEOs. Many of the USEOs indicate that they use their human capital to build relationships and social networks to support their mission and access or acquire resources such as volunteers and funding. Social capital also includes membership to an umbrella body that is formally incorporated or an affiliate organization that provides access to human capital and systems to support the USEO. Such an organization could provide access to a building, such as a community centre or library for meetings. The following example illustrates the importance of social capital.

> Our members spend a lot of time doing relationship-building; in addition, we have a broad network of specialized artist friends who can be recruited for specific types of volunteer work. (Interview respondent, USEO Lambda)

> Maintaining the butterfly gardens is very important. Partnering with other organizations for specific projects for education and information is very important. (Interview respondent, USEO Phi)

> Money flow is quite small and our liability insurance is gained through our parent organization. … We have a monthly meeting at a Church; the space is donated for free. The office operates out of a member's home. (Interview respondent, USEO Mu)

> Farmers' Markets Ontario is government-funded. They function as a resource but don't necessarily support the financial sustainability and creative funding opportunities for local farmers' markets in Ontario. (Interview respondent, USEO Tau)

In some cases, the social network is used to gain social legitimacy for the USEO.

> The level of respect that our organization commands is in part due to the cooperative model upon which it is built. In addition to the volunteer Board of Directors which includes leaders in adult issues and equal representation from all provinces / territories, we have a Professional Advisory Committee [PAC] to which approximately fifteen recognized Canadian experts are appointed. (Interview respondent, USEO Mu)

The evidence on how these organizations use social capital suggests that it is intertwined with human capital. Table 2 illustrates the key resource-base from a sample of study organizations. In the internal environment, USEOs rely on the knowledge, skills, and commitment behaviour of members to sustain organizational operations. In the external environment, USEOs leverage their members' human capital to build social capital, which they then use to access or acquire resources. Importantly, USEOs use both the human and social capital they acquire to champion the mission of the organization, that is, to gain social legitimacy for their mission. Essentially, the evidence indicates that the USEOs are social entrepreneurs who draw on a blend of resources from wherever they can find them to achieve their mission. This type of resource acquisition behavior exemplifies USEOs' members as individual bricoleurs (Di Domenico et al., 2010). They are resourceful in the sense that they are prepared to use whatever strategies are required under a variety of circumstances (Di Domenico et al., 2010). This ability to rummage and use available resources is perhaps the leading driver that sustains the activities of these organizations.

Moreover, the findings on how USEOs deploy human and social capital points to the use of entrepreneurial competency that Rasmussen et al. (2011) propose. Once the "opportunity refinement competency" has been enacted by the articulation of the mission, the nascent problem of access to or acquisition of resources is addressed using a combination of approaches. Since many of the USEOs are interest- or hobby-focused, some promote the cause within their micro-community of friends and neighbours before reaching out to the broader community. Other USEOs target all available networks. The two approaches are illustrated below.

USEO Sigma emphasizes the people they know:

> In an unincorporated, less constrained environment, knowing your people and understanding their motivations is extremely important but poorly recognized or understood. (Interview respondent, USEO Sigma)

Table 2: Illustration of resource-base

Organization	Resource	Description (Interview Respondents)
USEO Iota	Human Capital	Volunteers come and go; some are short-term and some are long-term, but this does not pose a problem. The organization frequently has a wait-list for volunteers!
USEO Kappa	Human Capital	I just works. We have organizational continuity because the President has been in her role for 11 years.
USEO Lambda	Social Capital	Participants spend a lot of time doing relationship building; in addition, they have a broad network of specialized artist friends who can be recruited for specific types of volunteer work.
USEO Mu	Social Capital	The level of respect that the organization commands is in part due to the cooperative model upon which it is built. In addition to the volunteer Board of Directors, which includes leaders in adult issues and equal representation from all provinces/territories, the organization has a Professional Advisory Committee [PAC] to which approximately fifteen recognized Canadian experts are appointed.
USEO Nu	Social and Human Capital	We knew that relationship-building was important. Networking is prioritized and the Executive Director sits on a lot of organizational boards. … We have 80 volunteers; 65 of them are for our tutoring program.
USEO Pi	Social and Human Capital	Note that the museum is good to the organization. The museum allows our organization to go on their insurance, they advertise for us, and they also charge a reasonable rent. Most people take a turn in sitting on the Executive or in committee. Some members are just social members: they can't attend meetings, but they like to stay involved and attend pot-lucks and picnics.
USEO Sigma	Social and Human Capital	Partnering with other organizations for specific projects is important. Psychic pay for volunteers: we all operate from a selfish standpoint, but the 'pay' for volunteering might be feeling good about oneself. When you are managing people [volunteers or staff] in small organizations, you need to understand what the 'needs' are for these people. In an unincorporated, less constrained environment, knowing your people and understanding their motivations is extremely important but poorly recognized or understood.
USEO Tau	Social and Human Capital	Right now they partner with specific organizations to encourage enthusiasm and outreach. But it's difficult to anticipate these kinds of spontaneous collaborations. The participants believe that volunteering is a key part of engagement with the social fabric of communities. Somehow or other, there needs to be an active recognition of the merits and learning opportunities that are derived from volunteering. Learning to achieve gratification from unexpected places should be a priority.
USEO Upsilon	Human Capital	At times, they bring in other volunteers or pay contract people to do the naturalization work. The majority of the work that the committee achieves is done by committee members.
USEO Phi	Human Capital	This area is a fairly big retirement community so organizational members are very skilled and are able to contribute.
USEO Alpha 2	Social Capital	One of the young mothers in the neighbourhood organized to rejuvenate the small park in the neighbourhood because the equipment was dated. She organized with the support of our organization to go to the City to organize a proper rejuvenation.

USEO Sigma emphasizes the people they know:

> In an unincorporated, less constrained environment, knowing your people and understanding their motivations is extremely important but poorly recognized or understood. (Interview respondent, USEO Sigma)

USEO Nu targets the broader social network:

> Our organization made people a priority and we have built on it every year because we knew we needed to keep it current and we knew that relationship-building was important. Networking is prioritized and the Executive Director sits on a lot of organizational boards. We also have a lot of credibility. (Interview respondent, USEO Nu)

This evidence indicates that the founding members of USEOs use "leveraging competency" to source and acquire the all-important human and social capital to build their social economy venture. To sustain their organization, members use "championing competency" by exercising their bricoleur attributes (Di Domenico et al., 2010). They make do with whatever resources are at hand including those that are not exploited by formal social economy and business organizations to propagate the social economy venture. Although lacking access to resources provided through the institutionalized process of incorporation, they appear to be unconstrained by this limitation (Baker & Nelson, 2005). For example, USEO Beta 2 received startup funding from a foundation and flourished for some time. After the funding ended, it struggled to achieve sustainability without a long-term source of funding: the organization has managed to survive by pulling resources together.

Incorporation not desirable

Although the question of access to resources is a challenge for any organization, it is evidently more for USEOs because they operate outside the institutionalized system of regulation. However, consistent with Baker and Nelson's (2005) analysis that as part of making do with any available resources, actors in entrepreneurial bricolage "consciously and consistently tested conventional limitations" (p. 335), the study organizations mostly indicate a lack of interest in incorporation. The organizations perceive options that do not involve incorporation or that would side step the regulation as more valuable to meeting their resource challenges. According to USEO Omega, an enterprise foundation, incorporation is not the solution to funding:

> Often in the social economy, people who have formed unincorporated organizations think they need to be incorporated when they do not. There are a lot of options and they are growing. The red tape is simpler and less bureaucratic. The disadvantages, of course, are found in accountability. The key is to having a good trustee. There are a number of organizations that have popped up to be those trustees. Being incorporated can take a lot of time away from service provision. (Interview respondent, USEO Omega)

A number of rationales were offered to explain the lack of interest in incorporation. First, for many of the study organizations, incorporation is viewed as an irresponsible use of the limited funds. In this vein, the organizations see incorporation as a means of creating fiscal obligations and onerous reporting requirements. For example, USEO Beta chose to remain unincorporated because members felt the fiscal obligation of incorporation would have been excessive. Second, some of the organizations analyzed the prospect of incorporation from a practical point of view. They contended that since their organizations are small, do not have formal structures,

and have limited membership, incorporation is not warranted. USEO Delta 2 noted that with 289 members and no paid staff or membership fees, there is no need for incorporation. Third, many of the study organizations have networks and umbrella organizations that provide the benefits of incorporation including liability insurance. This significantly reduces their need for incorporation.

> Regarding issues around incorporation: so long as the provincial body remains incorporated and can do some of the administrative maintenance and provide insurance … there really hasn't been a need to incorporate. (USEO Delta 2 Interview Respondent)

Ultimately, the question of incorporation is rooted in the ability of organizations to make do with available resources and extract this to side step the limitation of incorporation (Baker & Nelson, 2005). They use the resources to overcome the challenges of non-incorporation. From a different perspective, they use their leveraging competency to access and extract the resources provided by the social networks and affiliations of their organizations, to obtain the benefits of incorporation without actually having to do so. As noted above, since most of the USEOs have been active for many years, it is the same leveraging competency that appears to have sustained the activities of the organizations.

DISCUSSION

USEOs are multidimensional entities. However, since they operate largely below the radar of officialdom, the theoretical and applied context of these organizations are unknown. What do USEOs look like? What are their services and products? What type of resources supports their operations? These are some of the relevant questions that are yet to be explored in the literature, but which are explored in this article. The findings of this study provide evidence that could guide the conceptual mapping of USEOs. First, USEOs are organizations driven foremost by a social mission (Drucker, 1992; Quarter, 1992). The organizations are driven by values shaped by their normative institutional context (Godfrey, 2011), which is translated into the mission developed to achieve mutual and/or general public goals. The diverse activities of the USEOs, including economic activities and specialized hobbies, show the importance of the organizations to the social fabric of the communities.

Second, evidence suggests that USEOs are informal organizations that have opted for noncompliance with the system of institutionalized regulation. The preference for an unincorporated status is based on the regulation and administrative governance entrenched in the incorporation process. Evidence suggests that concerns about administrative regulation are a major factor for the choice to be unincorporated. Essentially, these are organizations established by individuals who want to retain autonomy and control (Godfrey, 2011; Maloney, 1999) over their social purpose venture. However, the organizations have one characteristic that is particularly similar to their formal and small social economy counterparts—they have some form of structure. The structure is important in the ability of organizations to participate in the activities that support their missions.

Third, USEOs access, combine, and leverage two core resources – social and human capital – to support the operations of their organization. The resources are derived primarily from the skills, knowledge, and behaviour of their members. "Behaviour" in the context of this paper, includes the entrepreneurial-like traits and actions that are discussed further below. Members' knowledge and skills are the core inputs that stakeholders combine to create the activities and the performance that support the mutual and / or general interest goals of the organization (Akingbola, 2012; Barbeito & Bowman, 1998; Light, 2003). Since these organizations do not have elaborate systems, they appear to be shaped more by the competency and interactions of members. The question of competency is evidenced in how members draw upon their social capital to access and leverage resources the organization does not ordinarily have access to due to its unincorporated status. The evidence

that some of the organizations access funding and institutional support through formal social economy and public sector organizations illustrates how they mitigate their inability to access resources and overcome the limitation of their unincorporated status by leveraging social networks. It also highlights how USEOs could be impacted by the vagaries of government funding which has significantly shaped the nonprofit part of the social economy (Akingbola, 2004; Smith & Lipsky, 1993).

Fourth, evidence indicates that USEOs demonstrate characteristics that are similar to those found in entrepreneurship. First, they follow a process that is similar to entrepreneurial recognition (Alvarez & Busenitz, 2001). The organizations emphasize an "awareness of opportunities" that is then translated to define their mission. They follow this phase by "sourcing and acquiring the resources needed" to achieve the goals of the organization. Once the social legitimacy of the organization is established in the immediate social network of founding members, USEOs "mobilize and combine" these inputs into the organization's heterogeneous outputs. Second, they appear to draw on whatever resources are at their disposal to support the activities of the organization. This suggests that USEOs are involved in bricolage (Di Domenico et al., 2010; Soteri-Proctor, 2011). The bricoleur attributes of members may explain the longevity of organizations in this study.

CONCLUSION

This article draws on RBV (Barney, 1991; Wernerfelt, 1984) to examine the characteristics of USEOs, the resources that give rise to and sustain their operations, and any evidence of bricolage in how they acquire resources. Research on the characteristics and practices of such organizations is limited. Due to their informal status and the significant social processes that characterize their activities, research on USEOs logically requires a qualitative approach. As a result, this exploratory study uses empirical data drawn from key contacts and leaders who provide their personal accounts and involvement in the interactions and processes of USEOs (Di Domenico et al., 2010). Qualitative data is supplemented with descriptive statistics to explain the characteristics of the organizations. Hence, the findings provide an important starting point for our understanding of social economy organizations that operate below the radar of legal incorporation. However, there is significant opportunity for future research in this area. This article makes three important contributions to such research.

One, it provides evidence that similar to formally incorporated social economy organizations (Quarter et al., 2009), unincorporated organizations are products of the social mission of their members. Moreover, the evidence suggests that human and social capital are the resources that member acquire and combine to support the activities of the organizations. Specifically, the extent of the importance of social networks could mean that social relationships are more critical to USEOs than their incorporated counterparts. Since USEOs have limited abilities to access resources due to their status, they must build and leverage social networks to acquire the resources they need to support their operations and survive.

Two, by drawing on RBV (Barney, 1991; Wernerfelt, 1984) and applying the concepts of bricolage (Di Domenico et al., 2010), the article provides a theoretical background for future empirical research that may explore organizational behaviour in the informal social economy. Related, is the question of how these theoretical perspectives can be used to explain the interaction between the unincorporated and formally incorporated social economy organizations, especially in terms of resource dependency relationships.

Finally, the article provides exploratory evidence that could guide future research on how core management functions are performed in USEOs. This will inevitably lead to questions about organizational effectiveness and management functions that contribute to the performance of USEOs. For example: what is the relationship

between the extent of coordination and specific human capital practices USEOs adopt? Also, how do the social networks that members draw upon to support the activities of the organization play into the question of organizational effectiveness.

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR / L'AUTEUR

Kunle Akingbola is Assistant Professor in the Faculty of Business Administration, Lakehead University, Thunder Bay, ON, Canada. Email: kakingbola@lakeheadu.ca

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Book Review

by Keith Anderson

Why Philanthropy Matters: How the Wealthy Give, and What It Means for Our Economic Well-Being *By Zoltan J. Acs.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013. 272 pp. ISBN: 9780691148625

Zoltan J. Acs, a professor at the School of Public Policy and Director of the Center for Entrepreneurship and Public Policy, believes philanthropy to be an underappreciated aspect of what he calls "American-style capitalism" and his new book, *Why Philanthropy Matters: How the Wealthy Give and What It Means for Our Economic Well-being*, aims to show how the vitality of American capitalism in fact depends upon it. His line of argument is actually quite simple. Entrepreneurial innovation – and for Acs, the American economy is fundamentally entrepreneurial – generates a high concentration of wealth which, in turn, must be "recycled" through philanthropy into institutions and programs designed both to advance innovation and create new opportunities for the broader middle-class to participate more fruitfully in economic life. By directing created wealth to these ends, philanthropy plays a key role in strengthening society's entrepreneurial potential for the future. Arguing that this cycle of entrepreneurship, wealth generation, philanthropy, and opportunity creation has characterized the American economy throughout its history and is essential to its success, Acs examines each of its elements in detail. He contrasts the cycle with the patterns of philanthropy found in the more state-centred societies of East Asia and the "coordinated market economies" of Western Europe before ultimately offering it as a model for the world, a path to sustainable global development.

Targeted to "productive uses" that lay the "groundwork of new cycles of innovation and enterprise" (p. 10), Acs' philanthropy resembles the "strategic philanthropy" advanced by proponents of business-case Corporate Social Responsibility (Porter & Kramer, 2002). However, Acs does not quite make a "business-case" for philanthropy. Rather than profiting the philanthropist, philanthropy, has "a positive long-term externality for society" (p. 4); it "creates a better society in the long run" (p. 4). This concern for society is one of the more intriguing aspects of Acs' argument. Combining an appreciation of the competitive liberal market and small government with a sense of responsibility for the common good, Acs appears here more an heir of Andrew Carnegie than of Julius Rosenwald (Carnegie's

contemporary who saw social need primarily as a profitable business opportunity and, according to Peter Drucker [1984], presaged the philanthropy to come).

While Acs may seem old-fashioned to Drucker here, he is still a close ally. Sharing with Drucker the Schumpeterian view of entrepreneurship as a revolutionizing economic force, Acs maintains that "creative destruction" (p. 47) – Joseph Schumpeter's idea that old ways are endogenously destroyed and replaced by the new – lies at the very birth of America and "fuels the entrepreneurial spirit" (p. 9) of American capitalism. In this vein, Acs, like Drucker, celebrates the "entrepreneurial revolution" of the 1980s and the dismantling of the paralytic post-war "managerial" economy. Acs admits that creative destruction of this kind, exacerbating unemployment and wealth inequality, produces a certain tension, but the tension at issue is not between the winners and losers "sorted out" by the process, but rather between enhancing wealth creation for innovators and protecting opportunity for all. Insofar as philanthropy fosters increased opportunity, it relieves this tension, mitigating inequality and smoothing the "hard edges of the market" (p. 11). Unfortunately, Acs provides little evidence to support this claim. Can philanthropy address effectively the serious social dislocations that result from state and market failure? Acs' argument for philanthropy remains but a proposal and a plea.

The dislocations that Acs construes in Schumpeterian terms are understood by others as the outcome of neo-liberalism's political-ideological consolidation. While Acs disengages from the standard debate over government size, privatization, unions, and regulation, it is still possible to situate his perspective within the historical neo-liberal context. Neo-liberal think-tanks such as Canada's C.D. Howe Institute have already taken an explicitly Schumpeterian perspective, emphasizing, like Acs, the creative, competitive power of innovation, education, and research (Howitt, 2007). But this is not merely guilt by association. Acs' "American-style capitalism," characterized by small, weak government, a free liberal market, and described as "antithetical" to the Fordist/Keynesian economic model, cannot but bear the imprint of neo-liberal hegemony.

This point is significant from a critical Social Economic perspective. Many of the philanthropic initiatives that Acs champions – especially "venture philanthropy" and social enterprise – are in fact particular Social Economic forms that have become more salient under conditions of neo-liberal restructuring. They function to fill the gaps opened by state and market failure. On this point, Acs aligns again with Drucker who praises the "Third Sector" – or the Social Economy – for its ability to experiment and innovate in meeting social needs, an ability denied to the state. Seeing philanthropy as an innovator in this same way, Acs, like Drucker, accepts the limits of the liberal market place and its existing power arrangements, and allows the Social Economy to function largely as a "support structure" for the neo-liberal economy (Fontan & Shragge, 2000, pp. 7–8; Lionais & Johnstone, 2010, p. 108).

Obviously, Acs is not one who cynically employs philanthropy to facilitate market-based wealth creation for its own sake. Indeed, much of his book's power derives from his passionate belief that created wealth is a public trust to be utilized for the common good. His problem lies in the assumption that responsibility for addressing state and market failure rests with the wealthy and the institutions they establish for social ends. He argues that philanthropy "taps" into civil society and partners with "progressive tides", but that is not enough (p. 12). His investor-/expert-driven approach overlooks the importance of the people themselves directing the

practice that responds to their dislocation and precludes more critical, radical approaches, which may in fact seek alternatives to the liberal market. That said, Acs does point out an issue facing all, even radical, Social Economic practices: Financing of the Social Economy remains largely dependent upon wealth creation in the mainstream liberal market. While Acs' approach affirms that dependence, it also inadvertently highlights the necessity of wealth creation even for the radical Social Economy, for the latter must develop independent ways to generate surpluses that will enable it to sustain itself and represent a real alternative to the liberal mainstream (Lionais & Johnstone, 2010). Thus, even radical Social Economic practice is impelled to innovate! A kind of entrepreneurial spirit is required. And this perhaps is one of the more provocative implications of Acs' new book.

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR / L'AUTEUR

Keith Anderson is a PhD candidate in the Graduate Program in Social and Political Thought Program at York University, Toronto, ON. Email: keith.anderson@rogers.com

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Compte-rendu de livre

par Guy Bellemare

Management des entreprises de l'économie sociale et solidaire. Identités plurielles et spécificités. *Sous la direction d'Emmanuel Bayle et Jean-Claude Dupuis.* Bruxelles : De Boeck, 2012, 344 pp. ISBN : 9782804170912

Cet ouvrage, publié suite au colloque de l'Institut de l'administration des entreprises de Lyon en 2010, a pour but d'apporter des réponses quant à la manière de renouveler les stratégies et les modèles de management sans renier les valeurs et les principes fondamentaux de l'économie sociale et solidaire (ESS). Les contributions portent essentiellement sur les situations française et belge mais les réflexions théoriques ont une portée plus générale, si bien que l'ouvrage constitue une lecture pertinente pour tout lecteur francophone.

D'emblée, il importe de rappeler que l'ESS représente plus de 10% du PIB et de l'emploi total en Europe. En France, elle a créé plus d'emplois que les entreprises privées entre 2000 et 2010 (p. 4). En contexte européen, le terme ESS regroupe des coopératives, mutuelles, associations, syndicats et fondations, fonctionnant sur des principes d'égalité des personnes, de solidarité et d'indépendance économique.

Dans un contexte de crises successives, les entreprises de l'économie sociale et solidaire (EESS) sont concernées au premier chef par la double finalité économique et sociale. Comme le rappelle le Président d'honneur du Crédit mutuel français, Étienne Pflimlin, pour atteindre cette double finalité, « La fin ne justifie pas les moyens. Ceux-ci doivent être en accord avec les valeurs mutualistes : honnêteté, confiance, disponibilité, service. C'est bien souvent là que les difficultés managériales commencent » (p. vi). Elles doivent être efficaces, servir leurs membres et contribuer au développement de leur communauté et société.

L'ouvrage est divisé en cinq parties et comporte quatorze chapitres. La première partie discute des identités plurielles et des spécificités du secteur de l'ESS. La deuxième partie traite de gouvernances, stratégies et entrepreneuriat. La troisième partie discute des pratiques de management, tandis que la quatrième porte sur la mesure et l'évaluation du rendement, et la dernière traite des pratiques dans des secteurs emblématiques de l'ESS.

Dans la première partie, Jean-Louis Laville présente des propositions théoriques et méthodologiques concernant la gestion de l'ESS afin qu'elle soit en « mesure de respecter les originalités des structures n'ayant pas le profit pour objectif » (p. 4). Il rappelle en premier lieu que les associations ont des logiques institutionnelles spécifiques, ancrées tant dans la rationalité que dans la quête de légitimité : efficacité et bien

commun qui relèvent de la solidarité. Il souligne que les associations ont aussi une dimension organisationnelle marquée par une professionnalisation de leurs pratiques. Or cette dernière doit concilier la volonté des usagers et bénévoles de collaborer à la construction des services associatifs tout en relevant le défi des contraintes associées à la montée des idées et pratiques du *New Public Management*. Les années 1980 à nos jours ont vu la montée en importance de nouvelles aspirations à vivre et travailler autrement portées par les nouveaux mouvements sociaux. Ces valeurs et acteurs contribuent fortement à poser la question des pratiques de gestion, une thèse reprise par plusieurs des auteurs dans cet ouvrage. Laville rappelle que le managérialisme ne peut être confondu avec la préoccupation de gestion. Les praticiens et les chercheurs du secteur doivent : se réapproprier l'histoire de l'association afin de mettre son projet émancipatoire au devant des préoccupations; permettre la délibération multipartite des parties prenantes à la gestion; structurer des réseaux associatifs sectoriels et territoriaux afin de pouvoir s'opposer efficacement aux injonctions de pouvoirs externes; et, finalement engager des démarches de co-construction des politiques publiques et des procédures d'évaluation multicritères et multi-acteurs.

Cette analyse de Laville nous suggère ce commentaire : les divers moyens qu'il identifie peuvent limiter, voire renverser, les tendances à l'isomorphisme institutionnel tant postulé dans la littérature anglo-saxonne relative au *non-profit sector*, littérature généralement enfermée dans la seule analyse organisationnelle, et contribuer par la même à assurer un développement autonome de ses pratiques de gestion (Bellemare, Briand, Malenfant, & Champagne, 2012). Nous pensons même que l'ESS doit perdre ses complexes en la matière et que ce sont les entreprises marchandes qui gagneraient à s'inspirer des pratiques de gestion de l'ESS.

Le texte de Danièle Demoustier et Marie-Claire Malo propose de penser une stratégie et des outils de gestion adaptés à l'ESS. Les auteures proposent un modèle multipartite et multicritères d'élaboration de la stratégie. Il tient compte des enjeux de gouvernance et de gestion démocratiques car la stratégie peut y poursuivre deux perspectives : celle de la transformation sociale et celle du positionnement concurrentiel. La capacité stratégique de l'ESS est traitée non seulement en regard des standards dans son secteur mais aussi comme force de mobilisation des ressources et compétences provenant d'un réseau de partenaires. Finalement, le contexte stratégique est défini comme un secteur où des forces concurrentielles sont à l'œuvre mais aussi comme un territoire habité par des mouvements de coopération et de solidarité (p. 34). Le résultat global de leur analyse risque de dépayser considérablement le chercheur en stratégie des organisations tant il y trouvera des dimensions d'analyse insoupçonnées derrières des catégories analytiques a priori familières : ce commentaire vaut d'ailleurs pour plusieurs autres textes de ce livre. Les praticiens de la gestion dans les ESS y trouveront sans doute une approche fort utile pour définir et mettre en place une stratégie respectueuse du projet et de leurs valeurs.

Pour leur part, Patrick Valéau, Jérôme Boncler et Frédéric Annette proposent une analyse de la stratégie ancrée dans l'approche du *business model*, qui constitue la convention relative à la génération de valeur (notion d'utilité), à la rémunération de celle-ci (faisabilité) et au partage de cette rémunération (satisfaction) (p. 67). Ce *business model* est agencé à la définition de l'EESS du réseau européen – entreprise ayant une finalité économique et sociale et une gouvernance autonome et participative – formulée par des chercheurs sur l'économie sociale et l'entrepreneuriat social (ESES). Selon ces auteurs, ce qui manque au modèle de l'ESS, c'est la dimension opérationnelle de la décision, telle que définie par Herbert A. Simon. Ce choix, non discuté, pose problème car cette définition simonienne postule une très forte rationalité, même si limitée, du décideur *top manager*. Les auteurs prennent tout de même une distance importante par rapport à Simon en évoquant, sans trop de détails, l'idée d'une méta-décision, consistant à décider qui participera aux décisions (p. 86). La problématique de la décision, réactivée par Simon, est depuis tombée en état de crise paradigmatique (voir Aude, Landry, & Déry, 1986). En ajoutant à leur analyse la perspective de l'entrepreneur

social, ces auteurs offrent une adaptation intéressante de leur modèle à l'EESS tout en illustrant la frontière mouvante entre adaptation et isomorphisme institutionnel par rapport aux modèles dominants dans la grande entreprise marchande.

En effet, il se pose rapidement dans ce texte, plus que dans les autres, la question de l'expertise technocratique requise pour faire ce genre d'analyse et l'appropriation de cette approche par les acteurs. En fait, particulièrement dans le cas des EESS, la question de la pédagogie se pose à tout chercheur et formateur. Les approches formulées en termes de transfert de connaissances sont sans doute non pertinentes selon nous car trop éloignées des pratiques de co-construction des savoirs rencontrés dans l'ESS. S'il y a un sujet de gestion absent de ce livre, comme de la plupart des textes sur l'ESS, c'est bien celui de la pédagogie critique du changement organisationnel.

Le texte de Jean-Baptiste Cartier, Philippe Naszalyi et Benoît Pigé traite de la question de la gouvernance, à partir d'une étude comparée d'une banque capitaliste et d'une mutuelle. Les auteurs montrent les insuffisances des théories des coûts de transaction et de l'agence à tenir compte des caractéristiques de l'économie sociale et retiennent, comme plusieurs autres auteurs dans ce livre, la théorie des parties prenantes pour leur étude. Ils montrent que l'origine, l'organisation interne, la rémunération des acteurs y sont très différents, mais que ces deux organisations se structurent de façon semblable pour répondre à des contraintes identiques (taille critique à atteindre, rationalisation de la relation avec les clients, contrôle hiérarchique renforcé, etc.). L'étude permet aussi de montrer la difficulté d'atteindre les standards théoriques postulés par la théorie des parties prenantes, surtout en matière de gouvernance démocratique représentative et participative aux échelons supérieurs.

Pour clore la partie 2, le texte de Benjamin Huybretchs, Alex Nicholls et Hugues Mouchamp définit l'entrepreneuriat social et en présente les caractéristiques et les défis. Pour eux, l'entrepreneuriat social se compose d'initiatives orientées vers le marché poursuivant des missions sociales de manière innovante. Cette définition large est rendue nécessaire par la très grande variété de définitions trouvées dans la littérature scientifique. Une des critiques importantes du concept est la perception individualiste de l'entrepreneur social vu comme reflétant les valeurs occidentales et ne correspondant pas à la réalité du terrain où l'action collective, les institutions locales et les partenariats sont d'une importance capitale (p. 101). Les auteurs appellent donc à des recherches portant, entre autres, sur les facteurs institutionnels et sur la finance sociale afin de mieux comprendre les conditions de développement de l'entrepreneuriat social.

La troisième partie présente des analyses de pratiques spécifiques de management, y compris celle de la gestion des ressources humaines (GRH) dans le chapitre 6. Christophe Everaere et Patrick Valéau proposent une analyse comparative d'articles francophones consacrés à la GRH dans les EESS. Parmi les constats généraux, la gestion prévisionnelle des emplois et des compétences, les rémunérations, la formation et le dialogue social sont peu étudiés; les associations veulent développer une GRH efficace et conforme aux valeurs humanistes à l'origine de leurs projets; finalement, elles rencontrent souvent des difficultés à y parvenir dans la pratique. Malgré ceci, leur GRH est progressiste, aidante et valorisante.

Pour sa part, François Mayaux (chapitre 7) étudie les pratiques de marketing dans les EESS. Comme pour les autres pratiques de gestion, le marketing a d'abord été mal vu dans les EESS, car on l'associait à la promotion de la surconsommation faite par les entreprises capitalistes. L'auteur note toutefois un accueil plus positif depuis quelques années, lequel s'accompagne d'une réflexion épistémologique menant à une nouvelle définition du marketing. Le marketing doit permettre à une organisation de mieux piloter les échanges avec ses différentes parties prenantes dans une situation de concurrence (p. 163). Cette nouvelle définition nous

paraît fort limitée car elle est fermée sur une logique de concurrence. On aurait pu s'attendre, dans le secteur des ESS, à une définition qui aurait fait une place au moins aussi grande à l'objectif et à la situation de coopération/partenariat, comme le texte de Demoustier et Malo incitait à le faire. Une autre des limites du texte est de n'établir aucune relation entre le discours marketing, ici limité à ses dimensions organisationnelles, et le discours politique, alors que plusieurs associations poursuivent un projet de transformation sociale. En fait, le discours marketing a avantage à s'inspirer des réflexions de Philippe Eynaud, lequel relie les dimensions organisationnelles et institutionnelles des systèmes d'information.

Dans le chapitre 8, Eynaud et François Silva analysent le rôle des systèmes d'information dans les EESS. Les systèmes d'information sont surtout l'affaire des grandes EESS, étant donné les ressources nécessaires à leur implantation et adaptation et la quantité de données à gérer, hormis l'usage intensif des outils Internet. Eynaud et Silva se demandent plus spécifiquement si les associations peuvent donner lieu à une logique informationnelle qui soit source de mutations. Les outils Internet permettent un fort développement du cyber-activisme, des dons en ligne, du partage d'informations, de la reddition de comptes, de la mise en réseau pour des fins de formation, du partage d'expertises, du recrutement de nouveaux bénévoles, du lobbying, etc. Ces outils peuvent aussi favoriser la gouvernance démocratique avec les diverses parties prenantes (par la visioconférence, par exemple). En fait, les associations les plus militantes sont les plus innovantes techniquement. L'Internet permet aussi la rencontre de deux communautés largement affinitaires porteuses d'une conception non monétaire et marchande de l'échange : celle des associations et celle des développeurs du logiciel libre pouvant favoriser le développement d'une économie de la contribution. Silva soulève un certain nombre de questions que devront se poser les acteurs des EESS afin que ces outils contribuent au développement d'un sentiment d'appartenance communautaire.

Dans la quatrième partie, qui porte sur l'évaluation de la performance, on trouve trois textes. Michel Capron s'interroge sur le sens et la portée des termes « finalité » et « performance » dans le contexte des EESS. Il trouve de grandes ressemblances entre celles des entreprises marchandes et celles de l'ESS, voyant la principale différence dans l'incapacité des outils d'évaluation actuels à évaluer l'atteinte des objectifs découlant des valeurs des EESS. Gérard Leseul (chapitre 10) constate aussi le caractère dominant des outils de reddition de comptes d'abord développés pour les entreprises marchandes : *benchmarking,* normes comptables et environnementales, bilan social, etc. Il le présente mais sans faire de lien précis avec les EESS. C'est le chapitre suivant d'Alan Fustec qui propose une méthode de mesure de création de valeur qui soit adaptée aux EESS. Son approche passe par la mesure du capital immatériel, un type de capital qui permet selon l'auteur d'élargir la notion de « création de richesse ». Dans l'ESS, les actifs immatériels peuvent être le capital client, humain, organisationnel, savoir, partenaire, etc. Appliqué au cas de l'entreprise, la méthode a permis de montrer qu'elle créait de la richesse, mais que certains de ses actifs immatériels présentaient des faiblesses devant mener à des correctifs afin d'assurer son avenir. On pourrait ajouter que ces méthodes de calcul peuvent aussi permettre de faire valoir auprès de l'État ou autres parties prenantes, une valeur souvent mal estimée des EESS par les modèles classiques d'évaluation.

Finalement, la cinquième partie présente des applications détaillées de certaines de ces pratiques de gestion dans trois secteurs. Il s'agit d'une étude de management stratégique à partir du cas Médecins sans frontières (Erwan Queinnec et Sonia Couprie), et deux études de cas relativement négatives sur les pratiques de gestion associées au secteur marchand sans adaptation importante : le défi du maintien de la coopération dans les banques coopératives françaises qui créent des entités marchandes dans un processus d'hybridation de modèles (Nadine Richez-Battesti et Nathalie Hector) et les spécificités du mécénat de la bancassurance mutualiste française, utilisé comme instrument de rhétorique visant à redorer une image malmenée par des années de pratiques peu différenciées de celles des banques privées (Patrick Gilormini). Le texte de Queinnec

et Couprie met en lumière quatre types de performances dans l'évaluation de Médecins sans frontières, plus à même de rendre compte de la portée de ses activités : performances opérationnelle, économique, sociale et sociétale; des liens entre ces types de performance et les attentes des parties prenantes; et ce qui favorise une plus grande légitimité de l'organisation et de ses acteurs. En conclusion, Alain-Charles Martinet dégage des pistes de recherche et invite les chercheurs à questionner les théories du management à partir de l'expérience des EESS.

La plupart des auteurs s'entendent aussi pour reconnaître qu'il existe une variété de modèles de gestion à l'intérieur même de l'ESS qui doit être préservée en bonne partie puisqu'il est le reflet de l'histoire, des activités, des engagements, des professionnalités, etc., propres aux secteurs et entreprises individuelles.

Cet ouvrage apporte une contribution importante à la compréhension des pratiques de gestion dans les EESS. Toutefois, son apport principal se situe au plan théorique et épistémologique puisque la plupart des auteurs ont effectué une réflexion critique sur les théories et modèles orthodoxes et proposent des approches mieux adaptées à l'ESS. Les analyses doivent se poursuivre en s'appuyant désormais sur cet ouvrage. D'autre part, une traduction vers l'anglais permettrait selon nous d'enrichir particulièrement les études nord-américaines du secteur.

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L'AUTEUR / ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Guy Bellemare, PhD, est professeur au Département de relations industrielles, Université du Québec en Outaouais. Courriel : guy.bellemare@uqo.ca

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Compte-rendu de livre

par Luc Brès

Refonder l'entreprise. *Par Blanche Segrestin et Armand Hatchuel.* Paris : Éditions Le Seuil, 2012. 128 pp. ISBN : 9782021064285.

Il faut sauver l'entreprise! Un profond malentendu existe à propos de ce collectif original qu'est l'entreprise. Les réponses inadéquates apportées aux différentes crises économiques mondiales (dont la dernière en 2008) sont symptomatiques de cette incompréhension et risquent d'entraîner sa disparition. En remontant aux origines historiques et sociales de l'entreprise pour mettre en évidence sa véritable nature, et notamment sa fonction régulatrice dans le capitalisme moderne, il sera possible de repenser les fondements juridiques de ce collectif. Voilà le projet de cet ouvrage.

Mais avant de présenter plus en détail l'argument du texte, il convient de souligner quelques éléments de contexte afin de rappeler que ce livre est le prolongement d'une importante réflexion française sur l'entreprise. Les lecteurs qui le souhaitent pourront d'ailleurs en apprendre plus sur les dimensions théorique, épistémologique et ontologique de cette réflexion dans Hatchuel et Segrestin (2007) ou dans David, Hatchuel et Laufer (2000). Tout d'abord, les deux auteurs sont issus du Centre de gestion scientifique MinesParisTech, fondé en 1967, qui constitue l'un des grands centres historiques de la recherche française en gestion, et qui a appuyé ce travail à travers le programme « Formes et modèles d'entreprises ». D'autre part, l'ouvrage se présente comme l'aboutissement d'un projet de recherche pluridisciplinaire intitulé « Propriété et responsabilité », lancé en 2008, qui regroupe plusieurs universités et des praticiens à l'initiative du Collège des Bernardins. Par ailleurs, ce livre a fait l'objet d'un dossier dans *Le Libellio d'AEGIS*, la revue d'un autre grand centre historique de la recherche française en gestion : le Centre de recherche en gestion de l'École Polytechnique. Il se présente donc comme un livre enrichi par, et ancré dans, une tradition française de recherche sur l'organisation.

Pour saisir la nature profonde de l'entreprise, les auteurs nous proposent donc une analyse historique de son ontogenèse qui nous entraîne au XIXe siècle. Dans une époque façonnée et fascinée par le progrès scientifique, les entreprises apparaissent d'abord comme des projets collectifs d'ingénieurs, d'ouvriers, de détenteurs de capitaux, etc., pour « domestiquer l'innovation » (p. 28) – c'est-à-dire, l'entreprise apparaît comme « le premier collectif qui prend en charge à la fois l'activité innovante, son organisation et sa valorisation marchande » (p. 29). Dès lors, il faut comprendre l'entreprise « non pas comme un groupe d'intérêt, mais par un projet de création collective » (p.19) basé sur une solidarité d'acteurs qui choisissent de mettre en commun des ressources de différentes natures (capital, savoir-faire, expertise…) afin d'innover.

Point important : ces ressources sont toutes mises sur un même niveau d'analyse par les auteurs à travers le concept de « potentiel d'action » (p.89). Dans ce collectif, « la juxtaposition de potentiels d'action, aussi variés soient-ils, ne suffit pas à créer une dynamique. » (p.89), et c'est le chef d'entreprise qui, d'une part, les combine de manière à innover et à les faire fructifier et, d'autre part, joue le rôle d'« arbitre neutre » entre les différentes parties qui ont accepté de confier leur potentiel d'action à l'entreprise. C'est finalement l'entreprise, sous l'égide du chef d'entreprise, qui permet de sortir de l'antagonisme capital-travail, particulièrement aiguë au XIXe siècle, nuisible à la collaboration à long terme, et donc à l'innovation. L'analyse historique, qui s'appuie notamment sur les célèbres travaux de Berle et Means et de Galbraith, révèle ainsi la montée en force de l'entreprise de la fin du XIXe siècle jusque dans les années 1960.

Cependant, un grand glissement a lieu aux États-Unis dans les années 1970. À la suite des chocs pétroliers, les liquidités se font plus rares, et le niveau général des dividendes distribués baisse; les actionnaires sont en position de force, et il devient plus important de surveiller les rendements de leurs investissements. En même temps, les gestionnaires américains sont décrédibilisés pour leur mauvaise capacité à gérer la crise, surtout face aux concurrents internationaux qui, Japon en tête, semblent obtenir de bien meilleures performances. Dans ce contexte, la grande originalité de ce texte est de montrer que c'est surtout au niveau du droit que le drame se noue. En effet, l'apparition de l'entreprise n'a jamais été entérinée par un droit particulier. L'entreprise reste prise essentiellement entre, d'un côté, un droit du travail qui accorde un pouvoir très important aux dirigeants sur les employés, et de l'autre un droit des sociétés qui donne un pouvoir très important aux actionnaires sur les dirigeants. Cette dissymétrie du droit ne permet pas toujours aux dirigeants de jouer leur rôle d'« arbitre neutre ». Ainsi, lorsque les conditions de l'économie se resserrent, les détenteurs de capitaux reprennent « de droit » un poids prépondérant dans l'entreprise. Ce glissement est marqué par l'avènement de la *corporate governance* depuis les années 1980, qui théorise et légitime le contrôle des actionnaires sur les sociétés et les dirigeants, et l'idée qu'ils sont les propriétaires des sociétés (« alors qu'ils ne sont que les propriétaires de leur part »). La *corporate governance*, qui n'en finit pas de déconstruire l'entreprise, ramenant ce collectif à des logiques tayloriennes qui découpent ses activités en une multitude de contrats.

Pour les auteurs, il s'agit d'une régression qui, particulièrement dans le contexte incertain qui caractérise l'économie actuelle, inhibe toute forme de collaboration à long terme et hypothèque la capacité des organisations à innover et en fin de compte à créer de la valeur. Autre conséquence néfaste, et autre originalité de ce livre, les auteurs montrent comment, lorsque sa vocation se réduit à servir les intérêts des actionnaires (souvent dans l'immédiat), l'entreprise n'est plus en mesure de jouer le rôle de régulateur du capitalisme et de vecteur de progrès qu'elle a joué jadis. Il est à noter d'ailleurs que, même s'il n'est pas en premier lieu théorique, ce livre peut être affilié à la théorie de la régulation.

Que faire donc pour sauver l'entreprise? Pour les auteurs, on peut s'inspirer d'expériences alternatives, comme les coopératives, mais au bout du compte, c'est par le droit dans sa dimension normative, et surtout pédagogique, que les auteurs voient une possible renaissance de l'entreprise. Ils proposent donc quatre principes pour refonder l'entreprise :

1. Il faut rétablir la mission de création collective de l'entreprise. Car, selon eux, le passage au collectif à travers la mise en commun des potentiels d'action dans des collaborations à long terme permet bien un saut qualitatif dans l'innovation qu'on ne retrouve pas dans une logique de contrats.

2. Il faut renforcer les pouvoirs des dirigeants face aux actionnaires, tout en les rendant responsables face aux autres acteurs engagés dans l'entreprise, afin de leur permettre de jouer à nouveau le rôle

d'arbitre neutre. À ce titre, ces derniers doivent être habilités et révoqués par l'ensemble des acteurs engagés dans l'entreprise.

3. Mais comment définir les acteurs engagés dans l'entreprise? Pour les auteurs, les acteurs du collectif doivent être définis comme les « individus – investisseurs ou prestataires – [qui] reconnaissent l'autorité de gestion et courent le risque de voir leurs capacités d'action affectées par l'action collective », et qui ont accepté de soumettre leur plan d'action aux décisions de l'entreprise.

4. Il faut enfin inventer de nouvelles formes de solidarité pour rendre possible l'action collective. Pour ce faire, les auteurs proposent de dépasser la solidarité classique dans le partage des bénéfices afin d'instituer une solidarité sur la protection mutuelle des potentiels d'action. Par exemple, les employés qui acceptent de sacrifier une partie de leur rémunération pour aider une entreprise en difficulté pourraient être intéressés par les bénéfices futurs.

Sur la base de ces principes, les auteurs proposent ensuite des pistes d'évolution juridique dans le sens d'un élargissement de la vocation des sociétés vers le social comme les *benefit corporations* du Maryland, ou les Flexible Purpose Corporations californiennes.

Si l'on peut regretter que l'analyse des formes alternatives d'entreprise comme les coopératives constitue une partie moins convaincante, cet ouvrage n'en propose pas moins une réflexion extrêmement riche et bien informée qui, pour une fois, va au-delà des cadres habituels de la recherche en gestion, pour aller questionner le droit et les formes juridiques d'entreprise, avec l'ambitieux projet d'inverser la relation entre droit et gestion. Il ne s'agit plus simplement de gérer dans les limites du droit, mais bien de penser ou d'inventer un droit de l'entreprise qui s'inspire de la gestion. Ces propositions intéresseront aussi bien les dirigeants, les salariés, les actionnaires responsables, que les décideurs publics. Elles rejoignent, tout en la complétant par une perspective sociohistorique et managériale, une pensée actuellement en train de se développer en Amérique (Stout, 2012).

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L'AUTEUR / ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Luc Brès est doctorant à HEC Montréal. Courriel : luc.bres@gmail.com

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Book Review

by Ewa Wasniewski

Community-University Research Partnerships: Reflections on the Canadian Social Economy Experience. *Edited by P.V. Hall & I. MacPherson*. Victoria, BC: University of Victoria, 2011. 259 pp. ISBN 9781550584493

Community-University Research Partnerships: Reflections on the Canadian Social Economy Experience is the first of three books published after the culmination of a five-year pan-Canadian research partnership. As a doctoral student in Educational Psychology, this book provided me with a strong foundation to understand the current practices in Community Based Research, as well as successful strategies in developing university-community partnerships. The book is well organized and provides a comprehensive overview of the different challenges and rewards of these partnerships. Drawing on different experiences from across Canada, the book illustrates how different researchers and practitioners co-constructed knowledge as a purposeful collaborative process. The authors (who are academics, practitioner-researchers, community members, students, and research coordinators) were all involved in the Canadian Social Economy Research Partnership (CSERP) between 2006 and 2012. The editors note that sharing and exploring these different research experiences could strengthen partnership development processes and inform changes to current funding models by increasing successful university-practitioner engagement.

This book will be useful for a wide audience of practitioners and academics. The first chapter is particularly effective at establishing the context of research partnerships and will be a useful starting point for future collaborations, as well as serve as a primary document for historians of the Social Economy in Canada. It outlines how CSERP's National Hub was created and how it supported the development of various Regional Nodes. Research plays a particularly important role, according to the authors, in redefining principles, practices, relationships, and organizational involvement for the exploration of successful community negotiations within the Canadian Social Economy. The authors also provide a list of key definitions that are used throughout the chapters and form some of the overall themes in the book, including: governance, networking, definition of the sector, content of research, process (methods) of research, capacity-building, evaluation, and knowledge mobilization, as they relate to partnership development.

With regards to governance, two main approaches are offered: centralization of resources (Chapters 5 and 9) and decentralization of resources (Chapters 3, 6, and 7). All of the nodes had complete autonomy to develop partnerships based on the needs of their communities. The second most frequent topic was the importance of

networking, which was linked to the varied Node structures. Networking is discussed based on the different situations, experiences, and relationships within each node. For example, Chapter 3 shares the importance for face-to-face networking opportunities in developing and maintaining effective relationships. Chapter 2 provides an in-depth exploration into the development, construction, and current structure of the Social Economy in Canada. This third theme illustrates how academics are part of a greater community and how previous relationships can inform collaborative research. For example in Chapter 5, the authors attribute part of their success in partnership development from pre-existing community-university relationships that informed their reported research. The final five themes (content of research, process [methods] of research, capacity-building, evaluation, and knowledge mobilization, within partnership development) were not as predominate but were all represented within the book. For many, three of the most interesting chapters may very well be Chapters 4, 6, and 7. In Chapter 4, the Quebec Node presents an evaluation model for checking the partnership relationship in four specific areas: co-definition, co-implementation, mobilization, and results. The authors emphasize the importance of ongoing evaluation to ensure a cohesive dynamic relationship through the research process. Chapter 6 describes how a Community Based Research (CBR) approach was applied to five different projects in Northern Ontario. The author illustrates the importance of having a flexible, knowledgeable, and supportive project manager that can navigate different challenges in CBR as well the need for non-traditional inquiry for co-constructing knowledge with communities. Finally, Chapter 7 shares cross-cultural and inter-generational experiences in relationship building and knowledge sharing. The authors note that researchers need to place more emphasis on developing culturally sensitive relationships and value community outcomes as an integral part of the research process.

The collection concludes with a description of the need for a broader view of the potential impact and changes that the Social Economy and community-university partnership research could evoke. The authors draw from experiences and call for ongoing reflection and evaluation to identify the importance of preexisting relationships as well as the key role coordinators play as cultural brokers. This thematic overview continues in the afterword, as Dr. Edward Jackson moves away from the structures of the Nodes and Hub and discusses current political structures that are affecting the Canadian Social Economy. Dr. Jackson reminds us that it takes years to change attitudes and beliefs, and even longer if we are trying to evoke change within our institutions or governments.

Two of the strengths of this book are the way it is geographically framed and the informative development of key concepts. It is noticeable that the editors planned how each chapter builds on the next, and even though the key concepts are scattered throughout the book there is an increased level of complexity in their use. It is also notable that all of the authors were truthful and authentic in sharing their successes and challenges in their respected projects. This feature makes the book more useful to other Social Economy practitioners and academics, since it does not shy away from the challenges and issues faced by CSERP participants.

The book is limited however in its ambiguous thematic organization and also in its avoidance of addressing the underlying Social Economy discourse. Not all chapters discussed or used the key terms introduced in Chapter 1, creating confusion around the use of terminology and concept application. While one could argue the Social Economy is a character in every chapter, there is only one chapter that specifically explores it as a topic in and of itself (Chapter 2). Having a more explicit Social Economy thematic framework throughout all chapters would have improved the flow of the book.

As a young academic this book does provide an excellent glimpse into the complexity of community-university partnership development within the Canadian Social Economy. Even though it was daunting and discouraging at times to read the struggles of other participants, it was encouraging to read about the different types of

research being conducted by the CSEPR. No two experiences throughout the book are the same, which highlights the importance of documenting and disseminating the process of engaged partnership research. Although funding for this National endeavour was limited and has now ended, all of the authors express the importance of continued collaboration within and between research initiatives. Most of all, the book reminds the reader that within a collaborative mindset, all research efforts must respect the unique ways that the different regions within Canada support the Social Economy.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR / L'AUTEUR

Ewa Wasniewski is a second year PhD student in the Department of Educational Psychology specializing in Educational Technologies at the University of Alberta. Email: ewaw@ualberta.ca

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