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ÉDITORIAL / EDITORIAL

Register and Be Counted S'inscrire pour compter

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

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

You will find a new cutline at the bottom of the first page of each article in the *Canadian Journal of Nonprofit and Social Economy Research* (*ANSERJ*), starting with this issue. The invitation is as follows: To be notified about new ANSERJ articles, click **Subscribe.** As a subscriber, you will automatically receive a notification when a new issue of *ANSERJ* is published. Better still, as a regular subscriber you will be supporting the ongoing publication of *ANSERJ*. How is this the case? Subscribers, as well as individual downloads of individual articles, are important because they allow us to profile the depth as well as the breadth of interest in *ANSERJ.* Think of downloading an article as social bridging and being a subscriber as social bonding, giving you access to well-crafted articles on a wide range of non-profit and social economy research topics. It is free, like all peer-reviewed articles published by *ANSERJ*. Some publishers charge authors thousands of dollars to have an article published in an online open-access journal. We don't charge authors because we believe that knowledge is an asset that is only truly valuable when shared, and as such we want as many people

Vous trouverez une nouvelle légende au bas de chaque première page de chaque article d'*ANSERJ*, débutant avec ce numéro. L'invitation sera le suivant: Pour être avisé des nouveaux articles dans *ANSERJ*, **s'inscrire ici.** À titre d'abonné, vous recevrez automatiquement un avis dès la parution d'un nouveau numéro d'*ANSERJ*. Mieux encore, à titre d'abonné, vous appuyez par ce geste la publication d'*ANSERJ*. Comment est-ce possible? Les abonnements, ainsi que les téléchargements individuels des articles, sont importants afin d'établir un profil des lecteurs d'*ANSERJ* et bâtir un cas pour les agences subventionnaires. Il faut penser aux téléchargements d'articles comme l'établissement de liens sociaux et aux abonnements en terme de liens sociaux envers des articles de qualité sur un grand nombre de sujets de recherche relatifs aux organismes sans but lucratif et à l'économie sociale. C'est gratuit, comme tous les articles avec comité de lecture publiés dans *ANSERJ*, d'ailleurs. Des éditeurs font payer des milliers de dollars aux auteurs pour avoir leurs articles publiés dans une revue en ligne avec comité de lecture. Nous ne faisons pas payer les auteurs parce que nous croyons que la connaissance est un actif qui prend tout

as possible to benefit from the research conducted by our authors.

This issue is no exception. We are publishing a compelling and challenging article written by Michael Young and Joshua Moses on homelessness in the Canadian Arctic, where overcrowding has consequences every bit as severe as housing shortages. Moving to Winnipeg, Stephanie Fulford and Shirley Thompson report on their research on youth-**c**entred community development, which has taken the form of a community gardening project. Meghan Joy and John Shields of Ryerson University provide a critical analysis of Social Impact Bonds in the context of an agenda of public sector reform and third sector marketization. Finally, Gretchen Hernandez, a graduate student at Simon Fraser University analyzes an online forum on indigenous Community-Based Economic Development (CED) with participants from Canada and Latin America sharing and reflecting on experiences ranging from cultural tourism in Bolivia to a food processing co-op in northern British Columbia.

We invite you to be informed by these diverse and yet intrinsically Canadian research articles, to take time to ponder their broader implications, and to take a few moments to register as a subscriber to *ANSERJ*.

son sens et sa valeur lorsqu'il est partagé. Ainsi, nous souhaitons que le plus grand nombre de lecteurs profite des recherches de nos auteurs.

Ce numéro ne fait pas exception. Nous publions des articles intéressants. Ainsi, l'article de Michael Young et Joshua Moses porte sur l'itinérance dans l'Arctique canadien où la surpopulation a des conséquences graves, en plus de la pénurie de logement. Se déplaçant vers Winnipeg, Stephanie Fulford et Shirley Thompson rédige leur étude sur le développement communautaire auprès des jeunes qui se situe dans un projet de jardin communautaire. Meghan Joy et John Shields de l'Université Ryerson fournissent une analyse critique des Social Impact Bonds dans le contexte des priorités de la réforme du secteur public et de la commercialisation du secteur tertiaire. Enfin, Gretchen Hernandez, une étudiante d'études avancées à l'Université Simon Fraser analyse un forum en ligne sur le développement économique communautaire des Autochtones avec des participants au Canada et en Amérique latine, qui partagent et réfléchissent sur leurs expériences qui vont du tourisme culturel en Bolivie à une coopérative alimentaire dans le nord de la Colombie-Britannique.

Nous vous invitons à consulter la panoplie de recherches canadiennes publiée dans notre revue depuis le tout premier numéro, à réfléchir aux implications de ces réflexions et de prendre quelques instants pour vous abonner à *ANSERJ*.

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In Memoriam

Ian McPherson 1939 – 2013

It is with great sadness that ANSER and ANSERJ mark the passing of Ian MacPherson, a dear friend and colleague. Ian was a leader of the co-operative and credit union movement in Canada and internationally. His book, *Each for All: A History of the Co-operative Movement in English-Canada: 1900–1945,* is considered as the definitive early history of co-operatives in Canada. Ian devoted his working life to the understanding of co-operatives and to the building of a co-operative movement. He took a leading role in creating the Canadian Co-operative Association, was the co-founder of CASC (the Canadian Association for the Study of Co-operation), he had a central role in the revisions to the co-operative principles in Manchester, England, was the founder and organizer of the BC Institute for Co-operative Studies (BCICS) at the University of Victoria, later re-named the Centre for Co-operative and Community-Based Economy (CCCBE), and his

C'est avec une grande tristesse que ANSER/ARES et ANSERJ veulent souligner le décès de notre collègue et ami Ian MacPherson. Ian a été un pionnier du mouvement des coopératives au Canada et au niveau international. Son livre, *Each for All: A History of the Co-operative Movement in English-Canada: 1900–1945,* est considéré comme un texte important pour l'historique des coopératives au Canada. Ian s'est consacré à comprendre les coopératives et à bâtir le mouvement des coopératives. Il joué un rôle de pionnier dans la création de l'Association des coopératives du Canada, a été un des fondateurs de CASC/ACÉC (Association Canadienne pour les Études sur la Coopération). Il a joué un rôle important dans la révision des principes coopératifs à Manchester, Angleterre et a été un fondateur et organisateur du BC Institute for Co-operative Studies (BCICS) à l'Université de Victoria, qui a été renommé le Centre for Co-operative and Community-Based Economy (CCCBE). Sa dernière

most recent passion was the creation of an institute for co-operatives and peace together with his colleague, Yehuhah Paz, in Israel.

Ian was an active member of the 2008 ANSER Steering Committee, an ANSERJ Editorial Board member since the beginning of the journal, was on the selection committee for the 2013 ANSERJ best article award, and a regular attendee at ANSER conferences.

Ian had a zest for life, was a skilled raconteur, and he enjoyed recalling his upbringing on a farm in southwestern Ontario. His sudden death comes at a time when his email messages continued to maintain their good humour and cheerfulness and at a time when he had so much more to give. Our deepest sympathies to his wife Elizabeth and his family, of whom he was so proud. Ian was someone who made a difference, and he will be missed.

initiative a été la création d'un institut portant sur les coopératives et la paix avec son collègue Yehuhah Paz, Israel.

Ian a été un membre actif du comité organisateur d'ANSER/ARES en 2008, un membre original du comité de rédaction d'ANSERJ, a été du comité de sélection du Prix 2013 ANSERJ du meilleur article, en plus d'être un participant régulier aux conférences annuelles d'ANSER/ARES.

Ian avait un entousiasme face à la vie, était un fabuleux conteur et se plaisait à se remémorer ses origines sur une ferme du sud-ouest de l'Ontario. Son décès soudain survient au moment où ses courriels continuent de propager son humour et sa bonne humeur, au moment où il avait encore tant à offrir. Nos sincères condoléances à sa conjointe Elizabeth et à sa famille, dont il était si fier. Ian était quelqu'un qui a fait une différence et qui nous manquera.

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Neoliberalism and Homelessness in the Western Canadian Arctic

Michael G. Young
Royal Roads University

Joshua M. Moses
Haverford College

ABSTRACT

Homelessness in the Beaufort-Delta represents a significant problem that is underserved by government, market, and nonprofit agencies. Based on research conducted during 2011-2012, this article outlines the breadth and scope of the housing problem and details extant service provision networks for homeless and hard-to-house (HtH) persons with addiction and mental health problems. A critique of neoliberal governance on housing development and social services suggests that significant effort is needed to deal with the problems associated with centralization on the one hand and the isolation associated with Arctic life on the other. The authors conclude by making recommendations for the future role of nonprofit agencies in the Beaufort-Delta through the adoption of a *housing first* approach.

RÉSUMÉ

Dans le delta de Beaufort, l'itinérance pose un sérieux défi que négligent les secteurs gouvernemental, commercial et sans but lucratif. Cet article se fonde sur une étude menée en 2011-2012 qui souligne l'envergure du problème de logement et recense les réseaux actuels qui desservent les sans-abris et les personnes difficiles à héberger souffrant de problèmes de dépendance et de santé mentale. Il s'ensuit dans cet article la critique d'une politique néolibérale envers la fourniture de logements et de services sociaux. Cette critique suggère qu'un effort important est requis pour surmonter les problèmes reliés à la centralisation des services d'une part et à l'isolement du milieu arctique d'autre part. Pour conclure, l'article propose un rôle futur pour les agences à but non lucratif dans le delta de Beaufort en recommandant à ces dernières une approche qui met l'accent sur les logements avant tout.

Keywords / Mots clés

Homelessness; Northwest Territories; Neoliberal; Addiction; Nonprofit agencies / Itinérance; Territoires du Nord-Ouest; Néolibéral; Dépendance; Agence à but non lucratif

INTRODUCTION

Since the late 1990s, emergency shelters in urbanizing northern centres such as Inuvik, Northwest Territories (NWT), have reported a steady increase in use, representing a rise in absolute, or "visible," homelessness (Inuvik Interagency Committee, 2003; Yellowknife Homeless Coalition, 2007). Often referred to as chronic or long-term homelessness, this homeless population is typically comprised of chronically ill and/or addicted persons. Under a more comprehensive and socially inclusive definition, homelessness refers to a broader spectrum of people who are considered hard-to-house (HtH) and includes cyclical and temporary homelessness, in addition to chronic homelessness (Echenberg & Jensen, 2008). Given the geographic and climatic conditions in the Arctic, less visible forms of homelessness, such as "couch surfing" with friends or relatives, are more common in the North than absolute homelessness, even though the latter remains obvious (Inuvik Interagency Committee, 2003, 2006a).

CONTEXT FOR RESEARCH PROJECT

The NWT covers an area of 1,346,106 square kilometers and has a population of 41,452. Approximately 46% of the territorial population (19,234) reside in the capital, Yellowknife, which is the largest urban centre. Although gas and oil exploration are considered important, mining, tourism, and government are the key economic drivers in the territories (Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, n.d.). The NWT uses a consensus model of government, meaning that there are no political parties with opposing mandates. Historically, the NWT has relied on transfer payments from the federal government for the majority of territorial operations. Given this funding model, territorial needs often took second place to federal government priorities, particularly regarding the extraction of natural resources. With the onset of devolution, the transfer of governmental authority and responsibility from the federal government to the territories, the NWT is poised to take on more control of territorial governance and the responsibilities associated with this authority. As well, Aboriginal groups in the territory will be responsible for managing resource extraction industries on land under their domain. However, transfer payments and federal influence will continue until the parties involved agree that the new arrangement is stable and complete (Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, 2012).

Northern communities frequently have community resources and modes of social organization that mitigate community upheavals related to personal and housing problems. These include informal housing networks and food sharing. However, the ongoing problems associated with poor and overcrowded housing, unemployment, and a long history of government policies designed to erode local resilience have left many communities with frayed networks and limited infrastructure (Morgan, 2010/11). Further, while a great deal of "southern" money has flowed north for high-profile Arctic environmental and geopolitical issues (Gerhardt, Steinberg, Tasch, Fabiano, & Shields, 2010; Wenzel, 1991), little of this money has been used to address the quotidian pressing realities of problems such as homelessness.

Smaller than Yellowknife, Inuvik has a population estimated at 3,321, of which approximately 65% are Inuvialuit, Gwich'in, or Metis (Citystats, 2009). There are no official HtH statistics, but interviews with local service providers suggest that, depending on the time of year, more than 30 men and women are HtH. While the city of Yellowknife continues to be the focus of territorial government-led interventions surrounding homelessness, Inuvik tends to be disregarded as a significant recipient of homeless persons from outlying communities and as a hub for northern homelessness. Similarly, the Homelessness Partnering Strategy (HPS), which provides federal funding to designated urban communities and a few rural and Aboriginal communities, includes Yellowknife, but not Inuvik (Employment and Development Services Canada, 2013). Based on the application criteria of the HPS program, which includes the requirement of a community plan

and the ability to match funding (Employment and Development Services Canada, 2013), the town of Inuvik did not qualify for funding. Yet, as the administrative, economic, and governance centre of the Beaufort-Delta region, as well as the most northerly point on the Dempster Highway, Inuvik is a receiving centre for many people who are homeless, or vulnerable to homelessness, and who also suffer from addictions and mental health problems (Christensen, 2012). With the exception of an emergency shelter that can accommodate 16 adults and a women's transitional home that houses up to 10 women and children at a time, services to homeless persons in Inuvik with addictions and mental health problems are limited to relatively scant professional services provided by the Beaufort-Delta Health & Social Services Authority, Gwich'in Tribal Council, and Inuvialuit Regional Corporation. None of these services are offered on an outreach basis (Inuvik Interagency Committee, 2006b).

Any attempt to understand homelessness in the Arctic must include an appreciation of the social, historical, cultural, and economic contexts within which communities emerge and develop. Abele (2009) argues that the social economy has been largely ignored in what little research does exist on northern development. Yet the impact of large-scale government transformation has a significant and enduring impact on community development. Clearly, the lack of nonprofit organizations in the North generally, and in Inuvik specifically, can be linked to changing governmental priorities, which are tied to social economy and nonprofit development. In the case of the Beaufort-Delta, Inuvik was created in the 1950s with the express intention of being a beacon of Canadian sovereignty in the North. The exploitation of oil and gas came later, circa the 1970s, and with this expansion came boom-and-bust economies and the perks and problems associated with them (Abele, Falvo, & Hache, 2010; Christensen, 2012).

The federal government is the prime source of funding for nonprofit services; indeed, the federal government is the primary source of income for the majority of residents living in the NWT, either as a source of employment or for social assistance (Christensen, 2011; Laird, 2007). Aside from verbal accounts from research participants of detoxification services once offered at the location of the current emergency shelter, there is no historical evidence of addiction or mental health services leading up to the 1990s in Inuvik. Arguably, the shift to neoliberal governance—manifest in the creation and maintenance of conditions favourable to economic investment as well as the gutting of social services starting in the 1980s—illustrates the direct impact of changes to social policies guiding housing and the surge in homelessness across Canada and other western democracies (Caragata, 2006; Cloke, Milbourne, & Widdowfield, 2000; Hackworth & Moriah, 2006).

The growth of the homeless population evidenced in the 1990s coincided with *roll-back neoliberal* policies identified by Peck and Tickell (2003). Essentially, discrediting or eliminating Keynesian welfare-state policies involves a reduction in state control of resources and regulations, which results in dwindling public services and the reduction of social and labour rights. In addition, the privatization of once state-controlled programs places the distribution and control of services in the hands of the private sector. Thus, public assets are sold and many social programs come to be provided through contracting services with nonprofit organizations (Aguirre, Eick, & Ellen, 2006).

While a complete accounting of the factors associated with homelessness in this research is not possible, the impact of changing governance models, in this case the shift to roll-back and roll-out neoliberal paradigms, has effectively intensified the housing shortage and obstructed the development of addiction and mental health services. Regarding roll-back policies, a significant impact on housing occurred in the 1990s with the cancellation of federally sponsored social and affordable housing programs (Social Planning and Research Council of BC, 2012). Indeed, Caragata (2006) observes that policy retrenchment, evidenced by the off-loading of housing responsibilities from federal and provincial levels of government to municipalities, resulted

in the growth of homelessness in Canada akin to that in the United States. As well, the recent administrative centralization of northern communities, which occurred in the 1950s and '60s (Wenzel, 2008), has not been matched by the development of resources to deal with increased levels of migration.

Organizations such as the Inuvik Interagency Committee do play a role in the organization of services, but the region itself does not have a resource infrastructure capable of dealing with problems of such magnitude as those being experienced in Inuvik and the Beaufort-Delta. In short, the social and economic capital required to address housing, addiction, and mental health problems is not available. In this context, decentralizing and off-loading services, assuming they were available to begin with, has met with disaster. In the aftermath of decentralization, combined with the demise of social and affordable housing in the 1990s, communities are considered fortunate if they can garner a triage response to the problems associated with homelessness. Several years ago, Hall and Reed (1998) suggested that the future did not look promising in this regard; today in Canada we can say it is bleak.

Efforts to secure the best conditions for capital or roll-out neoliberal policies (Aguirre, Eick & Ellen, 2006) also have negative impacts on society. Within a global context, the drive to maintain a competitive edge in a global marketplace requires the state to endorse policies that promote or provide the infrastructure necessary to educate and maintain a fully participatory workforce (McBride & McNutt, 2007). Due to a lack of suitable and stable employment opportunities, those unable to participate in such an environment, in this case northern residents and particularly Aboriginal people, are at a further disadvantage and excluded from the labour market. Coupled with the erosion of key public services, such as healthcare and social services resulting from roll-back policies, roll-out neoliberal policies place HtH populations in Inuvik and the Beaufort Delta at an extreme disadvantage.

Linked to boom-and-bust economies, and driven by oil and gas exploration, the rising costs of housing in rural centres such as Inuvik have intensified housing shortages (Inuvik Interagency Committee, 2003, 2006b). Moreover, multiple generations of families often share housing originally designed for single families, which tends to obscure the true nature of the housing shortage (Inuvik Interagency Committee, 2003, 2006b). Coupled with a dearth of services to HtH persons, an observation corroborated by Christensen's (2012) research on northern settlement dynamics, the shift to neoliberal policies constitutes market and government failure in that community needs – i.e., housing, addictions, and mental health—are not being met.

Substantively, the philanthropic element of nonprofit organizations relies heavily on volunteer workers and financial donations. Maintaining continuity in service delivery is challenging enough in times of economic growth, but when nonprofits are faced with funding shortfalls, maintaining services becomes almost impossible. The low wages associated with paid positions and the heavy dependence on volunteers are two factors that leave nonprofit organizations in a state of flux, struggling to survive (Covington, 1994; Enjolras, 2000; Hackworth & Moriah, 2006; Hall & Reed, 1998). Added to this, employees are often lured away from their nonprofit positions to government jobs that offer higher pay, more benefits, and long-term stability.

While proving direct causal connection between homelessness, addiction, and mental health problems is difficult, the housing shortage in Inuvik and the Beaufort-Delta is a significant contributor to the problems experienced by homeless and HtH persons. Aboriginal households are four times more likely to be overcrowded (25% compared to 7%), with remote communities experiencing a higher percentage of overcrowding (First Nations Information Governance Committee, 2006). Research on housing in Nunavut also reveals a significant shortage of housing, with one in seven people living without adequate shelter (Laird, 2007). Similarly, in the NWT, housing shortages range from 33% in larger communities such as Yellowknife to

over 70% in more remote communities (Northwest Territories Bureau of Statistics, 2010). Given these data, and the geographical realities of living in the Arctic, the seriousness of homelessness and the lack of services for addicted and mentally ill persons cannot be overstated.

PURPOSE OF THE RESEARCH PROJECT

The causes of homelessness are numerous and complex. The most commonly cited proximal causes include mental illness, substance abuse, marital breakdown, abusive relationships, transition from institutionalized care, and economic factors such as loss of employment, lack of affordable and/or available housing, and economic restructuring (Echenberg & Jensen, 2008). These factors apply whether referring to urban or rural homelessness. In the present context, and in most northern communities in Canada, being Aboriginal is also considered a risk factor (Caragata, 2006). To be sure, the long-term effects of colonization evidenced in community and personal trauma will be felt for generations to come (Christensen, 2012; Wenzel, 2008). As well, community groups in Inuvik, such as the Inuvik Interagency Committee, have suggested that the gaps in mental health services and the paucity of effective addictions treatment play a very critical role in generating and perpetuating homelessness among northern men and women (Inuvik Interagency Committee, 2003, 2006a, 2006b; Kronstal, 2010).

Given the overlap, both conceptually and in the research context, the term hard-to-house (HtH) includes homelessness, as both imply a lack of permanent address. Using data collected for a larger project on homelessness in the North, this article explores the experiences of HtH persons, and those working with them, regarding needs and gaps in services that may increase the likelihood of HtH persons finding housing and help improve levels of personal health, wellness, and security. This research adopts a *housing first* approach as a fundamental means of coping with homelessness. In essence, housing first models prioritize the need to keep people housed. To a certain degree, behaviours that are considered unacceptable in other contexts are tolerated, providing that clients adhere to established codes of conduct (e.g., no violence). Just as important is the need to coordinate the efforts of service providers, particularly in regard to HtH persons who require ongoing support for addictions and mental health (Atherton & McNaughton Nicholls, 2008). Research demonstrates that housing first practices are effective in housing adults and, at the same time, are associated with improved levels of health and social functioning (Waegmakers Schiff & Rook, 2012).

METHODOLOGY

This research is premised on the understanding that supportive resources for housing, substance abuse, and mental health needs, whether supplied by government or nonprofit agencies, are dependent on cultural, economic, and geographical context. Based on the rationale that it contributes to scientific knowledge while at the same time producing social change for stakeholders, particularly research participants (O'Leary, 2004), a community-based research design (Creswell, 2006) was chosen for this project. Community-based research has become the expected approach for research with Aboriginal communities in Canada, especially in the North (National Aboriginal Health Organization, 2005; Ryan & Robinson, 1996). This method of research parallels in many ways the tenets of Aboriginal methodology (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999) and demands that the research enterprise be adapted "to the culture and context of the participants" (Kelly, Mock, & Tandon, 2001, p. 348). In addition, this approach includes the pursuit of local research needs and an agenda for motivating social change (Pain, 2003).

The community-based research approach used in this project employed mixed methods, involving all stakeholders in the research project. Informal discussions with community collaborators, including the Inuvik Interagency Committee and its members, were used to identify research needs or concerns and to lay the

groundwork for the project. Information on the breadth and scope of the problem was gathered through focus groups and one-to-one interviews with service providers and community agencies/members dealing with HtH persons (e.g., Aboriginal groups and health providers). A total of 17 HtH persons were recruited from the Inuvik Emergency Shelter and paid a $50 honorarium for completing their part in the research.

The needs of HtH persons and the gaps in services were determined through the use of focus groups and a survey instrument that measured individuals' quality of life; see *Quality of Life for Homeless and Hard-to-House Individuals (QoLHHI) Inventory* (Hubley, Russell, Gadermann, & Palepu, 2009).[1] This article presents excerpts of the focus group data, as they represent the salient issues relating to gaps in services and the potential role of nonprofit agencies in the community. The data sources include HtH persons themselves and various professional and volunteer service providers. For clarity, the service provider data is limited to focus group information and, as such, does not include individual information or organizational profiles other than reference to participants' relationship to their roles with HtH persons.

RESEARCH RESULTS

The results presented here include the demographic characteristics of HtH persons. These data are followed by the identification of themes emerging from the HtH and service provider focus groups. As indicated in Table 1, the majority of HtH participants in the study were male (14), Aboriginal (14), and separated from their wife or common-law partner (14). Although their responsibilities were not specified, the majority of participants (12) had dependants. Three participants had achieved a grade 12 diploma and three had attended college. The majority of participants (12) originated from the NWT, and eight of those from Inuvik proper. Four participants indicated having a mental disability, and four others indicated having a physical disability. At the time of their interviews, eight participants were staying at the Inuvik Emergency Shelter.

Table 1: Demographic characteristics of research participants

Sex	**Place of birth**	**Dependants**
Male 14	Inuvik 8	Yes 12
Female 3	Other NWT 6	No 5
Total 17	Out of NWT 3	**Total 17**
	Total 17	
Age		**Disability**
Range 18-74	**Education**	Physical 4
Mean 40.83	< Grade 12 11	Mental 4
	Grade 12 3	None 9
Ethnicity	Some College 3	**Total 17**
Gwich'in 5	**Total 17**	
Inuvialuit 9		**Current residence**
Other 3	**Marital status**	Shelter 8
Total 17	Married 3	Relatives 4
	Separated 14	Housed 2
	Total 17	Street 3
		Total 17

The themes emerging from the focus groups with service providers and HtH persons themselves underscored the lack of nonprofit agencies in the community and a shortage of community-based outreach services. The shortage of adequate housing in the community and the absence of transitional housing for HtH persons results in a circular pattern wherein HtH persons apply for housing, are evicted, and then wait for another chance to be housed. During this cycle, HtH persons struggle to survive day to day, staying in the shelter when possible, appealing to their friends and family for a place to stay, or causing a disturbance, which leads to their arrest and detention in the RCMP lockup.

Lack of housing

At the time of the research, services were inadequate, lacking, or incomplete for the 30 HtH persons in Inuvik**.** The local shelter holds only 16 people and does not accept persons under the influence of alcohol or illicit substances. As a result, the local RCMP lockup has become a de facto shelter, with over 2,500 admissions annually. According to service providers, homeless persons lack access to treatment and training, such as integrated employment and psychosocial/life skills programs that would provide them with opportunities to avoid homelessness. In addition, HtH persons and service providers identified supportive and/or transitional housing as an important step in helping homeless persons acquire the requisite social skills for healthy functioning. At the moment, however, Inuvik and the Beaufort Delta generally lack the help of organized nonprofit agencies. Referring to the lack of nonprofit agencies, a service provider pointed out, "I have a hard time understanding the imbalance between Yellowknife and here. I mean we don't have Salvation Army, we don't have nothing." In dealing with HtH persons in need of services, an RCMP officer observed that "once the police are called, our directions are to try to find somewhere safe for this person to go, but if there is nowhere then it's jail."

No beds, no nothing

Many HtH participants described the difficulty in finding housing, particularly that of encountering long waiting lists. In the words of one research participant:

> I decided to come up to Inuvik a year ago, and pretty much stay at the shelter all the time because I … haven't been able to get housing till recently. But prior to that I've been staying at the shelter. But I still am staying at the shelter until I get into my place. But I stayed at the shelter a little while in Whitehorse and that's about it basically. Getting housing, getting on my feet, but you use the shelter when you have to. That's what I've been doing.

Another HtH participant pointed to the complicated and often punitive nature of the shelter system.

> [T]here is an interesting thing that would be interesting to bring up for the record. I'm too poor to stay at the homeless shelter. That's right, more than likely I'm going to get kicked out of [it] November first because I don't have the cash to stay there. In order to stay at the homeless shelter you're required to go to housing [Inuvik Housing Authority, and] if you have any past debt, unless that debt is paid off, then you can't get on the housing list. If you can't get on the housing list, you're kicked out of the homeless shelter.

Whether this participant's perceptions are accurate is not certain, however, his comments echo a common sentiment—housing policies are seen as punitive. Whether or not all participants' perceptions are accurate, the portrayal of policy is only part of what is important here; those in the system have experienced these policies as forcing them into impossible situations. Indeed, the complex nature of the housing system was also observed in the focus group with the Beaufort-Delta Health and Social Services Authority. As another HtH participant commented:

> [A]nd far too many times I've made the decision that this person actually need[s] some place to stay, and says if they're drunk and they're outside there's a good chance they are going to die. And what's more important: risking this person's life or me getting evicted for the seventh or eighth time [by] my landlord, who says I told you not to let anyone in the house? So that's how I got to be homeless.

Referring to the impact of housing policies on society, an RCMP officer highlights the effects of systemic limited resources:

> If at the shelter if there's no drinking allowed either, so if you're envisioning a place like that—no drinking, no drugs—then of course they have to come to us. And they go to the library and hang out during the day, I see a lot of people hanging out there at the library, the NorthMart, they go and have fried chicken and they pass out on the chairs so they can call us and we go. There's nowhere to put them, no one wants to put up with them, but I haven't seen anybody aggressive. I haven't seen much objections from them. They know there are no other options at this point. It would be nice to have another option.

The RCMP expressed frustration over their lockup becoming the de facto shelter. As providing one of the few places where homeless people can get out of the cold and find a place to sleep, the RCMP are in a good position to view how gaps in the service system impact organizations and individuals. Speaking to filling a need where other social agencies should be involved in providing services to HtH persons, an officer said:

> It would be nice to have another option. And of course when it comes to mental illness, we know there's issues, we don't know what they are. Most of them aren't diagnosed; tell me if I'm wrong. We're not trained either in mental illnesses, which is kind of sad because we know that most of the clients that we do take care of are seniors, which is really unfortunate. But you know there are some young ones, and I'm sure there's fetal alcohol syndrome that comes into play, but we're not even trained on that either, so we do our best to deal with those people, but there's not much we can do to help. There [are] no other options. I wish there was. Yes, we'll go pick 'em up, we'll remove that person, but can we bring him somewhere safe … other than in – as sad as it is – it's a cement cell, no beds, no nothing, it's pretty sad to have to do that.

This RCMP officer points to the fundamental problem of inadequate options. Not only are there not enough beds for HtH people, many of the people the RCMP are forced to shelter require mental health and substance abuse services. Further, the poignant depiction of older people forced to sleep in cement cells gives one a sense of the despondency expressed by this officer and others who were part of the focus group. "You want to help but there's no options whatsoever."

Punitive housing policies

Both HtH persons and service providers noted that HtH participants in this study depend on the Inuvik Housing Authority, and all have at one time or another been evicted for being in arrears in rent or for unacceptable conduct. In many cases, eviction is tied to problems with addiction and/or mental health issues. Eviction for housing persons considered by the housing authority as "undesirable" also occurs, as referenced by a previous quote. The following analysis details some of the experiences of HtH persons and the observations and experiences of those who work with them. It is important to point out, however, that

participants' perceptions of housing authority policies are necessarily partial representations of complex interactions with multiple sides. Relationships between HtH persons, housing authorities, and service providers are frequently emotionally charged as a great deal is at stake.

At the time of the focus groups, the cost of housing for unemployed persons on social assistance was nominal, at $32 per month (Northwest Territories Housing Corporation, n.d.). Yet many renters are in arrears and are unable to negotiate payment with the housing authority. While eviction for non-payment is not common, being in arrears is often associated with "problem behaviour," such as housing family or friends who are banned from public housing, which does lead to eviction. Once evicted, HtH persons must reapply for housing, which means going on a waiting list. Regarding unacceptable conduct, HtH participants' stories varied as to what led to eviction, but the consequences were dire. As one participant noted, unless the arrears are dealt with, obtaining future housing is difficult: "If you got arrears with Inuvik Housing right now you're denied … [and] once you get out of housing it's hard to get back into any kind of housing." Another HtH focus group participant went so far as to say, "[L]ike I said, it is hard to get back into it once you get kicked out. They kind of put you on a blacklist …"

Eviction for unacceptable conduct is linked to causing damage, causing a disturbance, and housing others who have been evicted and banned from properties managed by the housing authority. HtH participants noted that eviction for drinking, noise, and partying was common. Depending on the level of severity, tenants are granted chances before being finally evicted. Yet in one case a HtH participant was evicted for allowing a banned individual to stay at his house during inclement weather. In his words, "[It] was minus 35 and I was in a unit and some people banged on my door and said it's minus 35 and we have no place to go. … What's more important: risking this person's life or me getting evicted …?"

Limited treatment opportunities

Alcohol abuse also figures into the eviction process. While HtH participants frequently recognized that they needed help, they reported having nowhere to turn. Service provider focus group participants confirmed the HtH participants' claim that detoxification services are not available in Inuvik, and that other community support structures are also lacking (e.g., transitional housing and counseling programs). A review of available services supports this conclusion (Beaufort-Delta Health and Social Services Authority, n.d.). One HtH participant suggested that having to leave the shelter, which closed during the day from 10:00 to 18:00, might contribute to more alcohol abuse because HtH persons had nowhere to go during the day. For other HtH participants, alcohol and other substance abuse have become both a cause and effect of being homeless—being evicted from housing or being denied entry into the shelter because they are under the influence leads them to "go get drunk."

Regarding substance abuse and treatment, one HtH participant reflected on his personal experience.

> I have a cousin, a bunch of relatives actually that are alcoholics, but when they go to treatment and when they come back and then there's no help … how can you really make something work when there's no support? You can't expect an alcoholic or an addict to just be able to keep continuing on a path of sobriety without support.

Another HtH participant identified the effects of limited services on health in Inuvik.

> I just had an issue though with the hospital and the doctor. Because I have ADHD I've been trying to take certain drugs or medications to help with it, but their side effects are depression … so I went to the doctor again. … She didn't know what to prescribe me so

> she said she would refer me to the psychiatrist, but they failed to actually put my name down and refer me to the psychiatrist. So when I called, like last week to find out when they would be coming, they said, well, he was just here and has already gone. So now I have to wait again.

When discussing the cause and consequence of homelessness, participants from the Beaufort-Delta Health and Social Services Authority made several observations. Mental health problems, particularly depression, were identified as a key issue. One participant claimed that "depression is probably a big one that leads to suicidal ideation." Another health provider participant followed up and commented that the trauma caused by attending residential school was a root problem for many HtH persons.

> [W]hen you talk about the mental illnesses, schizophrenia and bipolar, my experience in Inuvik is that there are a lot of people who are homeless because of past trauma and addictions. So the depression is, it would be—not that we can get to where it's coming from because they're in crises—but really potentially related to their current situation and their history of trauma.

Yet services for addicted HtH persons with histories of residential school trauma or mental illness are lacking, which exacerbates the housing situation, as these people are less capable of acceptable pro-social behaviour and the responsibilities associated with maintaining a residence. As one health provider participant noted:

> I see a strong correlation for many people who are homeless in terms of addiction and mental health, especially the chronic … [W]e don't have services for detox and for longer-term care, and so most of those chronic homeless people can't go without, so they will find whatever they need to feed that addiction because of their physical health … so even expecting somebody to just go move into a shelter and stay sober for six days is probably beyond the limits for some people, and so they're going to take off. As soon as the cravings hit, off they go.

DISCUSSION

The themes emerging from this research highlight the intersection of social and personal problems. There is a clear relationship between addiction and mental health problems and being homeless or HtH. The observations of participants providing services align closely with those of HtH persons themselves. Institutional support through the Beaufort-Delta Health and Social Services Authority is available, but at best can be considered triage to complex and vexing problems. While the root causes of addictions are not specified, there is a link between the trauma caused by residential school and addiction (Menzies, 2009; Quinn, 2007). Intergenerational trauma, the stripping away of Aboriginal identity through policies of forced assimilation through residential schools, and the transmission of the resulting trauma through successive generations, is an oft-cited explanation for addictions and other problems (Quinn, 2007). Whether intergenerational trauma is a factor in this case is unclear, as is the connection between residential school experiences and mental health. What is clear, however, is that a significant number of HtH persons in Inuvik require significant support to overcome their addictions and to deal with their mental health issues, but this support is not in place.

Considering the systemic shortcomings, and notwithstanding the shortage of housing, the complexity of public housing policies do little to help HtH persons navigate the processes of finding a place to live. Without community-based services to assist HtH persons in dealing with addiction and mental health issues, and

given the influence of others who may sabotage their resident status by imposing themselves in houses from which they are banned, the issue of housing may be moot. Research in rural contexts of British Columbia (Canadian Mental Health Association, n.d.) underscores the point that without some kind of personal stability and systemic support structure, the cycle of application for and eviction from housing will continue.

Local problems / Distant causes

The nature of the territorial governance structure has ensured, until recently—and it remains to be seen how devolving rights to the territory will alter these relationships—that Ottawa will have a strong hand in determining policy. The devolution of governance to the territory will ultimately leave communities more responsible for the people they govern, but these communities have little control over the forces that have negative effects on the population, particularly those already marginalized from the dominant culture. Indeed, the rise and fall of global commodities markets, the need for oil and gas, and the federal resource policy, determined by Ottawa in partnership with oil, gas, and mining companies, are forces intertwined with daily life in Inuvik. That is, local economic conditions are, at least to a large degree, determined by economic policies set by the federal government. Thus, on the one hand, despite the recent devolution of natural resources to territorial control, oil and gas extraction plays a central role in policy decisions. On the other hand, this devolution entrenches a resource hinterland status to the Beaufort-Delta, with little potential for the expansion of services to people in need.

Disposable populations

While local Aboriginal control of resources has attracted a great deal of optimism, the benefits of resource-driven economies have been at best uneven (Bell, 2013). On the one hand, there are those lucky enough to have training and to find well-paid positions in either mining or local business who benefit from economic booms. On the other hand, there are those who are left out of these benefits, due to particular life histories and/or structural dynamics that make it very difficult for them to enter into this new economy. Some of these people are survivors of residential schools, others have until fairly recently depended on land-based activities for their survival. The political economy of resource extraction, despite a great deal of optimism and the public relations done by both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal governments, has done little to address the struggles of homeless persons.

One example of a P3 (public-private partnership) from this research is the Yellowknife Drop-in Center, which is operated by the John Howard Society. Funded by a three-year grant from the resources company Broken Hill Proprietary (BHP Billiton), a storefront in downtown Yellowknife serves as a place where people who are homeless can get off the streets and have a meal. Although it closes at 18:00, the drop-in centre serves as an important meeting place and is well used. The history of this partnership is instructive. In exit interviews with its own employees, Broken Hill Proprietary human resources staff heard complaints about homeless persons in the downtown area (garbage was another complaint). It was this expression of worker frustration with the "homeless problem" that motivated the grant (Bell, 2013). However, as may be obvious, the drop-in centre does little to address the problem of housing and serves only as a stop-gap measure.

The glaring lack of nonprofit involvement in the North is highlighted by this example. Where nonprofits are involved, they are underfunded and ill equipped to handle the volume and complexity of homelessness, particularly when substance abuse and mental illness are added. However, what appears clear from this example is that corporations, in this case mining companies, are willing to become "good citizens" under particular kinds of pressure. While appeals to empathy and justice may not have an impact on corporations, in light of complaints from employees—particularly white-collar employees from the South—corporations will take action, if needed.

CONCLUSION

The untenable situation of homelessness in the North requires coordinated efforts from communities, governments, and nonprofit organizations. Given the benefits derived from resource extraction, industry too has a role to play. This oft-repeated call is made knowing that this research follows the work of others, on the front lines and within government; yet this call needs repeating, given the continued neglect of northern homelessness. As Bell (2013) writes: "Northern rural poverty amidst resource wealth is not simply a problem for those whose lives are shaped by such conditions: it is a problem for Canada itself" (p. 186).

Whether the result of government, market, or philanthropic failure (Salamon, 1987), or a combination of all three, the inability to provide adequate housing and addiction and mental health services, and the absence of nonprofit agencies in Inuvik, is stark considering the need. Not surprisingly, the lack of community-based and nonprofit service provision is considered by the Inuvik Interagency Committee to be a critical gap requiring amelioration. Interestingly, at a time of increased need, with the exception of the aforementioned emergency services and a few activities in local churches, the nonprofit sector is largely invisible in Inuvik. Hall and Reed (1998) have observed that a significant feature of the neoliberal agenda was to offload services that were once considered the domain of government to the private, nonprofit sector. However, adequate resources to carry out the burden of service delivery, let alone increase the number or level of service delivery options, did not accompany the added responsibility associated with this offloading.

In a territory that boasts the highest per capita income in Canada (Wilson, 2009), the problems plaguing Inuvik, and indeed much of the North, are unacceptable. A realistic first step forward is to adopt a *housing first* approach (Waegmakers Schiff & Rook, 2012). This approach advances that shelter is essential to address chronic issues such as addictions and mental health. While acceptable behaviour is expected, abstinence from substances is not assumed. Providing adequate support and resources have proven beneficial in terms of improved health and reductions in substance abuse in both urban and rural settings (Waegmakers Schiff & Rook, 2012). Ironically, the costs of housing first are significantly less than not doing anything, as Canadian taxpayers spend upward of $6 billion annually to cover the costs associated with healthcare, criminal justice, social services, and emergency shelters (Laird, 2007). Even more ironic is the fact that nonprofit agencies working in northern communities, such as the Salvation Army's shelter in Whitehorse, face a daily struggle to survive (Laird, 2007).

In addition to market and government failure to meet community needs, we posit that the nonprofit sector has also failed by not acknowledging or acting on the need for housing and addictions and mental health services in the community. However, recognizing nonprofit failure in the northern context is not a criticism of agencies or personnel, but a critique of neoliberal politics and their negative effects on the provision of services of which nonprofit agencies are but a part. In essence, the apparent social engineering aspect of the neoliberal agenda is a poor fit in northern communities. Indeed, whether this agenda benefits other communities, generally, is debatable (Hackworth & Moriah, 2006; Harvey, 2005; McBride & McNutt, 2007). Thus we are faced with a political and moral challenge, rather than solely one that will be solved with more research, data, and reports. In fact, the Homeless Hub, a repository for research on homelessness and related issues in Canada and the United States, contains more than enough evidence to suggest that housing first approaches improve the overall quality of life for homeless and HtH persons while reducing the expense to society in terms of social services and healthcare (Atherton & McNaughton Nicholls, 2008; Waegmakers Schiff & Rook, 2012). Thus, maintaining the status quo is ineffective, costly, and damaging to individuals and communities.

The fundamental question is to what extent we are able to harness the resources available to care for vulnerable populations, for those who temporarily, as is frequently the case, cannot care for themselves. This research has shown that, at the local level, there is a great deal of community concern and energy being devoted to HtH persons with mental illness and substance abuse problems, but these people have difficulty accessing services when needed. Front-line workers must be supported through increased funding and coordinated efforts on behalf of the business community and local, territorial, and federal governments.

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NOTE

1. Discussion and analysis of the QoLHHI data will appear in a report submitted to HRSDC and possibly in another article.

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ABOUT THE AUTHORS / LES AUTEURS

Michael G. Young is Associate Professor in the BA in Justice Studies program with the School of Humanitarian Studies, Royal Roads University, Victoria, BC, Canada. Email: michael.young@royalroads.ca .

Joshua M. Moses is Visiting Assistant Professor with the Department of Anthropology at Haverford College, Haverford, PA, U.S. Email: jmoses@haverford.edu .

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Program Evaluation and Impact Assessment in International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGOs): Exploring Roles, Benefits, and Challenges

Stan Yu
University of Saskatchewan

Darrell Arthur McLaughlin
St. Thomas More College, University of Saskatchewan

ABSTRACT

In the twenty-first century, the call for International Non-governmental Organizations (INGOs) to demonstrate their effectiveness has become popularized. This has given rise to scholarly attention examining the roles of program evaluation and impact assessment in assisting INGOs in demonstrating their effectiveness. While previous studies suggest that INGOs actively conduct program evaluation and impact assessment, this article explores the perspectives of two Canadian INGOs on how they understand, use, and experience evaluation and assessment as it relates to their work. Our study uncovers three continuing challenges: evaluation and assessment are largely descriptive and lack more sophisticated analyses; efforts to conduct evaluation and assessment are consolidated within organizations' head offices, while staff members and volunteers are largely excluded; and evaluation and assessment remain rooted in the paradigm of quantifiable results, which do not truly reflect the nature of work being conducted on the ground.

RÉSUMÉ

Au vingt-et-unième siècle, on veut de plus en plus que les organisations non gouvernementales internationales (ONGI) démontrent leur efficacité. Ce désir a motivé les chercheurs à se pencher sur les évaluations de programme et les études d'impact pour voir dans quelle mesure celles-ci peuvent aider les ONGI à montrer qu'elles sont efficaces. Des études antérieures suggèrent que les ONGI mènent de manière concertée des évaluations de programme et des études d'impact. Cet article explore comment aujourd'hui deux ONGI canadiens comprennent, utilisent et vivent l'évaluation et la mesure de leur travail. Notre étude relève trois défis actuels : l'évaluation et la mesure tendent à être descriptives sans offrir d'analyses plus poussées; ce sont les sièges sociaux des organismes qui gèrent l'évaluation et la mesure en excluant ainsi bon nombre de fonctionnaires et volontaires; l'évaluation et la mesure se limitent au paradigme des résultats mesurables et par conséquent elles ne reflètent pas nécessairement le véritable travail mené sur le terrain.

Keywords / Mots clés : Non-governmental Organizations; Program evaluation; Impact assessment; Effectiveness; Qualitative research; International development / Organisation non gouvernementale internationale; Évaluation de programme; Étude d'impact; Efficacité; Recherche empirique; Développement international

INTRODUCTION

Since the late 20th Century, the call for International Non-governmental Organizations (INGOs) to demonstrate their effectiveness has become increasingly popularized (Abdel-Kader & Wadongo, 2011; Ebrahim & Rangan, 2010; Lecy, Schmitz, & Swedlund, 2011; Morley, Vinson, & Hatry, 2001; Moxham, 2009; Spar & Dail, 2002). This position is epitomized by Fisher (1997) who explains that in the 21st Century, the untainted image of INGOs as "doing good" to provide the world with "the service of a social need neglected by the politics of the State and the greed of the market," was suddenly met with the sobering reality that after thirty years of increased numbers, budgets, and responsibilities, INGOs had yet to show the world any substantial change (Atack, 1999). Edwards and Hulme (1996) further argue that the ascription of INGOs as the "magic bullet" for solving global issues often carries very little evidence to support it. For INGOs, this need to demonstrate effectiveness is intimately linked to parallel discussions of accountability and legitimacy, both of which have also been challenged by politicians, academics, the media, and the public alike (Atack, 1999; Gibelman & Gelman, 2004; Harsh, Mbatia, & Shrum, 2010; Nicolau & Simaens, 2009).

The prominence of these debates has given rise to a stream of scholarly attention examining the roles of program evaluation and impact assessment within INGO work (Alaimo, 2008; Bouchard, 2009; Campbell, 2002; Ebrahim & Rangan, 2010; Moxham, 2009). For these scholars, the focus placed on the role of program evaluation and impact assessment comes with both promise and concern. On the one hand, the use of program evaluation and/or impact assessment offers a critical tool for INGOs to respond to the challenges of effectiveness by providing empirical evidence of their impact with some degree of academic standard, rigour, and objectivity, while also cultivating organizational learning and best practices within INGOs themselves (Alaimo, 2008; Campbell, 2002; Edwards, 1997; Travers, 2011). On the other hand, some suggest that program evaluation and impact assessment contribute to furthering the neoliberal "new public management" (NPM) model, or the increasing adoption of business management principles, such as efficiency, competition, entrepreneurship, consumer-driven, and a focus on measuring performance and outcomes in the nonprofit sector (Kilby, 2004; Sarker, 2005).

Despite the substantial scholarly attention that has been placed on the roles of program evaluation and impact assessment in INGOs, many areas of discussion remain in need of further examination, including how to define, operationalize, and measure indicators that accurately capture INGO performance and impact; identifying suitable measurement systems for the work of INGOs; standardizing the social indicators of effectiveness for INGOs across diverse fields of nonprofit work and resolving whether that is even a worthy goal to strive for; and determining to what extent program evaluation and/or impact assessment are being conducted within INGOs (Abdel-Kader & Wadongo, 2011; Bouchard, 2009; Lecy, Schmitz, & Swedlund, 2011). We argue that the final topic of discussion is of fundamental importance as it establishes a foundation through which the other discussions can occur. Specifically, we suggest that questions of capacity and capability for conducting program evaluation and impact assessment, as well as what role(s) findings and results play after conducting program evaluation and impact assessment within INGOs, need to be more closely examined. While the literature has described the ideal role that program evaluation and impact assessment should play within INGO work, our interest lies in how that ideal compares to how INGOs actually understand and use program evaluation and impact assessment on the ground.

This article contributes to addressing this question. Specifically, this article explores the perspectives of two Canadian INGOs working in international development, and how their staff members and volunteers understand and experience program evaluation and impact assessment as it relates to their work. More specifically, we ask questions such as: Are program evaluation and/or impact assessment being conducted within the two organizations? Who is primarily responsible for conducting these evaluations and/or assessments? What role does program evaluation and/or impact assessment play within the organization? How are findings and results reported and disseminated to internal and external audiences? How are findings used within existing programs and interventions within the organization?

In turn, this article is made up of three main sections. First, a review of the current literature on program evaluation and impact assessment in INGO work is presented, underscoring the benefits and challenges of conducting evaluation and assessment in INGO work. As well, we report on findings from previous studies that have investigated the extent to which INGOs are actively conducting evaluation and assessment. Second, the methodological procedures of this study are described and a profile of the two participating organizations is provided. Finally, the findings of the study are reported, their implications for the literature are discussed, and recommendations for future studies in this area are detailed.

PROGRAM EVALUATION AND IMPACT ASSESSMENT IN INGO WORK

While there exists an intimate linkage and a significant degree of overlap between the concepts of program evaluation and impact assessment, there are also fundamental differences between the two terms, warranting each to be a unique and exclusive term within the wider INGO scholarship. First, program evaluation can be defined as a systematic process of collecting information and applying approaches, techniques, and knowledge to analyze, research, and assess the activities, characteristics, and outcomes of a program(s) to document its accomplishments and to improve the planning, implementation, and effectiveness of these programs (Alaimo, 2008; Perret, 2009). In INGO work, program evaluation can be conducted before, during, or after the implementation of a program or intervention (Bouchard, 2009; Campos, Andion, Serva, Rossetto, & Assumpção, 2010).

Meanwhile, impact assessment can be defined as the systematic process of analyzing significant changes, whether positive or negative, intended or unintended, as a result of a particular planned activity, program, intervention, or project, on people's lives (Dawson, 2010; Gosling & Edwards, 2003; Lockie, 2001; Moxham, 2009). Impact assessment should not be treated as mutually exclusive from program evaluation, but rather as an accession of program evaluation that focuses on the longer-term and wider-ranging changes beyond the immediate results of INGO work (Gosling & Edwards, 2003). In other words, impact assessment takes the central focus away from the program or intervention itself and examines the implications and effects of those programs on the recipients of those programs. At its most fundamental level, impact assessment is about understanding change and the key processes that led to that change (Gosling & Edwards, 2003).

The use of program evaluation and impact assessment serves to benefit INGO operations on multiple levels. First, at the programmatic level, the findings from program evaluation and impact assessment can be used by directors, managers, staff, and volunteers to assess the process, quality, efficiency, and productivity of their programs, which will inform future ground-level decisions within those programs and work toward cultivating best practices (Alaimo, 2008; Bouchard, 2009; Gosling & Edwards, 2003; Nicolau & Simaens, 2009). Second, at the organizational level, members in leadership roles at INGOs can utilize the findings to disseminate and communicate the progress of individual projects or of the organization as a whole to their

stakeholders for strategic planning and decision-making processes (Alaimo, 2008). Finally, at the societal level, INGOs can utilize the findings as evidence to contribute to the larger discussion of their effectiveness on the alleviation or minimization of the social problems they set out to address (Alaimo, 2008; Ebrahim & Rangan, 2010; Nicolau & Simaens, 2009).

While the use of program evaluation and impact assessment has been promoted within the literature as having the potential to support and further the work of INGOs, a plethora of challenges and barriers have also been documented. First, unlike for-profit organizations where success is ultimately determined by increased revenue or shareholder value, any bottom line success measures pertaining to nonprofit work (e.g., providing clean water, or improving conditions in aspects of health, economic structures, education, quality of life, etc.) pose a more difficult challenge for efforts to conduct program evaluation and / or impact assessment (Edwards & Hulme, 1996; Spar & Dail, 2002; Walsh & Lenihan, 2006).

Second, INGOs work in natural, open, unstable, and complex systems, which are subject to rapid change from the external environment (Edwards & Hulme, 1996; Fowler, 1997). This means that any observed impact is likely to be attributed to multiple factors and actors, rather than solely through the efforts of INGOs (Ebrahim & Rangan, 2010; Fowler, 1996). Third, there are institutional barriers that hamper the development of a strong focus on conducting program evaluation and/or impact assessment within INGOs, such as the internal culture of INGOs that values action more than reflection, the limitations of the instruments and expertise INGOs use to evaluate their own programs, the lack of financial flexibility to hire a specialist in the area of evaluation and assessment, and the fact that rigorous evaluation and assessment are simply not required by some funders (Barber & Bowie, 2008; Campbell, 2002; Edwards & Hulme, 1996; Fowler, 1997; Lecy, Schmitz, & Swedlund, 2011).

Lastly, some scholars question whether the emphasis on program evaluation and impact assessment within the work of INGOs is merely another symptom of donor-centric accountability within the aforementioned "new performance management" (NPM) model (Abdel-Kader & Wadongo, 2011; Agg, 2006; Brown & Moore, 2001; Serva, Andion, Campos, & Onozato, 2009). More specifically, these scholars assert that INGOs are experiencing an increasing financial dependence on funding from short-term project-based "grants" from governments and foundations, such as the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and the Department for International Development (DFID) in the United Kingdom (Agg, 2006; Nicolau & Simaens, 2009; Szporluk, 2009). Thus, INGOs accepting a grant from CIDA or DFID will be confined to operate within restricted activities as specified by the donor's grant (Agg, 2006; Parks, 2008). Catherine Agg (2006) cites the example of DFID where, in order for INGOs to receive a partnership grant, they "have to prove that they contribute to the UK government's own 'targets and priorities'" (p. 19). In addition, these grants exert pressure on INGOs to abandon long-term projects in international development and reframe them into more short-term and measureable projects in order to fit within the NPM framework (Brown & Moore, 2001; Nicolau & Simaens, 2009; Smith, 2008; Szporluk, 2009). The effect of this current model of funding on the quality of international development work continues to be a topic of discussion within the literature (Agg, 2006).

A final topic of interest within the literature is how common is conducting program evaluation and impact assessment within INGOs. Recent studies suggest that INGOs are actively conducting program evaluation and/or impact assessment within their work. In a nationwide survey of 162 Canadian INGOs focused on international development, Travers (2011) found that 62 of 69 (90%) responding organizations conducted program evaluation as part of their work. Morley, Vinson, and Hatry (2001) further reported that 83% of 36 nonprofit organizations regularly collected, tabulated, and examined data as part of their work. In 2010, Campos et al. similarly found that 87% (54 of 62 Brazilian NGOs) perform program evaluation.

METHODOLOGY

While previous findings have established that a large proportion of INGOs conduct some form of evaluation and assessment, it is our position that what is missing within the existing literature are the perspectives and experiences of conducting program evaluation and impact assessment from the INGOs themselves. In response, this study sets to uncover the voices of INGOs and those working within INGOs in how they understand and experience the notion of conducting program evaluation and/or impact assessment within their own work. Of interest in this study were questions that inquired as to who conducted program evaluation for their organization, what purpose(s) do the results of program evaluation serve, what are successes and/or barriers to conducting evaluation and assessment, and how are results disseminated to stakeholders, both internally and externally.

The two participating organizations for this research were selected on the basis of comparability. First, both organizations are working in the field of international developmental, which can be defined as, engaging with economically disadvantaged regions in the world to empower people towards greater quality of life for humans and to address causes of poverty (University of Oxford, 2012). Second, both organizations currently have multiple operating chapters across Canada. Third, both organizations have comparable organizational capacities, budget, and membership.

Two different qualitative methods were utilized. First, the study examined the research questions at the organizational level. The data collected were comprised of publicly available annual reports, organizational documents, media releases, and official publications from the two participating INGOs released from 2005–2011. Any related documents published from third party sources were not included, as the project's intent was to capture the perspective from the organizations themselves.

In turn, content analysis was selected as the qualitative method used to analyze this data. Content analysis is a systematic process of classification coding, identifying themes or patterns from the identified codes, and creating an interpretation through the basis of these themes or patterns (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). Content analysis is useful for this purpose as it can reveal either overt or subtle themes and characteristics of the text, which may be difficult to detect with casual observation (Neuman, 2004).

Second, qualitative interviews were conducted with directors, staff members, and volunteers to gauge their views, opinions, and experiences as it pertained to the research questions (n = 10). Qualitative interviewing provides inherent emphasis on depth, nuance, complexity, and roundedness in the data, as well as treating knowledge as situated and contextual (Mason, 2004). This helps the researcher in gaining a richer and more complex understanding of the participants' experiences and the social environment through those experiences (Keats, 2009). In organizational research, qualitative interviewing can facilitate an understanding of the perceptions, knowledge, and actions within an organizational setting which are often either directly and/or indirectly shaped through organizational structure, activities, processes, constraints, and existing social relations within (Campbell & Gregor, 2002).

The incorporation of these two qualitative methods within the research project further created the opportunity for triangulation. This is an important strategy often used as an effective means to offset the inherent biases in respective methods (Vitale, Armenakis & Field, 2008). Furthermore, these two methodologies offered two separate, yet interrelated levels of analyses.

The two sources of data collected were analyzed via NVivo 8. Analysis of the content was based on a careful and systematic observation driven by the rules denoted by the coding scheme. This study utilized a two-step deductive and inductive process of coding where nodes reflective of the research questions were created and any data that was relevant to any of the previously created nodes was coded. However, Miles and Huberman (1994) further explain that, as with all research projects, nodes often will change, develop and mold to the data that has been obtained. On the one hand, some nodes will not work and will end up decaying during the analysis process; on the other hand, other nodes will flourish and create the need to subcategorize existing nodes or develop new ones. Thus, a second inductive coding process was conducted where themes emerging from the data were coded into either newly created or supplemental nodes. Conceptual saturation was reached when no new categories could be generated from the data and existing codes have already been encapsulated into one or more of the created nodes (Kendall, 1999). This constituted the first iteration of the coding process.

The second iteration of the coding process involved clustering nodes together. The clustered nodes were then examined for their relationships to each other, elucidating the nature of those relationships. Finally, the findings were used to revisit the discussion within the literature to provide validation or corroboration to existing scholarship and to point out differences or gaps in current understandings of the phenomena (Kendall, 1999).

Due to the ethical considerations of the study, the identities of the participating organizations will be kept confidential in the findings of this study and the organizations will be distinguished by pseudonyms ("Organization A" and "Organization B") and a general descriptive profile of the two participating organizations, their goals and the activities in which they engage.

Organization A is a development organization with religious origins, and its primary mandate is to support local NGOs working in the Global South, or "Partners" that promote and work toward alternatives to unfair social, political, and economic structures. Organization A is currently working in twenty-two countries in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East. Organization A clusters their activities into five main categories: working with Partners to provide emergency humanitarian relief; developing and implementing longer term international developmental programs with Partners to improve the quality of life for those living in the Global South; building capacity and strengthening civil society in countries they work in; fundraising within Churches across Canada to support the organization and its Partners; and, launching campaigns to raise awareness, education, advocacy, and action in Canada.

Organization B is a fair trade organization, also with religious origins, with the aim to create economic opportunities for the most disadvantaged individuals, such as women and the disabled, in the Global South, as a strategy for poverty alleviation and development. In essence, fair trade constitutes an agreement between the trader and producer with the promise that the costs of production will be encompassed within the payment producers receive, enabling them to profit beyond covering the existing costs and providing fair payment to their labourers during the process. Organization B purchases traditional and cultural artistic products, made by producers or "Artisans" from South Asia, Southeast Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America and the Caribbean, and then markets and sells fair trade products via a network of branded retail stores across North America.

In addition to selling Fair Trade products, Organization B staff members and volunteers focus on providing education and awareness on how producers in the South are systemically disadvantaged within the

globalized free trade system and that fair trade presents an option to counteract that systemic impoverishment, in an effort to foster a culture whereby Fair Trade becomes increasingly part of the everyday culture in the North. Organization B also works with Southern umbrella NGOs that oversee the economic wellbeing of Artisans and provide them with holistic forms of support, such as childcare, medical services, training initiatives, and microloans to foster the process of developing independence and self-sufficiency.

FINDINGS

Descriptive and summative reporting of impact

The findings in this study largely reiterate the existing literature in that program evaluation and impact assessment are being actively conducted. In particular, results from programs and the changes coming as a result of programs implemented in the South were generally documented in both organizations' annual reports and media releases. For instance, in Organization A, the following illustrates the results of a project led by their Partner in Madagascar:

> [The] … project, which focused on increasing rice production in the Vatovavy Fitovinany region, has changed the lives of 1,000 rice-farming families. By being shown how to use carefully selected seeds and organic fertilizers, these families saw their production rise by 50 percent in 2009. As a result, they are no longer living in constant fear of hunger. (Organization A document, 2011)

Likewise, Organization B also documented the outcomes of programs implemented in areas of Punjab, Pakistan:

> [This Partner] includes more than 820 families in 100 villages … [sales] have enabled them to build and staff schools and to support a variety of village initiatives. There are now 1500 students in classes, over half of whom are girls. This is a marked achievement since the literacy rate for women in Pakistan is only 37% and substantially lower than that for women who live in villages. (Organization B document, 2011)

These two examples are representative of the type of reporting found in the annual reports, foundational documents, and media releases of both organizations. Based on the statistics and context provided within these reports, it can be deduced that some form of systematic data collection and assessment of impact on their initiatives exists within both organizations.

On the other hand, this type of reporting also raises questions of academic significance and rigour. As illustrated above, both organizations documented the results of their programs in a mostly short, descriptive, and anecdotal manner, which lacks the true breadth and depth of the knowledge accumulated. For instance, while both organizations presented statistics in their reports, questions of significance, whether confounding factors were taken into account in the analyses, and the relative effect size of their intervention were left unaddressed. Furthermore, these reports rarely presented the voices of Partners and of the local communities on the impact or lack of impact of the organizations' programs and interventions. Understandably, these thorough analyses would be more suitably placed in lengthier reports as opposed to annual reports and media releases, which are intended for smaller and quicker packets of information. However, these lengthier reports were absent for examination on both organizations' websites.

Program evaluation and impact assessment are being conducted primarily by head office rather than the entire organization.

At the ground level, it was found that directors, staff members, and volunteers of both organizations were all found to be familiar with the notion of conducting program evaluation and impact assessment. However, what was further uncovered was a gap in knowledge between those who worked in the national head offices of the organizations, and staff members and volunteers working at the local level.

Extensive knowledge was found amongst those working in the national head offices. In particular, one director described in detail their process of monitoring and assessment:

> So, let's say … in Colombia … over the next five years, we help thirty-thousand families of Native people to settle down in their own land, in non-conflict areas of the country. And we implement that project together with [a Partner], every three months and every year (in a more formal way), those organizations report back to us what they have been doing and we can monitor whether or not the target…is being achieved or not. (Organization A director, February 28, 2011, Interview)

From this passage, it can be seen that the progress of work on the ground and information toward evaluation and assessment is actively collected and communicated between Organization A and its Partners. This director further explicated that:

> [We] have hundreds of pages of results in different countries in terms of empowering the organization, in terms of bringing about significant change in the life…particularly of women and children in many countries, in terms of peace building and reconciliation in Afghanistan, in Iraq, in Colombia, in the Congo…many, many achievements. No, there is no doubt…depending on how much you want to spend on this and how much deeper you want to go. (Organization A director, February 28, 2011, Interview)

Once again, this statement reinforces the view that bountiful data, analyses, and results on their programs and their impact do exist within the organization.

However, staff members and volunteers were not active participants in the process of conducting program evaluation and impact assessment. When asked, one staff member from Organization A responded that, "Well, that's not [my] responsibility. That is definitely [part of national head office]…[that's] their job" (Organization A staff member, February 14, 2011 Interview). This passage suggests that staff members and volunteers working in the North do not appear to be involved in the process of evaluating or assessing their organization's activities carried out the in the Global South; rather, this is the responsibility of a select few working within the national head office.

Even for activities conducted in the Global North, staff members and volunteers were only marginally involved with the process of evaluating or accessing their organization's work. One volunteer leader described their experience with data collection after a campaign:

> After each campaign … I receive a survey from national head office asking me to report back on the experience of the [awareness] campaign or the [fundraising] campaign, which is then sent back and compiled … [the] difficulty with that, to be honest, is that sometimes I don't have all the information from all of my … [volunteers] to get a really detailed report to

> be able to send back to them, right? I'm not asking for my … [volunteers] to report to me the same way that they're asking me to report to them, so I'm really basing on anecdotal evidence rather than getting a fairly detailed…so, what they get from me is … kind of a general sense. (Organization A volunteer leader, March 11, 2011, Interview)

This passage suggests a disconnect between the need to assess the programs of Organization A, and the lack of communication and training provided to staff members and volunteers to be active participants in the evaluation and assessment process when it is expected. As the volunteer leader from Organization A articulated, there appears to be a lack of emphasis placed on the importance of evaluation and assessment amongst staff members and volunteers working on the ground. Consequently, volunteers likely have not been educated and trained to collect data during campaigns. Subsequently, this created the need to collect retrospective data, which is much less systematic and more likely to be anecdotal.

In addition to staff members and volunteers not being involved in the program evaluation and impact assessment process, it was further found that both organizations do not widely disseminate the results of their program evaluation and impact assessment back to their staff members and volunteers. When asked if it was common to receive updates from the Partners in the Global South or whether it would be up to the national head office to disseminate updates on the ground, one volunteer replied:

> [It's] really focused through the [rollout of the] campaigns. It's really during those times that you would be getting those updates. Otherwise, you really do need to look for it on the web because they're all on there … it's all on the website, what our partners are up to, but you kind of have to go digging for it. It comes to us from national office during the [campaign] season. (Organization A volunteer leader, March 11, 2011, Interview)

This suggests that other than the periods where staff members and volunteers execute a campaign focused on creating awareness and action in the North, there appears to be a general lack of awareness on the happenings on the ground amongst staff members and volunteers in Organization A, besides those actively engaged with their Partners within the national head office. The challenge may exist in the lack of mechanisms to disseminate knowledge throughout the organization and their consolidation within a segment of the organization.

The continuing challenge to quantify results

Finally, staff members and volunteers of both organizations articulated that a primary challenge to conducting evaluation and assessment within their respective organizations continues to be the emphasis placed on presenting the impact of their work as quantifiable outcomes. According to one volunteer, the challenge is that:

> [It] is like an audit, right? But, in human development, you can't always do that … [we're] not building so many schools. We're not building roads. So, it's hard to say because of the work we've done with this women's cooperative, this many women now can read or are now able to stand up for themselves and then educate their children or deal with spouses who are … you know, there are all sorts of…you can't measure that and that's where we're really struggling because then again, more of your energy goes into how you're going to measure your results rather than actually how you're going to get results which you may not necessarily know at the beginning. (Organization A volunteer, June 23, 2011, Interview)

This common barrier is also echoed by staff and volunteers in Organization B, where one staff member commented that:

> [Another NGO] can say, "We've build this many houses in Canada this year." And for most people love the fact that it's tangible, but it's a lot harder to say, "We've helped a woman who's left a battered situation, move into where she's now working and taking care of her family," because the measurements are not as obvious. They're must slower … much longer process. (Organization B staff member, March 2011, Interview)

We suggest that both are eliciting parallel sentiments that the overreliance on quantitative measures leaves out the importance of the process of development work and the reactive and unpredictable elements that emerge. It is this type of unpredictable process that can lead to the more accurately articulated impact of development work. As the aforementioned Organization A volunteer describes, "The things where you may have started off here and gone this direction, and that it ends up going this way which, in the end, is wonderful, and it means so much more, but it's not what you said you were going to do. So, therefore, have you accomplished your goals?" (Organization A volunteer, June 23, 2011, Interview). This question is a crucial one for the work Organization B engages in. For instance, one commonly identified unintended impact of their work are Partners from diverse groups working together for the goals of fair trade in the Global South. One staff member describes this phenomenon of Christians, Hindus, and Muslims "working side-by-side and they were … they were happy. They were laughing and talking. They knew … I think, where their next meal was going to come from. They knew their children were in school" (Organization B staff member, April 6, 2011, Interview). Thus, the question remains: how would one organization properly measure that as an impact of their work?

Consequently, the concentration of reporting impacts using quantifiable measures remains an identified barrier for organizations when conducting evaluation and assessment. Specifically, the fixation on quantifiable measures leaves little room for using qualitative or formative data to report impact. This barrier becomes even more taxing when reporting impacts using quantifiable measures is a requirement for funding opportunities.

DISCUSSION

This study aimed to contribute to an increasingly pertinent discussion on the role of program evaluation and impact assessment within International Non-governmental Organizations (INGO) work. In turn, this study found that Organizations A and B are both actively conducting some form of program evaluation and impact assessment, which largely corroborates with the findings from previous studies (Campos et al., 2010; Morley, Vinson & Hatry, 2001; Travers, 2011). It was further found that members of both organizations were well aware of the need to demonstrate the effectiveness of INGO work and generally saw the use of program evaluation and impact assessment as being a positive tool to address this need. However, this study revealed that evaluation and assessment within these two organizations continued to be hindered with three challenges.

First, this study found that the results of the evaluation and assessment in Organizations A and B were reported through short descriptive and summative pieces in their organizational documents, annual reports, and media publications. The data, as presented in this manner, leave gaps in the knowledge communicated. More specifically, questions relating to academic rigour, such as methodology, significance, effect size, and replicability, are left unanswered. Understandably, the intended audiences of these documents are likely

members and supporters of the organization, as well as the general public; and the primary goal of these documents is to provide these audiences with succinct information on the activities and successes of the organization. Therefore, the addition of too much academic language may actually work to disengage the intended audience. However, this concern could potentially be overcome by the use of a two-pronged approach to reporting that includes an executive summary and a full report. Here, the executive summary can continue to serve the purpose of providing more general audiences with succinct information. Meanwhile, readers interested in the comprehensive evaluation and/or assessment framework can access the full report. By publishing and disseminating more sophisticated analyses, the knowledge base in the field of program evaluation and impact assessment within the nonprofit sector can continue to accumulate and strengthen. Furthermore, it can provide evidence to support INGOs' claims of impact and contribute to the overarching discussion on INGO effectiveness. As aforementioned, these reports may exist; however, they were not publicly accessible, which remains a limitation.

Alternatively, this finding may be an indication that there is a lack of expertise in conducting more sophisticated analyses within both organizations. As Travers (2011) previously found, the vast majority of INGOs in Canada used their own staff and/or interns and volunteers to conduct program evaluation and impact assessment. While both Travers (2011) and Dawson (2010) document that having internal staff members conduct evaluation and assessment, rather than external consultants, generates more autonomy, comfort, and trust within the INGO, the level of experience and expertise held by the staff member/intern/volunteer responsible for conducting evaluation and assessment remains unclear. Alaimo (2008) recommends that having a dedicated staff member with a background in program evaluation and impact assessment would be the ideal scenario; however, this is ultimately contingent upon whether organizations are able to successfully advocate for a position focused exclusively on evaluation and assessment to be part of the budget, which had been previously identified by the existing literature as a continuing challenge for INGOs.

Second, it was found that evaluation and assessment were primarily conducted within the national head offices of both Organization A and B, and that local staff members and volunteers were only marginally involved in the data collection process. In addition, it was revealed that the results of Organization A and B's evaluation and assessment of programs conducted in the Global South were not regularly communicated back to staff members and volunteers working in the North. When asked, a majority of staff members and volunteers working in the North stated that they were not involved in the dissemination process and thus did not feel they could confidently speak to questions pertaining to their perceptions of the impact of their organization's programs and interventions in the South.

One possible explanation for these findings is that the organizations' national head offices decided not to add to the already overburdened workload of local staff members and volunteers (the cases of both Organization A and B would support this). Among Organization A participants in the study, one local staff member was responsible for a province-wide jurisdiction, while the others were all volunteers who dedicated their time on top of their professional and personal responsibilities. Meanwhile, Organization B staff members consisted of store managers who worked between three-quarters to full-time in their role while the rest of the store was staffed by volunteers. In regards to conducting program evaluation and impact assessment, this raises concerns of time commitment and continuity for part-time volunteers, and too much additional workload for the small proportion of staff members in the local context.

On the other hand, improved efforts to educate staff members and volunteers in the evaluation and assessment process could be a possible solution. As underscored within the literature, program evaluation

and impact assessment are most effective when integrated into the organization's day-to-day operations and culture on the ground (Alaimo, 2008; Dawson, 2010). Dawson (2010) adds that staff members and volunteers need to be aware of purposes and procedures of the evaluation and assessment process in order for them to become active contributors to the process. We propose that a good starting point would be increased knowledge dissemination at the local level. By regularly communicating the findings and results of the organization's programs and interventions, INGOs begin to foster a culture of organizational learning based on the evidence collected on the ground (Edwards, 1997). Consequently, this can help staff members and volunteers begin the process of structured learning from experience, so that they are able to connect information and experience and turn it into knowledge and action (Edwards, 1997). As staff members and volunteers begin to understand and see the value of evaluation and assessment, they will be more likely to contribute to the process.

Finally, staff members and volunteers from both organizations echoed the difficulty in compartmentalizing the results of their work into finite and quantifiable indicators. Staff members and volunteers from both organizations echoed similar sentiments in articulating that their work in international development is not just "building this many number of houses" (Organization B volunteer, March 3, 2011, Interview). What is missing is the inclusion of reflective elements pertaining to change and meaningfully reporting on the process of change, which often does not operate in a linear and quantitative manner.

The pressure for this type of reporting can be largely attributed to the need for being accountable to donors and the guidelines set forth by the NPM model, which has been prominently cited within wider scholarship (Agg, 2006; Nicolau & Simaens, 2009; Smith, 2008; Szporluk, 2009). While completely changing the NPM paradigm does not appear likely in the near future, there are strategies INGOs can utilize to work within the existing context. Specifically, INGO leadership can inform their staff members and volunteers of the funding application process and the parameters of what is required to report in regards to the impact of their programs. Once again, through increased knowledge dissemination of the evaluation and assessment process within the organization, this opens the door for possibilities and opportunities for increased staff and volunteer assistance in this area of work within the organization. For instance, they can be involved in the planning and design of evaluation and assessment to better or more innovatively represent the impact of their work, while still adhering to the parameters of reporting. In addition, leadership, and staff members and volunteers, can begin to work together to find opportunities for incorporating evaluation and assessment into their organization's fabric, either in terms of day-to-day activities or a commitment to building capacity to conduct evaluation and assessment within the organization. Ultimately, this again leads to a shift in organizational culture.

Admittedly, by proposing increased staff member and volunteer involvement in adopting responsibilities related to conducting program evaluation and assessment, we reignite the issue of overburdened workloads. According to Dawson (2010), it is crucial to keep the evaluation and assessment process as simple and practical as possible to take up less staff time. We interpret this recommendation to convey the message that any program evaluation and/or impact assessment strategy must be designed in a manner that is simple to execute throughout the entire organization, while still effectively obtaining the necessary data in a systematic manner. A comprehensive organization-wide evaluation and assessment strategy, however, recrudesces the challenge of seeking expertise focused exclusively on program evaluation and impact assessment within INGO work. Without obtaining expertise in this specialized area, INGOs may continue to find themselves wrestling to find the right balance between conducting an ideal evaluation and assessment vis-à-vis a practical one.

CONCLUSION

In the twenty-first century, the discussion on the use of program evaluation and impact assessment to assist INGOs in documenting and demonstrating their effectiveness has emerged to become one of increasing importance in shaping the future of INGOs. This study found that while program evaluation and impact assessment are already being actively conducted within INGOs, there remains a gap between what has been recommended within the existing literature and the reality of those practices on the ground. Largely, the challenges faced by the two participating organizations in this study echo what has been documented in the existing scholarship. While we suggest that developing an organizational culture where program evaluation and assessment permeates all levels of the organization can increase understanding, buy-in, and participation amongst staff members and volunteers on the ground to better improve processes of data collection, the challenge of being able to design an ideal evaluation and assessment strategy will likely require INGOs to invest in some sort of expertise in the area of evaluation and assessment. Further exploring the value added by program evaluation and impact assessment specialists in the nonprofit sector may support INGOs in making the case for institutionalizing evaluation and assessment support in the future.

This study has limitations. Specifically, it must be acknowledged that it is not completely evident the degree to which the practices of the two INGOs studied are representative of other INGOs. This study would certainly also have benefited from the ability to interview staff members and / or volunteers from Partners working in the Global South. It was only during the data collection period that the realization of the knowledge gap of staff members in the North on the findings and results of evaluation and assessment conducted on activities and happenings in the South emerged. Future studies on gauging the perspectives of INGOs on the role of program evaluation and impact assessment within their work should focus on underscoring the voices of those working in the Global South and how their perspectives compare to those of staff members and volunteers working in the North.

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ABOUT THE AUTHORS / LES AUTRES

Stan Yu is Research and Program Evaluation Analyst for the Gwenna Moss Centre for Teaching Effectiveness and teaches in the Department of Sociology, University of Saskatchewan. Email: stan.yu@usask.ca .

Darrell Arthur McLaughlin is Associate Professor of Sociology at St. Thomas More College (STM), University of Saskatchewan. Email: dmclaughlin@stmcollege.ca .

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Social Impact Bonds: The Next Phase of Third Sector Marketization?

Meghan Joy & John Shields
Ryerson University

ABSTRACT

The politics of austerity have pushed the third sector to the centre of attention as governments turn to non-governmental institutions to pick up the social deficits created by economic recession. Some governments have begun supporting alternative service funding through such innovations as social impact bonds (SIBs), a financial product used to encourage the upfront investment of project-oriented service delivery. This article provides an understanding of what SIBs are and traces their emergence within Canada while linking them to their cross-national origins. SIBs are situated conceptually within broader contemporary developments within the nonprofit sector, particularly the agenda of public sector reform and third sector marketization. This analysis focuses on the potential impact of SIBs on nonprofit policy voice and their capacity to represent and meet diverse community needs.

RÉSUMÉ

Les politiques d'austérité ont accordé une place centrale au troisième secteur. En effet, les gouvernements dépendent de plus en plus des organisations non gouvernementales pour combler les déficits sociaux créés par la récession économique. Certains gouvernements ont commencé à financer des services au moyen d'innovations alternatives comme les obligations à impact social (OIS). Ces dernières sont un produit financier utilisé pour encourager l'investissement dans l'offre de services par projets. Cet article explique ce que sont les OIS et retrace leur émergence au Canada tout en soulignant leurs origines transnationales. Conceptuellement, on peut les situer dans le contexte de développements contemporains relatifs au secteur sans but lucratif, particulièrement la réforme du secteur public et la marchandisation du troisième secteur. Cette analyse se focalise sur l'impact potentiel des OIS sur la communication de politiques sans but lucratif et sur l'aptitude des OIS à représenter et rencontrer divers besoins communautaires.

Keywords / Mots clés : *Nonprofit organizations; Third sector; Social impact bonds; Social innovation; Policy voice /* Organisation à but non lucratif; Troisième secteur; Obligations à impact social; Innovation sociale; Communication de politiques

INTRODUCTION

The politics of austerity that arose in the wake of the 2007-2008 economic crisis in the West (Evans & Fanelli, 2013; McBride & Whiteside, 2011) has produced deep cuts to social services, just as the need for such support has been magnified. This situation has pushed the third sector to the centre of attention, most notably profiled in the Big Society initiative in the U.K. (Hilton & McKay, 2011; Ishkanian & Szreter, 2012)[1], as governments turn to non-governmental institutions to pick up the social deficits created by economic recession and the state's retreat from social provision responsibilities.

The third sector, which includes a diversity of nonprofit organizations, has, at least since the reinventing government revolution of the 1990s (Osborne & Gaebler, 1992), been seen as an important government partner lauded for its cheap, efficient, and innovative localized service delivery. Governments have been keen to support alternative service delivery as a way to shrink public sector costs and responsibilities (Evans, Richmond, & Shields, 2005) and some have begun experimenting with tools to encourage alternative service funding through innovations such as social impact bonds (SIBs). SIBs are a financial product used to encourage private, philanthropic and/or public investors to provide upfront capital to support project-oriented service delivery by public, private, or nonprofit actors, or a combination of these actors.

The objective of this article is to provide an understanding of what SIBs are and why they have arisen at this conjuncture. Further, we conceptually situate SIBs within broader contemporary developments within the nonprofit sector, and trace the emergence of SIBs within Canada while linking them to their cross-national origins. Since SIBs are such recent creations, this paper limits its focus to a conceptual framing of this new policy tool and a critical discussion of the interest in its application in Canada.

The article begins by outlining how SIBs work—where the model originated and recent Canadian interest in its application. A conceptual frame is then developed that positions SIBs as a policy tool that represents a broader agenda of public sector reform and third sector marketization. Challenges associated with the development of SIBs for government, the third sector, and the private sector are discussed. Finally, an analysis that focuses on the potential impact of SIBs on nonprofit policy voice and their capacity to represent and meet diverse community needs is provided. It is argued that this voice function defines the third sector's ability to be innovative (Shields, 2013). This is an important and timely discussion given the power of SIBs to transform the third sector and recent Canadian interest in developing the tool further.

SITUATING SIBS

How do SIBs work and who is involved?

SIB development begins with a government entity engaging in a process of commissioning for service design and delivery. This involves the identification of a social service area and a distinct project deemed suitable for an SIB and the preparation of the bond by establishing the outcomes desired, the project costs, the anticipated future savings, and the rate of return to investors if project outcomes are met (Ainsworth, 2011). An intermediary organization, such as a foundation, partners with government to engage in this process of program design and to coordinate the delivery of the project. The intermediary issues the bond to one or several investors—who may be individuals, philanthropic foundations, insurance companies, banks and/or pension funds—who provide immediate project capital (Ainsworth, 2011). The intermediary subcontracts with one or several service providers from the nonprofit, public, or private sector who have proven innovative delivery approaches in the given service area. These service providers are paid up front to deliver a service that will maximize outcomes. An independent evaluator may be hired to ensure that project outcomes are

directly attributed to the SIB intervention. If the service project successfully achieves the outcome targets, the intermediary repays the bond to investors with the agreed upon rate of return (Loxley, 2013; Von Glahn & Whistler, 2011).

In a binary SIB model, investors do not receive repayment if the outcomes are not met, while in a frequency scheme model, repayment depends on an increasing frequency of results (National Council for Voluntary Organizations, 2011). Because SIBs, particularly the binary variant, present considerable risk to investors and service providers, foundations or governments may be required to back up the original bond. In this scenario, investors will be repaid their original investment even if the project does not meet the outcome requirements, but they will not receive an additional rate of return.

Where did SIBs originate?

SIBs were developed in the U.K. as a component of public service reform. In 2011, the *Open Public Services* white paper committed government entities to commission with nonprofit and private service delivery organizations through payments by results, with SIBs being one way to facilitate payment (NCVO, 2011). The 2012 *Caring for our Future* white paper set out a plan to incorporate payment by results, and private and nonprofit service delivery into the reform of the adult social care market (National Development Team for Inclusion, n.d.). Central government facilitates this change by developing the supportive legislative framework, and local governments are tasked with developing the local care market (NDTI, n.d.). Central government has encouraged new social funding through Social Finance, a public company that invented the SIB concept and has facilitated the world's first SIB project; Big Society Capital, a social investment bank; and, a social stock exchange to be launched in late 2013 (Cabinet Office, 2013; Human Resources and Skills Development Canada, 2013).

There are currently 14 SIB projects in various stages of development in the U.K. The first and most closely followed is the Peterborough Prison project, which began in 2010. The Ministry of Justice commissioned the project with Social Finance, which raised capital from 17 individual and charitable investors and subcontracted four nonprofit organizations to work with 3,000 short-term male offenders to reduce recidivism over a six-year period (Social Finance, 2011). If the program is successful, meaning that the rate of reoffending is 7.5% below that of a comparator group, then the investors will receive a return ranging between 7.5% and 13%, depending on the outcome per year over an eight-year period, a repayment consistent with a frequency scheme SIB (Social Finance, 2011).

The U.S. has also recently committed to SIB experimentation**.** President Obama devoted $100 million to project development in the 2012 budget. The 2014 budget further illustrates this shift, with close to $500 million in new funding dedicated to SIBs**:** $185 million to extend the tool across government and $300 million to create a Social Innovation Fund in the Federal Treasury Department (Loxley, 2013; HRSDC, 2013). To further enable SIBs, an Office of Social Innovation and Civic Participation was recently established to lead policy development and coordinate the Social Innovation Fund (HRSDC, 2013). Currently, there is a recidivism project underway in New York City that has received $10 million in funding from Goldman Sachs, an investment backed by Mayor Michael Bloomberg's own private foundation through a loan guarantee offered to participating nonprofits (Chen, 2012). Further examples include two SIBs underway in Massachusetts in the areas of homelessness and youth recidivism, and a health impact bond trial in California aimed at asthma prevention for children through in-home intervention and monitoring (HRSDC, 2013; Clay, 2013).

Canadian interest in SIBs

In Canada, the federal government has shown the most significant interest in facilitating SIBs. Most recently, the Minister of Employment and Social Development, Jason Kenney, announced the federal government's intention to undertake two trial social finance programs in the areas of literacy and skills training (Curry, 2013). Though details have yet to be determined, the participating nonprofits, the Alberta Workforce Essential Skills Society and the Association of Canadian Community Colleges, will only receive federal funding support if they can improve test scores and attract private investment (Curry, 2013). Kenney's predecessor, Diane Finley, minister of the department formerly known as Human Resources and Skills Development Canada (HRSDC), had announced federal interest in exploring ways to enable communities to address localized social problems through partnerships with business (Government of Canada, 2012). In 2011, Finley established the Voluntary Advisory Council on Social Partnerships and in 2012 she launched an online policy engagement tool that solicited project and policy ideas for developing the so-called social finance market (HRSDC, 2013). Some 154 responses from diverse sectors described distinct "social innovation" projects that incorporated social enterprise, social investment funds, and SIBs (HRSDC, 2013). A follow-up report on the engagement tool outlines next steps for HRSDC in facilitating these forms of social innovation, including: 1) outreach via social media, seminars, and policy tables; 2) the development of policy tools to facilitate SIBs and payment by results, contracts, and investment funds; and 3) pilot projects in various domains of social innovation (HRSDC, 2013). The most recent budget, known as *Economic Action Plan 2013*, incorporates a section on social finance in which the government promises to facilitate a collaboration of nonprofit and private sector partners to develop "investment-worthy ideas" (Government of Canada, 2013). However, unlike in the U.K. and the U.S., this commitment lacks the formal identification of any allocation of program and fiscal resources at this stage.

Canada's provincial and territorial governments, which have the bulk of responsibility over the social policy domain, have shown interest in various forms of social innovation. Ontario, British Columbia, Alberta, Quebec, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland and Labrador are all interested in or experimenting with social finance and payment by results schemes (HRSDC, 2013). In Ontario, particular reference was made to the use of SIBs in the Commission on the Reform of Ontario's Public Services report *Public Services for Ontarians: A Path to Sustainability and Excellence,* known more popularly as the *Drummond Report*. The report recommends the development of SIBs as a way to restrain government social service costs now and into the future in a context of economic uncertainty and increasing service demand (Commission on the Reform of Ontario's Public Services, 2012). To encourage SIBs, an Ontario Task Force on Social Finance recommended the development of a cross-sector working group to prepare design and delivery guidelines, needs assessment, and feasibility studies in different policy domains, and the creation of an intermediary organization—much like the U.K.'s Social Finance—to manage pilot projects (Ontario Task Force on Social Finance, 2011). However, the 2013 Ontario budget did not make mention of SIBs to fund social services. In its 2013 speech from the throne, Nova Scotia's NDP government made a loose promise that the province would be the first Canadian jurisdiction to implement a SIB (Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia, 2013).

Among third sector actors, the MaRS Discovery District has been the most vocal in its interest in supporting the development of SIBs in Canada. MaRS is a charitable organization that convenes public, private, and third sector partners to maximize entrepreneurial pursuits for economic, social, and environmental gain. In particular, its Centre for Impact Investing is actively involved in establishing SIB pilot projects, engaging in various outreach and learning opportunities, identifying and convening potential partners within the three sectors, and moving the agenda forward with policy advocacy (MaRS, 2012).

CONTEXTUALIZING INTEREST IN SIBS

The interest in SIBs as a policy tool cannot be divorced from a post-2008 economic recession context of government austerity, and the associated narrative of crisis in which society has to pay through spending cuts and individual and community self-reliance to ensure future economic and employment growth. The idea is that current and future economic uncertainty requires a plan to reduce social service costs and SIBs are seen by government as a key tool to achieve this end. In the context of austerity in the U.K., SIBs are framed as the "saviour of public services" and an alternative to all out service privatization because public dollars are used to maintain social service funding, albeit via the engagement of private sector and nonprofit actors (NCVO, 2011). SIBs enable current public dollars to be used to encourage other sectors to "invest" in social services to address "wicked policy problems." Central government encourages and supports local government SIBs that focus on place-based prevention with the idea that this will limit the use of more universal and institutional forms of care over the long term (Liebman, 2011; Von Glahn & Whistler, 2011). This local and flexible program-based service design is intended to challenge a more top-down, expert driven, and siloed government approach to social policy design and delivery (Fox & Alberton, 2011; Liebman, 2011; Loxley, 2013). Furthermore, government investment is supposedly more targeted and efficient because public dollars are only used to pay for results. Demands for greater transparency and accountability are to be met through consistent monitoring and outcome evaluation controls (Struthers, 2013).

SIBs present a way for government to transform the way it funds and delivers social policy, significantly transforming the third sector in the process. The SIB model is also designed to provide an immediate and relatively long-term payment for nonprofit organizations that participate to run specific programs with minimal delivery prescriptions. The promise of stable funding reduces the strain of constant fundraising, yearly funding uncertainty, and onerous reporting requirements (The *Economist*, 2012; Hayes, 2012; NCVO, 2011), and hence, provides a compelling incentive for nonprofit organizations to embrace SIB initiatives.

Nonprofits with a marketized service delivery model that are well networked, strongly resourced, and strategically located in a SIB bidding process, are favourably positioned to support the transition to SIBs. Foundations may also be supportive of the SIB tool as their policy and funding role is expected to grow. SIBs require a capable and well-funded philanthropic sector to act as intermediary organizations, to provide project capital, and to back up private sector investments. Foundations partner with government, private individual and corporate investors, and various nonprofit organizations, and thus have significant policy power in the SIB policy domain (Liebman, 2011).

There are many private sector motivations for supporting SIBs, some of which may be altruistic, but which also are driven by the desire to enhance competitiveness. There is also the added benefit of working to soften the image of corporations in an era where people have more access to information about exploitative practices in the domestic market and abroad. SIBs allow private investors to embellish their socially responsible image without having to sacrifice their drive to make profits, as is the case with charitable grants and donations (Chen, 2012).

SIBs may also be seen as part of the movement along the path of service privatization as they marketize demand and deliver services in some very lucrative areas such as hospitals, child care, and prisons (NCVO, 2011), which hitherto have had a dominant public sector presence. Furthermore, SIBs offer corporations greater access over government policy design and delivery decisions in service areas where they can make significant profit (Anner, 2010; Fooks, Gilmore, Smith, Collin, Holden, & Lee, 2011). Market-oriented

consulting firms, such as KPMG, see a promising business opportunity to work with private investors and government to conduct research and strategy on SIB projects.

Aside from a good business opportunity, SIBs are considered good public policy since they are said to be responsive to both taxpayer and service user interests. A KPMG report (2010) argues that the SIB model empowers consumers because projects are based on localized service needs. Moreover, the SIB targeting of wicked policy problems is seen as adding a new and powerful instrument to government's policy tool kit. It must be noted, however, that the advertised claims regarding SIB policy effectiveness are purely speculative as they predate the completion results from even the very first SIB cases in the U.K.

The political malleability of SIBs can also be seen as a strong selling point. For the political right, who have low trust in government and in the "special interest" charitable sector, the SIB focus on outcome accountability means that tax dollars only pay for actual results. Additionally, the use of market-based mechanisms to achieve a policy end lends itself favourably to conservative sentiments. While those politically to the left would reject narrow pay book democracy political formulas and be resistant to cuts to public investments in social policy funding, SIBs do hold a potential attraction. This rests in the promise of SIBs being about bottom-up citizen participation in policy design and evaluation, and preventative community-oriented care. However, those on the left would not see this as an exclusive alternative to well-funded institutional care provided as a right. Finally, citizens at the centre of the political spectrum would be drawn to the corporate social responsibility aspect of private sector involvement, particularly government encouraging large corporations to take on risk to "do good." The blending of state, business, and nonprofit actors under SIBs also holds appeal at the centre of the political spectrum.

CONCEPTUALIZING SIBS

Social innovation

SIBs are part of the recent public sector emphasis on reform through social innovation. HRSDC defines social innovation rather abstractly as "[p]roven ideas that work to address unmet needs by applying new learning and strategies to solve these problems" (HRSDC, 2013, p. 9). The Ontario Government's Innovation Agenda claims that innovation maximizes market value, facilitates market creation through the development of new firms and industries, and helps to solve social problems by linking ideas to markets (Ontario Ministry of Research and Innovation, n.d.). Social impact investing provides the capital needed to engage in innovative social projects and products, including SIBs (Canadian Task Force on Social Finance, 2011). Skills that facilitate innovation include business savvy, economic market analysis, and research capacity (Ontario Ministry of Research and Innovation, n.d.). This conceptualization of innovation is thus heavily marketized.

Social policy design and delivery through social innovation is framed against a big, hierarchical, and siloed government that has become disconnected from service users. The argument is that there has been a failure to produce adequate results through universal institutional care systems and grant-based funding to the nonprofit sector because investments are not linked directly to outcomes (Liebman, 2011). Traditional public sector and foundation grants distributed to nonprofits should thus be replaced by new policy instruments borrowed from the business sector (HRSDC, 2013). Struthers (2013) identifies traditional core public funding to nonprofits as "an old and untenable proposition" that risks becoming a future drain on public resources (p. 35). The role of government is to act as a catalyst for change and a facilitator of new partnerships through the development of new policy instruments such as SIBs (Ontario Ministry of Research and Innovation, n.d.; Struthers, 2013). Engaging in partnerships with the private sector and foundations allows government to leverage public dollars

to support nonprofit projects with proven results by either enhancing or widening the geographic distribution area and/or the service area of an existing project (HRSDC, 2013). The SIB model thus represents a new public-private partnership model for the nonprofit sector.

According to the Social Investment and Finance Team of the U.K.'s Cabinet Office, social finance will enhance the long-term sustainability of the nonprofit sector as it provides experience with social ventures that will build their market reputation and support further future investments (Cabinet Office, 2013). Nonprofits that have adapted over the last few decades to decreases in public and private funding as well as shifts away from core funding through entrepreneurial endeavours and collaborative partnerships are apparently leading the pack, ahead of more "entitled" organizations (Struthers, 2013). Social finance provides these marketized nonprofit organizations with the capital needed to advance their missions and expand their social projects (Ontario Government and Ontario Trillium Foundation, 2011). This represents a survival of the so-called financially fittest and most market-oriented nonprofits. In this new financing environment, many service-based nonprofits dependent on government contract financing may well fail because a marketized SIB model conflicts with their stated missions, values, and approaches, and they will not be well positioned to adapt to an even more marketized system of funding.

New Public Management

Social innovation and SIBs are part of a larger agenda to reform the public sector to operate more like a private business with many similarities to earlier versions of New Public Management. The familiar New Public Management language of value for money; free and enterprising bureaucrats; bottom-up reform; and empowering service customers (Evans**,** Richmond, & Shields, 2005; Evans & Shields, 1998) is prevalent in SIB framing. SIBs broaden the New Public Management language of alternative service delivery to include alternative service funding. The SIB model of lean and decentralized government is dichotomized against the welfare state form of top-down, universal, and institutionalized care in hospitals, jails, and shelters that deliver poor value for money (NDTI, n.d.; Preston, 2012). Service users are free to shape policy based on having choices in the area of provision (Institute for Government, 2010).

According to the National Council for Voluntary Organizations (2011), the payment-by-results mechanism of a SIB shifts the focus away from which sector is delivering the service and moves it in line with results. This reorientation could facilitate privatization as the difference between the three sectors becomes mute. Government no longer wastes time focusing solely on delivery, but zeroes its focus in on outcome, providing for a more efficient use of scarce public dollars (NCVO, 2011). SIBs represent a move away from government procurement of goods toward government commissioning for service delivery outcomes (Charities Aid Foundation, 2012). This is supposed to provide government with a more sophisticated understanding of local service markets and customers (Institute for Government, 2010). Through these reforms, government facilitates the development of welfare markets in which public, private, and nonprofit entities compete for service contracts (NDTI, n.d.).

A recent KPMG report (2010) on SIBs critiques New Public Management reform in the U.K. for its failure to link performance management to financial consequences through contractual procurement, and to truly free up service providers to advance social innovation. The report recommends a swift and comprehensive transition to the SIB model across all service areas (KPMG, 2010). A complementary **"**divestment**"** of bureaucrats to the private and nonprofit service sectors is also recommended (KPMG, 2010).

As with New Public Management, SIBs are to be used to transform nonprofit organizations into efficient and innovative market actors. Nonprofits are valued because they operate on scarcity principles, which are seen

to inherently force innovation and are thus a valuable government partner in a model of alternative service delivery (Government of Ontario and Ontario Trillium Foundation, 2011; Struthers, 2013). There is a new focus on measuring the sector's "hard economic value," which challenges opinion that its work inhibits self-reliance and social innovation and is a waste of scarce public resources (Ontario Trillium Foundation, 2011). There remain questions as to whether SIBs will result in an increased concentration of nonprofit organizations through the merger of smaller organizations (NCVO, 2011).

The KPMG report (2010) on SIBs claims that the model supports the forging of new sectors that merge expertise rather than the layering and fragmentation endemic to earlier New Public Management reforms. Hayes (2012) is cautiously optimistic that forms of collaboration among smaller nonprofits could provide for more power in contractual negotiations with government and investors. Whether this translates to a stronger policy voice for the nonprofit sector and for citizens requires future study if SIBs become mainstream. Previous waves of third sector reform in Canada appear to have done little to enhance the voice of nonprofit actors (Shields, 2013).

New Public Governance

The SIB model has much in common with the New Public Governance approach, which has also been framed as a theory and a practical model that addresses the failures of New Public Management reform. Governance scholar Stephen Osborne (2010) claims that there has been a natural shift from a statist traditional public administration regime during the welfare state, to a short period of New Public Management and fragmented market-based service delivery, to a new steady state of pluralist policy implementation based on collaborative policy design, service delivery, and management.

In theory and practice, SIBs encourage blending the skills of multiple actors to design and deliver social services. The private sector has access to capital and knowledge of market discipline, the nonprofit sector has unique expertise in innovative service delivery approaches and familiarity with service clientele, and the public sector has the capacity to develop an overarching coordination framework (Webster, 2012). Co-production with service users, family, and voluntary carers is also encouraged. According to Von Glahn and Whistler (2011), the SIB approach is not about privatizing public services but engaging in strategic partnerships that "scale up" local service delivery approaches with proven results. To facilitate SIB development, bureaucratic systems require more intensive collaborative service needs assessments to identify potential projects as well as service planning and design processes that address the fragmentation created through New Public Management reforms (Institute for Government, 2010).

SIBs depend on partnerships between many different nonprofit organizations, meaning that the model relies very heavily on the health of the sector and its ability to collaborate (Wolk, 2011). However, it is questionable whether SIB projects will run as smoothly as envisioned given the requirement of equal and trusting partnerships and the reality of competitive bidding processes (Webster, 2012). The power asymmetries between actors involved in collaborative service processes are rarely addressed by proponents of both New Public Governance and SIBs. Furthermore, Struthers (2013) admits that the relationship between government and nonprofit organizations is often turbulent, especially when nonprofits start to critique public policy more broadly or engage in more direct lobbying. The nonprofit sector is framed as an efficient service delivery agent rather than a meaningful policy voice that engages government in a democratic conversation about the diverse and intersecting needs of community and the values and norms that inform policy. In fact, the exercise of nonprofit voice in the neoliberal era has resulted in the stigmatization of these organizations as self-promoting special interests (Evans & Shields, 2010; Shields, 2013).

CHALLENGES WITH SIB DESIGN AND IMPLEMENTATION

Challenges for government

There is a consensus in the literature that the shift to SIBs will not reduce bureaucracy and cut public sector costs (Preston, 2012; NCVO, 2011; Fox and Albertson, 2011). The costs of administrative change required by a comprehensive shift to SIBs would be significant, requiring new skills for bureaucrats in market definition, program evaluation, and partnership building, and the associated information technology requirements (NCVO, 2011; Liebman, 2011). If a wholesale shift to SIBs results in significant public sector layoffs, the legal battles may be costly and the loss of stable and well-paid jobs will have wider negative economic consequences. Further, the idea that direct government funding, planning, and delivery of social programming is unable to be preventative—is inherently risk averse and cannot be tied to outcomes—is not founded on an evidentiary basis but rather on ideologically inspired conclusions (Loxley, 2013).

The SIB reliance on program evaluation presents a multitude of problems, particularly the lack of existing service approaches with proven financial track records as well as the uncertainty that a multitude of different approaches will deliver results in combination (Fiennes, 2013). Fox and Albertson (2011) recommend SIB pilot programs based on social experiments, but such studies are costly and time consuming, requiring additional investment that the private sector may be hesitant to take on. The issue of determining causation between an intervention and a result is also complex, and pilot projects should consequently choose all participants at random and include an identical control group to rule out other intervening variables. These are difficult conditions to meet in the real world of program design, implementation, and outcome evaluation (Fiennes, 2013). Even if positive results are achieved, it is difficult to attribute this to the SIB approach rather than a unique array of service interventions or an increase in money devoted to the service area (Fiennes, 2013).

Additionally, the so-called failure to achieve pre-defined results is not necessarily a problem if actual outcomes prevent the problem from getting worse, or if they contribute to improvements in social justice and opportunity over the long term (NCVO, 2011). Discontinuing funding to these equally preventative programs could result in serious welfare issues and associated costs in the future. Finally, the economic framing of SIBs tends to ignore the significance of politics on result figures. For instance, the number of young offenders may increase even with SIB programs if it takes place in conjunction with policies that support tougher prison sentencing, as in Canada (Fox & Albertson, 2011).

The orientation toward outcomes may create an incentive for funders and delivery organizations to focus on those service types and groups most amenable to success, leaving the most marginalized users even more excluded (Loxley, 2013; NCVO, 2011). To prevent this, SIB payment schemes must ensure that the true cost of servicing the hardest to reach groups is met (NCVO, 2011). A strict results framework may also dissuade a nonprofit from responding to unique and unpredictable needs, placing into question the extent to which this approach is flexible and bottom up. Result frameworks should thus be designed through a partnership with all necessary government, nonprofit, academic, and service user actors (NCVO, 2011). However, the nonprofit sector in Canada has been actively dissuaded from embracing a more advocacy oriented policy voice and from informing government about service groups and social policy deficits. A leaner, more market-driven government risks losing valuable insight into the needs of citizens, particularly those whom are more vulnerable (NCVO, 2011).

Challenges for the third sector

Some nonprofit organizations are concerned that the move toward SIBs will reduce public, private, and philanthropic funding provided on a grant or donation basis (Preston, 2012). The tying of funding exclusively

to results is problematic for nonprofits because they do not have full control over outcomes and their "failure to produce" could threaten their continued existence if they incur the reputation of a "bad investment" (NCVO, 2011). The competitive bidding process that involves all three sectors places nonprofits at a competitive disadvantage compared to the public and private sectors, which have greater financial track records and more ready access to capital and resources to prepare a substantive bid (Hayes, 2012; NCVO, 2011). In addition, nonprofits are greatly restricted legally in terms of the amount of financial reserves they are allowed to carry forward each year and utilize for longer-term investments, let alone speculative ventures.

Small nonprofits in particular are much less likely to pay for financial and legal expertise to provide advice about SIB risk and contract negotiation (Charities Aid Foundation, 2012; NCVO, 2011). Furthermore, the shift to SIBs requires new management and evaluation skills for nonprofit staff, an investment that many nonprofit agencies, outside of the very largest, would struggle to afford. In the U.K., there have been instances of nonprofits being used by private sector actors as "bid candy" in which they are discarded after the contract is won through contractual re-negotiation (Webster, 2012). Though SIBs supposedly release nonprofits from heavy reporting requirements, they are likely to be just as burdensome in the demand for evaluation and monitoring of results (NCVO, 2011).

Much is made of the nonprofit sector as innovative and willing to take on risk for survival but this ignores the impact on job security for those employed in the sector (Webster, 2012). Small organizations in particular may need to work together to create umbrella organizations to support their participation in SIB projects and act as one voice before government (Hayes, 2012). Kirkpatrick (2011) cautiously envisions a future where small nonprofits shutter because of limited funding opportunities and larger nonprofits become even more marketized to compete against or work with private sector bidders for SIB contracts.

Challenges for the private sector

The private sector actually tends toward risk aversion, though the prominent SIB framing conveys the opposite, and will hesitate to invest money unless there is confidence that the investment will result in a substantive and secure financial return. Such investment practices are not conducive to the most innovative service delivery approaches (*Economist*, 2013; Liebman, 2011; Loxley, 2013). SIBs are a unique type of bond-like instrument that is particularly risky because all of the financial investment could be lost, the rate of return is capped, and investors are stuck with the product over the course of the project because SIBs cannot be turned into a liquid asset (Fox & Albertson, 2011). This level of risk requires a proven record of financial viability and a scale large enough to make a healthy profit, neither of which is likely in the majority of SIB projects (Ainsworth, 2011).

Webster (2012) suspects that if a SIB funded program fails to deliver, private investors will use their power and influence to renegotiate the contract in order to get paid. The *Economist* (2012) magazine claims that SIBs are not all that different from the risky financial tools that precipitated the 2008 recession as they are similarly subject to overexposure, risk manufacturing, convolution that causes firms to profit from confusion, and a delay in government regulation and oversight. There is also the question of what occurs if a prime investor faces financial trouble over the duration of the project, with the most likely answer being to forsake the social impact investment and government having to foot the bill (Hanlon, 2011). This is more likely to occur during a period of economic slowdown when social need is at its highest. In a context where private investors are unwilling to fund large service projects and foundations do not have the cash to support such projects, government may need to make money available through the creation of new social investment funds, as has been the case in the U.K. and the U.S. (Loxley, 2013). This is a likely scenario in Canada given the relatively small philanthropic sector.

DISCUSSION

In addition to the more practical challenges associated with designing and implementing SIBs, there are deeper issues at the heart of the interest in the tool and the assumptions made by proponents that must be problematized. The financial recession, which frames the context and justification for SIB experimentation, had much to do with deregulation of the financial system and risky financial products, the failure of which society is paying for through severe austerity measures. The widespread implementation of and subsequent dependence on yet another risky financial tool with an unproven track record—SIBs—in an area as important as social care is a questionable policy option.

The support for philanthropy and private investment is supposed to speak to one's inherent altruism to give generously as individuals or as corporations to support good causes and the public interest. The model of philanthropy in the contemporary era was not intended to displace state-run social policy designed to at least modestly address inequality and to provide a protective layer for the most vulnerable as a right of citizenship. In fact, this foundation of state-provided social protection is necessary to support philanthropic efforts that help fill social gaps, address the needs of hard-to-serve populations, and partner with government to deliver publically supported programs (Evans et al, 2005; Salamon, 1995). Loxley (2013) is suspicious that interest in SIBs may be a way for corporations to privatize lucrative social services such as health care, childcare, prisons, and education. The SIB model may thus represent the next phase of marketization and privatization of social policy with the nonprofit sector being used as a legitimation strategy, or the aforementioned bid candy. This model utilizes an approach that uses the third sector rather than meaningfully partners with it.

SIBs are sold as a tool that enables society to effectively tackle complex policy problems through place-based prevention. Though the emphasis on prevention should be applauded, intractable societal problems risk being framed too narrowly as an individual's lack of self-responsibility (Kelly & Caputo, 2011), as in the case of the Big Society initiative in the U.K. For instance, SIB projects have involved such activities as teaching incarcerated youth about empathy by having them write letters to the sick (Preston, 2012) and monitoring children with asthma to ensure that parents clean household mould (Clay, 2013).

Such a piecemeal strategy**,** which selectively targets the localized symptoms of complex socio-economic problems, risks ignoring the broader societal and economic reasons why the problems occurred in the first place, such as a lack of good stable employment and clean and safe affordable housing. Employment and affordable housing are examples of policy areas that tackle the roots of social problems, and they represent preventative efforts that government can do something about, challenging the SIB framing that government is inherently unable to deal with preventative policy. SIBs may represent a form of charity that happens to make money for private sector investors rather than a more holistic preventative social program. The kind of social**-**profit organization created in the SIB model will be less willing to operate in an area where it cannot make money, which further limits the social justice and redistributive capacity of this project.

SIBs do speak to the need for public sector reform, particularly that policy should be tailored to and informed by localized needs in a way that challenges a top-down and siloed approach to policy design and delivery. However, SIBs may actually reduce the capacity for government to facilitate flexible policy because of the narrow framing of the nonprofit sector as a cheap and efficient service provider rather than a social and political actor that offers a representative voice to more deeply inform policy. Cheaper service provision is often the result of low pay and unstable working conditions for nonprofit staff, a precariousness that results in significant stress and staff turnover, limiting the sustainability of community connections (Shields, in press).

CONCLUSION

There is a need to expand, not reduce the vision of what the nonprofit sector does. The service role of the nonprofit sector is not just about delivering tangible services, and with SIBs now revenue generation, but also about ensuring that the policies that guide service delivery are informed by the needs and desires of the community. In this way, nonprofits act as a representative voice that links citizens to government and improves policy design and delivery. This knowledge of the community and the grounded feedback it gets from the community through engagement and advocacy is at the heart of the nonprofit sector's innovative nature, which is made more difficult when the sector is forced to become more bureaucratic, professionalized, and concerned with purely market-centred bottom lines. This innovative nature is especially true of small, localized nonprofits, who are likely the most at risk in SIB schemes, reminding us of the important diversity of the sector that must be maintained and of the inequities within the sector that SIBs may exacerbate. SIBs can be both empowering and disempowering, freeing and controlling, and it is important to assess who wins and who loses with the broad implementation of this policy tool. In particular, small, specialized, grassroots, and critical policy oriented nonprofit organizations have experienced defunding in the past two decades, which effectively silences community voices.

If government truly wants to support the third sector, it should provide stable and long-term funding that also supports core administrative costs and community engagement and organizing, as this provides a sustaining foundation for the third sector and empowers nonprofits to be innovative. Performing to get results and constant narrow auditing may blind service partners to niche issues as they arise on the ground, actually reducing their ability to be innovative.

There is also the question of who is defining results—powerful actors within the public, private, and third sectors or the community—and whether this definition encourages transformative social change. Nonprofits and their constituencies should be heavily involved in coming up with comprehensive and appropriate measures for defining the results of their work. Government can support the development of nonprofit research capacity in this area, particularly through encouraging community/university partnerships that can assist in assembling qualitative and quantitative data sets. The nonprofit sector can also assist in improving the community outcomes of public and private sector work, for instance via developing community impact assessments of public policy and private investment decisions. This represents a true partnership that balances the social role of the public, private, and nonprofit sectors and focuses on both broad and specific social needs.

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NOTE

1. The Big Society is a policy idea that was advanced by the Conservative Party in the U.K. as part of its 2010 election platform. The subsequent Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition government adopted Big Society as a broad policy direction aimed at creating the conditions to "empower" communities, civil society organizations, philanthropy, and local government to take on greater responsibilities regarding social policies and thus relieve central government from some of these obligations. At this point, the scope of the Big Society legislative reach is largely limited to England, though the intent is to

influence the discourse in all of the U.K. and beyond. The term Big Society is very much a flexible concept that can take on many different meanings. The looseness of its use gives it special value as a political and rhetorical device (Ishkanian & Szreter, 2012).

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ABOUT THE AUTHORS / LES AUTEURS

Meghan Joy is a PhD candidate in the Policy Studies Program at Ryerson University, 350 Victoria Street, Toronto, ON M5B 2K3. Email: meghan.joy@ryerson.ca **.**

John Shields is a Professor in the Department of Communications and Culture at the Yeates School of Graduate Studies at Ryerson University, 350 Victoria Street, Toronto, ON M5B 2K3. Email: jshields@ryerson.ca .

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Youth Community Gardening Programming as Community Development: The Youth for EcoAction Program in Winnipeg, Canada

Stephanie Fulford & Shirley Thompson
University of Manitoba

ABSTRACT

The Youth for EcoAction (YEA) program is a project of the Boys and Girls Clubs of Winnipeg involving at-risk youth. This community development program focuses on urban agriculture and community gardening and was developed using the Circle of Courage pedagogy. The program was analyzed through participatory methods. YEA youth interns built skills, improved self-esteem, increased environmental awareness, enhanced food security, and fostered their own social networks to help counter the attraction to gangs and dealing with other issues. Benefits were also felt at a broader community level, through positive environmental, social, and physical changes. Youth-serving agencies, community development organizations, and government policy makers could look to the YEA as a model for youth empowerment and community revitalization.

RÉSUMÉ

Le programme Youth for EcoAction (YEA) pour les jeunes à risque est l'œuvre des Clubs garçons et filles de Winnipeg. Il met l'accent sur l'agriculture urbaine et le jardinage communautaire. Les Clubs ont développé YEA en recourant à la pédagogie du Cercle du courage. Pour analyser ce programme, les auteurs de cet article ont employé une méthode participative. Pour les jeunes, les bénéfices de YEA incluent le développement de compétences, une sécurité alimentaire accrue et la formation de réseaux qui les aident à échapper à la tentation des gangs et autres problèmes. À un niveau communautaire, les bénéfices comprennent des améliorations environnementales, sociales et physiques. Pour les agences jeunesse, les organismes de développement communautaire et les stratèges gouvernementaux, le programme YEA peut servir de modèle d'autonomisation des jeunes et de revitalisation de la communauté.

KEYWORDS / MOTS CLÉS At-risk youth; Youth gardening programs; Youth employment; Youth empowerment; Community development / Jeunesse à risque; Programme de jardinage pour jeunes; Emplois pour les jeunes; Autonomisation des jeunes; Développement communautaire

INTRODUCTION

Can a community garden provide more than just vegetables? The Youth for EcoAction (YEA) program, an after-school gardening program, endeavours to grow not just food but also cultivate youth and communities through its work. This article analyzes the YEA program for its role in community development, considering the impacts on the participants and the broader community. The YEA program is an example of a "participatory, bottom-up approach to development" (Markey, Pierce, Vodden & Roseland, 2005, p. 2) with an emphasis on the capacity building of at-risk youth and community enhancement focused on community gardens in low-income communities.

Community youth development

Community youth development emphasizes youth participation in contributing to one's community. For the purpose of this research, community development is defined, as per Douglas (1994), as "communities addressing problems and opportunities, on their own behalf, which they perceive to be of importance to their quality of life or their community's viability" (p. 10). Self-sufficiency, decision-making, and ownership (Loxley, 1986) are key to community development and, in the context of youth activities, point to the need for opportunities to build skills and relationships. Douglas (1994) raises questions that take into consideration the role youth play in community development, asking: what is being developed and by whom, and how is it being developed and on whose behalf?

Although many youth programs see marginalized adolescents as a problem, youth become the problem solvers in youth community development programs (Trinidad, 2009). Most conventional youth programs, according to Trinidad (2009), aim for social integration, which focuses on changing individual skills and competencies as program outcomes. In contrast, youth community development programs provide opportunities through youth participation to shift power dynamics, and they encourage youth to take an active role in community building and social contribution. As a result, youth community development programs achieve many additional positive outcomes at the family, neighbourhood, and community levels (Sutton, 2007).

Strategies for developing program capacity to foster youth participation in community change are based on asset building. Making communities better places for youth to grow up in is the goal of these youth programs. In a national study of youth programs, community youth development provided three major processes of participation: 1) social integration, 2) community involvement, and 3) civic activism (Sutton, 2007). By providing a space for youth to actively participate and contribute, youth and communities gain knowledge, engage in dialogue, and are able to reflect on how to utilize local resources to promote health and wellness and to prevent violence. Particularly effective to community change is incorporating a youth-led component to consider structural discrimination and injustices (Trinidad, 2009).

Community development and youth gardening

Garden projects have been organized to counter a host of contemporary social problems (Robinson-O'Brien, Story & Heim, 2009). By promoting outdoor physical activity, gardens support public health efforts to improve community well-being and combat the obesity epidemic. Garden projects are widely used as a source of employment and training for at-risk youth, to reconnect them with nature thereby yielding many individual and social benefits (Gatto, Ventura, Cook, Gyllenhammer & Davis, 2012; Lautenschlager & Smith 2007; Ober Allen, Alaimo, Elam & Perry, 2008; Rahm, 2002; Trinidad, 2009). See Table 1 for a literature review of six articles pertaining to youth gardening and community development, highlighting the program interventions and the findings by different research methods.

Table 1: A literature review for youth gardening and community development

Author	Intervention	Method	Findings
Ober Allen et al (2008)	Urban neighbourhood youth gardening programs.	Case study based on 32 interviews of African-American stakeholders in Flint, Michigan.	Promoted youth development, access, and consumption of healthy foods.
Rahm (2002)	Science-based inner-city youth gardening education program.	Observation and semi-structured interviews.	Provided a rich science education by creating a youth-led curriculum and hands-on investigation.
Lautenschlager & Smith (2007)	Inner-city youth gardening and nutrition program.	The case study included an analysis of in-depth and open-ended interviews.	Taught youth a better understanding of the food system as well as the gardening process. Participants could better differentiate healthy versus unhealthy foods compared to youth who did not participate in the community gardening program.
Gatto et al., (2012)	After-school garden-based nutrition classes for Latino youth (LA Sprouts).	A quasi-experimental intervention was assessed for its influence on behaviour associated with dietary intake and psychosocial factors.	Improved attitudes and preferences for fruits and vegetables among Latino youth, which may lead to improved nutritional habits and dietary intake and reduced health disparities.
Lawson & McNally (1995)	Youth employment landscape program.	Evaluation using mixed methods.	Provided at-risk teens with income, job-training, safe after-school activity, and self-esteem.
Trinidad (2009)	Rural, community-based youth program incorporated youth community development, critical pedagogies, and Hawaiian epistemology into organic farm work placements and school garden education.	Case study in rural Hawaii included an analysis of in-depth, open-ended interviews on which a content analysis was conducted utilizing critical indigenous qualitative research.	Improved nutrition and prevented negative behaviours such as violence, were evident in this case study.

Like other youth-focused leadership, recreational, and training programs, youth gardening programs have been found to provide multiple benefits such as improved self-esteem and academic performance, skills development, and increased employability (Hoffman, Knight, & Wallach, 2007; Robinson-O'Brien et al, 2009). Garden-based programs may improve vegetable and fruit consumption by youth by providing the opportunity to plant, harvest, and prepare diverse vegetables as well as berries and melons (Robinson-O'Brien et al., 2009; Story, Lytle, Birnbaum & Perry, 2002). Also, training youth in gardening builds local capacity and livelihood assets, which helps to counter the attraction of gangs (Trinidad, 2009). Similarly, community-based recreation programs have reduced vandalism, lowered unemployment, improved social solidarity, and improved collective health and well-being (Briand, Sauvé & Fréchette, 2011).

Inner-city youth gardening programs are being carried out in many large cities in North America, including Toronto, Vancouver, Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, and New York. These gardening programs offer urban youth growing up in an environment away from the natural world an opportunity to experience *in situ* biodiversity. Most of these programs are being run by youth organizations focused on at-risk youth (Lawson

& McNally, 1995). For instance, in Berkeley, California, the Berkeley Youth Alternative, a youth employment landscape program that includes a community garden patch, provides youth with "employment, a safe social scene, and a venue for rethinking their future" (Lawson & McNally, 1995, p. 211).

Gardening programs also offer benefits to rural at-risk youth. For example, a program in a rural community on Oahu, Hawaii, that included a youth-led farm, school gardens, and training programs for youth, resulted in a local movement to develop a comprehensive plan and a sustainable local food system (Trinidad, 2009). The program was reported to have played a role in preventing a host of negative behaviours, such as violence, as well as in improving youth health, nutrition, and wellness (Trinidad, 2009).

Community gardens as a catalyst for change

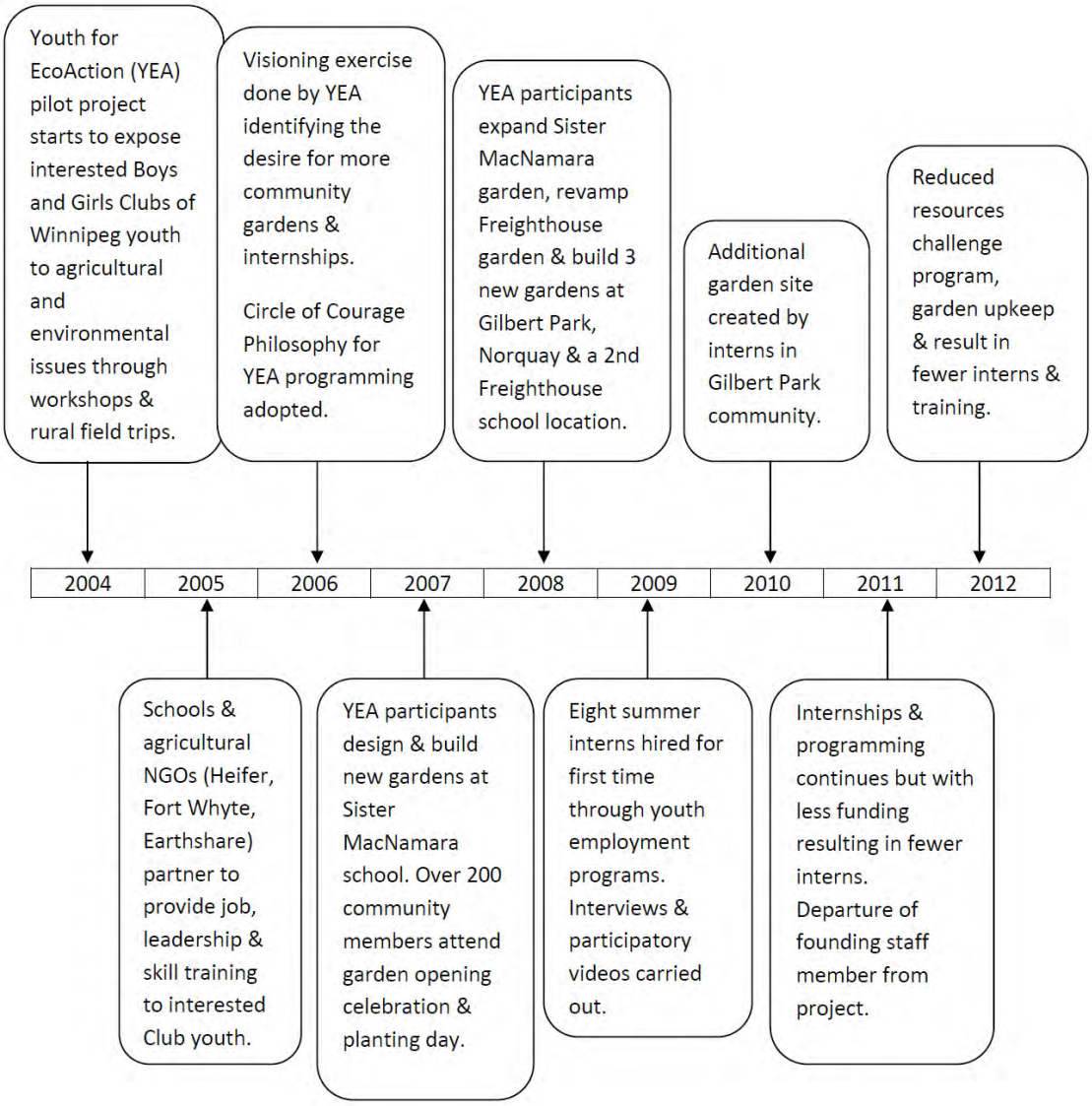
A community garden is an allotment of land tended by a collection of individuals or by a group (Levkoe, 2006). Community gardens provide a source of fresh, safe, locally produced food, benefiting the gardeners themselves and the broader community, as gardeners often share their produce with friends, neighbours, and food relief programs (Fieldhouse & Thompson, 2012; Patel, 1991; Thompson et al., 2011, 2012). Community gardeners decrease their food bill, and tend to have a healthier diet than their non-gardening counterparts due to increased consumption of fruits and vegetables (Twiss, Dickinson, Duma, Kleinman, Paulsen, & Rilveria, 2003; Wakefield, Yeudell, Taron, Reynolds, & Skinner, 2007). Gardening also provides an important reason for physical activity, a contributing factor to overall health (Twiss et al., 2003; Wakefield et al., 2007).

Community gardening has been shown to have a positive influence on mental health due to its social and relaxing nature (Levkoe, 2006; Wakefield et al., 2007). This benefit extends to the community as a whole by providing valuable green space. Green spaces benefit communities through the provision of communal gathering spaces and locations for children to play and explore, and by sustaining the local natural environment (Wakefield et al., 2007). Community gardens act as living, outdoor classrooms for gardeners, residents, and neighbourhood children. Community gardens provide a space to interact with nature, where children can learn the processes of the natural world first hand. Digging in the soil, examining bugs, and observing plants growing can be an important first step toward a better appreciation of nature (Wakefield et al., 2007). Experiencing and enjoying nature is considered a key factor in influencing individuals to adopt environmental stewardship behaviours (Chawla, 1998).

Community gardens also contribute to broader, long-term positive change. Community gardens can stimulate neighbourhood revitalization through the creation of beautiful, welcoming spaces (Brown and Carter, 2003). These spaces also act to build social networks through their use as community gathering spaces. In turn, improved social networks and connections play an important role in building community capacity (Wakefield et al., 2007).

Participation in community garden projects has been shown to act as a stepping stone for further involvement in food security issues and community development. By producing their own food, community garden members are reconnecting with the source of their food, which can stimulate critical thinking and action. Community gardens provide transformative learning in individuals and can stimulate involvement in further projects and/or activism related to food and community development (Levkoe, 2006). People have been inspired by the collective nature of community garden work, and by experiencing success and positive change through the gardens, they begin to engage in other activities toward building a stronger local community (Levkoe, 2006).

Figure 1: Timeline of Youth EcoAction in Winnipeg from 2004 to 2012



THE YOUTH FOR ECOACTION PROGRAM OF THE BOYS AND GIRLS CLUBS OF WINNIPEG

Although a lack of green space is a common concern for many North American inner-city neighbourhoods, including in Winnipeg, this deficit is being addressed in the city through the innovative YEA program. This program uses the limited green space available and converts existing public space to community gardens. The YEA Project is an enhanced program of the Boys and Girls Clubs of Winnipeg. The Boys and Girls Clubs of Winnipeg are a community-based, youth-serving agency with over 35 years of operation. The mission of the organization is to provide safe, supportive places where children and youth can experience new opportunities, overcome barriers, build positive relationships, and develop confidence and skills for life (BGCW, 2010).

The YEA program developed from an after-school program focused on gardening to an internship program for youth. The timeline is shown in Figure 1. The YEA program began in the summer of 2004 as a small pilot project involving youth members aged 9 to 18 in after-school environmental programming with a focus on urban agriculture and gardening projects. In 2005, YEA established partnerships with inner-city schools and Winnipeg-based environmental and urban agriculture projects and organizations. By partnering with Earthshare Farm, Marymound School, R.B. Russell School, Gordon Bell High School, FortWhyte Alive, and Heifer International, the organization was able to expand the YEA program to include more skill-building and training opportunities and to be more community based. In 2006, a visioning exercise took place with YEA staff and participants. This event identified their desire to build community gardens, establish internships to provide job opportunities for youth, and adopt the Circle of Courage model philosophy in their programming. The next year, one garden was built at the Sister MacNamara Club, resulting in huge fanfare, with 200 people attending the opening celebration. The following year, major garden expansion and creation took place – so that gardens were very visible in four communities – together amounting to over 50 garden beds. There were 192 participants in the four YEA Clubs in 2009, and their ages ranged from 9 to 18 years of age. Only in 2009 did youth internships start with summer hires from Boys and Girls Clubs of Winnipeg participants. These internships continue to the present day, but the internships have been reduced in number due to a decline in funding for youth employment and youth projects through provincial funding programs.

Through YEA, participants and interns visit farms, gain experience in seed starting, transplanting, and gardening, participate in food preparation and preservation workshops, and engage in other environmental learning activities. One of the major components of the YEA program is the building and maintenance of community gardens in YEA neighbourhoods, combined with a summer internship program for older participants. Club staff and the YEA coordinator recommend members for this summer employment based on interest and commitment to the program, while considering gender equity and cultural diversity.

The Youth for EcoAction neighbourhoods

The majority of the YEA programming is based out of four Boys and Girls Clubs of Winnipeg, all of which are in marginalized low-income neighbourhoods (Statistics Canada, 2006). Like all of the areas that the Clubs operate out of, these four communities struggle with high levels of poverty, substance abuse, crime, and gang activity (CCPA-MB, 2012; Carter, 2009; Skinner & Masuda, 2013). These neighbourhoods often lack necessary services, such as grocery stores, and include many new immigrants and Aboriginal residents without social networks in the city (Carter, 2009). Aboriginal and immigrant communities in inner-city Winnipeg have lower success rates in formal education systems, experience greater food-related health concerns, including type 2 diabetes, and face increased social barriers due to systemic racism and discrimination (Carter, 2009; Skinner and Masuda, 2013). As such, youth from these communities are at greater risk than Winnipeg youth as a whole.

All four communities have lower home-ownership rates and higher population densities than the city of Winnipeg average (Statistics Canada, 2006). With high rental rates and high population density, residents are unlikely to have access to a private outdoor space, such as a backyard, and do not necessarily have access to a garden or the permission or incentive to build one (CCPA-MB. 2012).

The median household incomes of the four communities range from $15,206 to $35,807 (Statistics Canada, 2006). These statistics are all markedly lower than the median household income in Winnipeg of $49,790 (Statistics Canada, 2006). With low median incomes, the incidence of households living below low-income

cut off levels in all four communities is significantly higher than Winnipeg's citywide rate of 20.2%. Approximately half of the households in the Burrows-Keewatin (Gilbert Park) and North Point Douglas (Norquay) communities fall below low-income cut-off levels, while over two-thirds of the households in the Centennial (Freighthouse) and Central Park (Sister MacNamara) communities are characterized as low income (Statistics Canada, 2006).

In Canada, food security is closely tied to household income. Approximately 9.2% of Canadians live in households that are food insecure. That number jumps to 35.8% for households in the two lowest income categories (Health Canada, 2007). Simply put, in a food system that is tied to purchasing power, those with the lowest incomes are most likely to be food insecure. At a community level, this has special significance for neighbourhoods with a high percentage of low-income households. For example, in the Central Park neighbourhood, 68% of households are under the Statistics Canada low-income cut off level (Statistics Canada, 2006). The low-income cut off roughly corresponds to the two lowest income categories in Health Canada's 2004 study. Based on these values, approximately one in four households in the Central Park community are expected to be food insecure.

Youth for EcoAction program pedagogy

The Circle of Courage youth empowerment pedagogy was incorporated into the YEA program in 2006. This model grew from an anthropological comparison of Western and Native American child rearing, with ties to positive psychology theory (Brendtro, Brokenleg & Van Bockern, 1991, 2005). The incorporation of this aspect means embedding the design and delivery of this program in decolonization and anti-oppressive frameworks. Our analysis takes shape through this lens to determine the deeper outcomes, as well as offering more mainstream results. Mainstream measures provide quick and tangible results, but are criticized as embracing only Eurocentric, middle-class values. By applying the Circle of Courage framework, it is possible to see whether youth participation contributes to decolonization and anti-oppression. This approach and its analysis are in line with other decolonization approaches taken in Winnipeg's inner city. MacKinnon and Stephens (2010) discuss how non-government organizations involved in inner-city development in Winnipeg have applied a decolonization framework, stating that:

> As the damage caused by colonization and oppression can have profound effects on self-esteem, sense of self-worth, self-confidence and hope at the individual level, it can also lead to a collective weakening of social capital. Reversing the damage is slow but essential to self-empowerment, emancipation and community transformation (2010, p. 286).

Decolonization is an act of resistance that is not limited to rejecting and transforming dominant ideas, but also includes recovering and renewing traditional cultural ways of learning (Mackinnon & Stephens, 2010). Decolonization requires learning to recognize disruptions and injury and to address their causes (MacKinnon & Stephens, 2010). To be healthy in the world requires relearning ways that are socially just, which is in line with the Circle of Courage approach (Brendtro et a.l, 1991, 2005).

The basic premise of the Circle of Courage philosophy is that all children have four basic needs for positive development. These needs are described as: 1) belonging, 2) mastery, 3) independence, and 4) generosity (Brendtro et al., 1991, 2005). The Circle of Courage authors postulate that these four basic needs in youth development are often unmet in modern Western society, resulting in broken circles and placing youth at risk (Brendtro et al., 1991, 2005; Brendtro & Mitchell, 2010). These problems are manifested in youth behaviour that is harmful to themselves and society, as shown in the absent or distorted manifestation of normal behaviours

(Whittington & Nixon Mack, 2010; Brendtro & Mitchell, 2010). Table 2 presents associated behaviours for each need on a continuum from absent to normal and then to distorted or unbalanced.

While many conventional approaches to working with at-risk youth focus on eliminating negative behaviours, the Circle of Courage model focuses on strategies that enhance positive development (Whittington and Nixon Mack, 2010; Brendtro and Mitchell, 2010). YEA staff used the Circle of Courage model to design a program that uses a variety of strategies to create positive change in youth.

Table 2: Circle of Courage Values and Behaviours along a continuum*

Circle of Courage Values	Manifested Behaviours		
	Absent	**Normal**	**Distorted**
Belonging	Unattached Guarded Rejected Lonely Aloof Isolated Distrustful	Attached Loving Friendly Intimate Gregarious Cooperative Trusting	Gang Loyalty Craves Attention Craves Acceptance Promiscuous Clinging Cult Vulnerable Overly Dependent
Mastery	Non Achiever Failure Oriented Avoids Risks Fears Challenges Unmotivated Gives Up Easily Inadequate	Achiever Successful Creative Problem-Solver Motivated Persistent Competent	Overachiever Arrogant Risk Seeker Cheater Workaholic Persevering Delinquent Skill
Independence	Submissive Lacks Confidence Inferiority Irresponsible Helplessness Undisciplined Easily Led	Autonomous Confident Assertive Responsible Inner Control Self-Discipline Leadership	Dictatorial Reckless/Macho Bullies Others Sexual Prowess Manipulative Rebellious Defies Authority
Generosity	Selfish Affectionless Narcissistic Disloyal Hardened Antisocial Exploitative	Altruistic Caring Sharing Loyal Empathic Pro-Social Supportive	Noblesse Oblige Over Involved Plays Martyr Co-Dependency Overinvolvement Servitude Bondage

*Modified from Brendtro, Brokenleg, & Van Bockern, 1991

Belonging describes the need of youth to feel respected and connected to something larger than themselves (Brendtro et al., 1991, 2005). Youth desire to feel comfortable with and appreciated by the people in their lives. Youth who have a sense of belonging tend to demonstrate more caring, friendly, and cooperative

behaviour than their peers. A sense of belonging can also extend to nature, and an appreciation for the interconnectedness of our environment.

Mastery represents the requirement of youth to feel a sense of accomplishment or achievement. In the Circle of Courage model, mastery emphasizes reaching personal goals and personal bests, and is not competitive in nature or limited to success in school (Brendtro et al., 1991, 2005). With a sense of mastery, youth gain self-confidence and self-direction; they are more likely to pursue new learning opportunities and more willing to risk failure. In the absence of mastery, youth may be unmotivated and avoid risks. If mastery is distorted, youth may cheat, be arrogant, or practice a delinquent skill.

Independence requires youth to have control over themselves and their lives (Brendtro et al., 1991, 2005). For youth to have independence, they must take responsibility for personal choices and actions. This search for independence involves youth in advocating for themselves, setting their own goals, and making decisions and problem solving around personal issues. Youth who have a feeling of independence are generally more confident, more self-disciplined, and show greater leadership. Independence is fostered through leadership training and encouraging responsibility. In the absence of independence, youth may have feelings of inferiority and helplessness and be easily led into gangs, which have a strong presence in these low-income communities (Carter, 2009). If distorted, youth may bully, be manipulative, or defy authority.

Generosity is a way for youth to feel that they are making positive contributions to the lives of others (Brendtro et al., 1991, 2005). Youth gain feelings of self-worth and self-esteem through demonstrating generosity. Youth who experience generosity are more likely to have healthy relationships, stronger support networks, and a greater sense of purpose. In the absence of generosity, youth can become selfish, antisocial, and narcissistic. If generosity becomes distorted they may become over involved, a martyr, or co-dependent.

Together, the four values of belonging, mastery, independence, and generosity create a framework for positive development and decolonization in youth. These values form the underlying model for all YEA programming to lead to more positive outcomes for the individual and the broader community.

METHODOLOGY

Data was gathered using participant observation between 2008 and 2010 and semi-structured interviews and participatory video research in the summer of 2009. Interviews were conducted with seven youth interns and three Boys and Girls Clubs of Winnipeg staff. All interns were recruited for interviews, with seven of the eight interns participating. Three of the five Boys and Girls Clubs of Winnipeg staff were interviewed; one was the YEA program coordinator and the remaining two were club managers with involvement and awareness of the YEA program over a number of years. The lead author had volunteered with participants since the inception of the YEA program, assisting with the weekend field trips and participating in community garden design and construction. This provided years of observation. The lead author witnessed the development of the participants over the years, as all of them had been participants for at least one or more years prior to their internships. The interviews were used to verify Boys and Girls Clubs of Winnipeg reports and observations over the preceding five years.

Interview themes were explored for the impact of the YEA program. Benefits of YEA were categorized into two frames of reference: 1) benefits to the YEA interns and 2) benefits to the community as a whole. These benefits were further broken down and assigned either a strong positive rating if unanimously reported among all participants and staff, or a weak positive rating if multiple accounts were given, but without

consensus. These outcomes were further analyzed as to whether they demonstrated the values outlined in the Circle of Courage model.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The YEA program had a wide variety of positive benefits at both the individual and community levels. This is consistent with benefits seen from other community youth recreation programs, which have been shown to have impacts at multiple levels: individual, family, and community (Briand et al., 2011; Lautenschlager & Smith, 2007; Trinidad, 2009). The impacts were most profound at the intern level, as shown in Table 3. The benefits of the program are categorized into five areas: skill building and job training; self-esteem; nutrition and food security; environmental awareness and behaviour; and community building.

Table 3: Benefits of the YEA program to participants and community

Reported Benefits of the YEA Program	Effect on Youth Participants	Effect on Community
Skill Building and Job Training		
Gardening skills	√	+
Job training	√	+
Communication skills	√	n/a
Leadership development	√	+
Self-Esteem		
Individual sense of pride/accomplishment	√	n/a
Increased community pride	√	+
Nutrition and Food Security		
Healthier eating	+	+
Food system knowledge	√	+
Food security	+	+
Environmental Awareness and Behaviour		
Environmental awareness	√	+
Environmental behaviour	√	+
Community Building		
Community building	√	√

√ = reported unanimously; + = multiple positive responses; n/a = not applicable

Skill building and job training

The YEA program was designed to provide education and hands-on skill building, which addressed the need for youth to experience mastery (BGCW, 2010). The YEA programming was reported by all staff and interns interviewed to have successfully fostered a wide variety of gardening and landscaping skills. Participants engaged in vegetable production, vermicomposting, aquaponics, and beekeeping operations through FortWhyte; built raised bed gardens and a greenhouse at Earthshare headquarters; volunteered as camp leaders with FortWhyte's Agriculture Adventures Camp; participated in market vegetable sales; and attended conferences and training opportunities. Interns reported gaining experience and a sense of mastery in seed starting, weeding, watering, and more complex gardening concepts such as companion planting and traditional medicines. All participants also mentioned building compost bins and raised garden beds as a new experience.

The possibility of future employment due to increased horticultural knowledge is considered to be a benefit of youth community gardening programs (Cammack, Waliczek, & Zajicek, 2002). Thus, horticultural knowledge increases their employability and independence. General job skills were gained through the YEA program. Youth learned general competences and behaviours essential for obtaining successful work experiences and reaching positive goals in the future. Staff members highlighted how the youth developed a strong work ethic and transferable job skills:

> They're out there, and they're sweating and they're there every day and doing it without constant supervision, which is amazing at their age. The work skills are so important, because that's going to equip them to get jobs in the future, which is a huge thing for our youth. (Interview, Club Manager)

Participants also mentioned job experience as a benefit of the program. One intern, when asked if the program had made any change in his life, responded: "Yes. It's good job experience. Actually, I didn't want this job. My mom forced me, and that changed my life … I'm really glad that my mom forced me!" These responses demonstrate the importance of building job skills and gaining employment experience for gaining mastery and independence.

Benefits to the community were received in three ways: 1) work experience that developed skills; 2) skill transfer from the interns to other community members; and 3) the impact of the program on non-YEA club members. All interns in the program gained skills and job experience, which is a positive development for the community as a whole. Five of the seven interns interviewed indicated that they had already put these skills to use outside of the YEA program, helping out family members, teaching younger children, and in the case of one participant, growing food for his family at home. Younger children were also engaged in different ways, with both club managers reporting a shift in the attitudes of many of the club youth. A staff member described witnessing this shift over the course of the summer:

> A lot of it is YEA, because that was such a visual example for the kids that, "Hey, these kids volunteered and now they've got a job, right?" So they can see them working all summer and getting rewards for their work. So now I get questions every day: "Can I volunteer at the club?" "Can I volunteer?"

This demonstrates a significant cultural shift in non-YEA members as a result of the YEA program.

Self-esteem and belonging

This program helped participants to develop self-esteem and a sense of belonging. Belonging is incorporated into YEA activities by encouraging dialogue, engaging the youth in planning sessions, incorporating peer tutoring, having regular team-building exercises, and celebrating achievements. YEA members are also required to sign agreements to join the program and are given matching YEA T-shirts to show they are part of a program.

All participants indicated their pride in their work and in the resulting community gardens and community change. One participant shared a sense of increased belonging and pride:

> I feel proud, because not only am I doing it for myself, but I'm helping out them, I'm helping out my community by building gardens so that everyone can survive and provide for each other.

This youth indicated that a strong sense of individual pride and accomplishment was gained by the work, but also a sense of belonging.

Despite the difficulty in separating the origin of positive change in a young person's life, with the multiple influences of school, friends, family members, media, and participation in sports and other community programming, people credited the YEA program. All the staff members interviewed thought that the YEA program had a positive effect on the participants' leadership development, communication skills, and self-esteem. One club manager shared his observations about a specific participant:

> He was one of the most sheepish guys … he was never one to approach someone in a higher position, you would have to approach him, but now these days you can see him walking out there, and he's approaching you and he's willing to communicate … Knowing him for the past two years I've seen such a development in him … He's flourished in the last year, his confidence levels are up, and he's more vocal as a person. So I really think that the program has taught him a lot of responsibility and those interpersonal skills that are needed in life, and I can definitely attribute that to the YEA program.

The increase in confidence witnessed in this participant was attributed largely to his involvement with the YEA program. This demonstrates a significant benefit at the individual level as a result of the YEA program.

Nutrition and food security

The focus of the program was gardening, nutrition, and food security. Thus, these were potential areas of impact and learning for YEA participants. Intern responses to questions around food consumption and values were mixed. All interns indicated that they knew more about how food was produced, with some sharing knowledge of organic and local production. Most but not all youth interns noted changing their diet to eat more fruits and vegetables. Most interns stated that they were eating more fruits and vegetables, and eating healthier overall since joining the YEA program. However, one intern stated: "As long as it's food, it's food to me," indicating that he didn't care about what he was eating or where it came from. This is consistent with other youth gardening programs (Robinson-O'Brien et al., 2009), which show most youth do improve her/his eating habits but that all youth do not register this change.

All interns demonstrated an increase in food issues awareness. The youth spoke with knowledge about organic foods, growing gardens without chemicals, local food vs. food from the supermarket, and global food production. This knowledge may have had or will have an impact on their food choices. These changes may manifest more as they grow older and have their own households, as the youth gain more control over their food purchases and meals made in the home. A study by Wansink showed that the largest influence on people's diets is the "nutritional gatekeeper" of the household, the person who is most responsible for purchasing groceries or otherwise obtaining food (Wansink, 2006). This is a role that many of the interns may transition into, but are not currently filling at their age.

Community-level nutrition changes were most evident with neighbourhood children and with the youngest members of the clubs. Staff indicated a greater willingness among the children to eat vegetables during snack times as a result of trying things from the garden:

> A lot of kids have turned into vegetable eaters now, which is great. They have expectations that we're going to have carrots or we're going to have beans every once in awhile. It wasn't always a regular thing, but now even if it doesn't come from the garden they know that we need these vegetables and we need to be eating these things.

A willingness to try new foods and to eat healthy snacks is a significant nutritional change for club members. Staff also indicated that neighbourhood youth were learning about how food was grown as a result of the community gardens:

> They know that it can be grown right in your own backyard, or your front yard, or in the community garden itself, and they just love to see that development of a YEA member bringing it in, and they'll say "where did you get that from?" and they say "it's from the garden" and they'll say "Really?" "Yeah, we just pulled it out." And it's great. They know that food is not just from Safeway [supermarket chain].

Increasing the knowledge of how food is grown, and generating excitement around gardening can result in a long-term benefit for the children in the community. The presence of community gardens in the neighbourhood also means that more food is being produced locally, improving community food security. The community garden provides a relatively small proportion of the food needs of the community at the moment, but builds infrastructure, skill development, and independence that will also have longer-term impacts.

Environmental awareness and behaviour

All interns reported a higher level of environmental awareness. The youth all raised the following topics in interviews: composting, recycling, littering, and the use of chemicals in food production. When asked if the YEA program had changed how they thought about the environment, one intern responded: "Lately I haven't been throwing my trash on the ground like I always used to, now I'm thinking more about the environment." This response indicates that there are cases where the participant's attitudes and behaviour are both changing as a result of the program.

Some youth deeply embraced environmental principles. One youth interviewee revealed the importance of safeguarding the environment to grow abundant and healthy food. Staff reported that this same intern took the initiative to instruct younger kids about what waste could be composted when he saw them throwing

organics in the trash. While not all participants demonstrated this level of environmental commitment, all participants did indicate that the environment was important to them.

Staff reported changes in community environmental behaviour as a result of the YEA program due to the public presence of the community gardens and the composting bins. Caring for the community gardens, cleaning up litter in the community, and fostering respect for the environment not only cultivated environmental stewardship, generosity was also exhibited by youth participants. Youth participants remarked that community members were taking care of the area better, stating that: "The community is a lot cleaner after we started cleaning it—people have been cleaning up after themselves." This observation indicates a change in community attitudes toward green spaces and the community as a whole.

Community building

The YEA program operates in low-income neighbourhoods dealing with high levels of poverty, substance abuse, crime, and gang activity with goals of building community and community gardens. Community gardens provide a place of gathering in neighbourhoods with few green spaces or parks.

In 2007, YEA designed and built its first community garden, located at the Sister MacNamara Club site. Participants were involved in all stages of the planning, design, and creation of the garden, including prepping the site, building beds, and hauling soil. The opening of the garden was a ceremony attended by over two hundred community members. The event included a garden tour, planting, and a celebration. YEA participants assisted younger children at the event in planting tomatoes, peppers, squash, and broccoli. This event initiated the main community-based component of the YEA program.

The community gardens provide a source of pride and accomplishment for interns. As a result of their involvement in the program and the community gardens, all youth reported a different attitude toward their communities. One intern when speaking of the gardens stated that: "People can realize that something that used to look all crummy can look so beautiful and that they can admire it. It's nice to have something gorgeous in our community." This quote captures how the intern felt the program was transforming the community, and its wider impact on community members. Another intern shared that his own perspective on his community had significantly changed: "I used to think that Gilbert Park wasn't a nice place before, until YEA came, and Gilbert Park got nicer, and the environment got prettier." These responses indicate a strong positive change in interns' attitudes toward their community.

The most noticeable change was a more positive attitude toward youth due to the work of the YEA interns and an upsurge in community garden appreciation. All youth and staff members reported positive interactions with community members. One participant stated: "Some people come by and stop and say, 'Wow, you guys are doing a great job, keep it up,' and make nice comments." A club staff member echoed this comment:

> We've heard all kinds of comments from other neighbouring organizations as well as community members saying that they're just shocked that a few short years ago it was a decrepit place that was unsafe and there was junk in there, and how it's just turned into this beautiful landscape and they're just totally in awe and impressed with what it's done for the community … there's been a really positive community response. Everybody seems to take ownership of it.

This positive response included a new interest from teachers in utilizing the garden spaces for classroom lessons on plants and vegetables. The gardens also attracted interest from community members and

agencies requesting space at the sites. The gardens were highly visible evidence of the Boys and Girls Clubs of Winnipeg presence, bringing positive attention and publicity to the agency as a whole. Increased support for an important community youth-serving agency can only result in a benefit to the community as a whole.

YEA PROGRAMMING AND THE CIRCLE OF COURAGE

The values of the Circle of Courage program were incorporated into the YEA program. After analyzing the data and documenting the benefits of the program to participants and the community, the original program goals were considered in relation to the Circle of Courage model. Table 4 lists each of the benefit areas of the program and the Circle of Courage value they express. Some benefits overlap into multiple value areas.

Table 4: YEA benefits as Circle of Courage values

Reported benefits of the YEA program	Circle of Courage Values			
	Belonging	Mastery	Independence	Generosity
Gardening skills		√		
Job training		√	√	
Communication skills			√	
Leadership development			√	
Individual sense of pride/accomplishment		√		
Increased community pride	√			√
Healthier eating			√	
Food system knowledge	√	√		
Food security			√	
Environmental awareness	√	√		
Environmental behaviour	√		√	√
Community building	√		√	√

The YEA appears to be successful at nurturing all four value areas through different aspects of its programming. Some areas were easier to identify than others. For example, it was most evident that youth demonstrated mastery at gardening skills through the beauty and productivity of their garden, and they were able to share their knowledge with others. Participants gained pride and self-esteem from the many community members who showed their appreciation of the community gardens, as well as a sense of belonging in the community. Aspects of environmental stewardship and community building were not only considered to engage generosity values but also values of belonging and independence. These values are in line with discussion around traditional Aboriginal perspectives of belonging in the Circle of Courage literature:

> The sense of belonging extended to nature as well. Animals, plants, people, and streams all were interdependent. From childhood, children were taught through stories that if this harmony was upset, tragedies could result. All are related, and one's actions impinge on the natural environment. Maintaining balance[d] ecological relationships is a way of ensuring balance in one's own life. (Brendtro, Brokenleg, & Van Bockern, 1990, p. 41)

This perspective was echoed by one of the participants during an interview session whose comment on how the environment feeds us demonstrated an interconnected perspective toward the environment. One participant kept being asked by different youth where the food they were distributing came from and replied, "The food is from the garden … And it's great, they know that food is not just from Safeway, but that it is the earth that feeds us."

Certainly all four values are overlapping in the YEA program, and together they work toward positive development for youth participants. This approach is decolonizing for youth and building social capital in the community. When looking at the program from a community and societal level, it is interesting to compare the financial costs of the program in the context of working with at-risk youth and crime prevention. With roughly $100,000 in funding per year, organizations like the Boys and Girls Clubs of Winnipeg could run a YEA program, reaching dozens of at-risk youth, with multiple benefits extending into the community. Comparatively, $100,000 is the amount it costs on average to incarcerate a youth for one year (John Howard Society of Manitoba, 2011).

CONCLUSION

For lower-income neighbourhoods experiencing social, economic, and physical barriers, youth community gardening programming can be an effective strategy for community development and youth empowerment. Applying decolonizing pedagogy through the Circle of Courage model, the YEA program created many positive changes in the lives of participants. Youth experienced benefits in the areas of skill building and job training; self-esteem; improved nutrition and food security; environmental awareness and behaviour; and community building. The program provided many opportunities for youth to develop the four Circle of Courage values of generosity, independence, mastery, and belonging. Benefits were also felt at a broader community level, through the human development of the interns and other youth in the neighbourhood, but also the natural, social, and physical improvements brought about by the community gardens.

Working on a relatively small budget, the Boys and Girls Clubs of Winnipeg have achieved significant impacts in the lives of youth and the community as a whole through the YEA. The program has trained and employed youth, improved community green spaces, created gardening infrastructure, and improved community food security. These are remarkable achievements and are worth replicating in other communities where willing schools and youth organizations exist. This finding is similar to other studies where at-risk youth have been employed in youth community development programs focused on gardening.

For organizations looking to the YEA program as a model to replicate, four best practices of the YEA program should be considered:

1) The Circle of Courage model is the basis of the YEA program and influenced all aspects of programming. The Circle of Courage model should be considered in the planning stages of a youth gardening program to ensure that the program incorporates decolonization and youth empowerment. The model would also be applicable for non-gardening youth programming.

2) The graduated stages of the programming, with different activities and involvement for different age groups, are a strength of the YEA program. By having different levels of programming, there is room for growth for individual participants and goals for them to work toward. This strategy also allows for the older participants to teach and act as mentors and role models for the younger members.

3) The YEA program is based around community gardens and activities within the home communities of the involved participants. The program features field trips and workshops outside of the communities, but the majority of programming takes place in the inner city. This has resulted in benefits to the communities, as well as to the participants, who feel proud of their contributions to their own communities. Some examples of youth gardening programming in North America focus on bringing participants to suburban, peri-urban, and rural locations to engage in horticultural activities. That the YEA program is based in the inner city is a strength of the program, working with the at-risk youth in their neighbourhood to make change.

4) The YEA program is a collaborative effort between community organizations, environmental organizations, local schools, and community volunteers and mentors. This collaborative approach has allowed for a wealth of experience, knowledge, and skills to be contributed to the program. This approach enhances the program, and allows for a variety of participants and staff members to be involved, as not everyone is required to be an expert in all areas.

The major barriers to successfully running a similar youth gardening program are staffing and funding. The YEA program was lucky to have a "champion," who went to great efforts to develop the program and bring together interested individuals and organizations. Having an individual, or a group of individuals who are passionate, dedicated, and skilled in program development is key to getting a similar program running successfully.

Adequate multiyear funding is necessary for a program to build on successes from year to year and for stability in the program. Although input costs for the program are relatively low, funding is required to cover a coordinator's salary, and for summer intern wages. These costs can be matched by in-kind contributions and volunteer labour, but for a successful program, cash funding sources are required. Obtaining sufficient, sustainable funding can be a major barrier to the implementation of the YEA model of youth gardening programming.

With $100,000 in funding, organizations like the Boys and Girls Clubs of Winnipeg are able to run programming that reaches dozens of at-risk youth with benefits that extend to the community. In contrast, this is the cost to incarcerate a single youth for one year (John Howard Society of Manitoba, 2011). When programs incorporate Circle of Courage values, youth needs are met in ways that make them immune to crime. This pedagogy, with the community gardening and skills training, provides many positive aspects in the participants' lives and ripples outward into the broader community. These findings confirm the results of similar studies (Gatto et al., 2012; Ober Allen et al., 2008; Rahm, 2002, Lautenschlager & Smith 2007; Trinidad, 2009). Community youth gardening projects provide many benefits by offering employment and training for at-risk youth, reconnecting urban youth to nature, and allowing youth to participate in community development to their individual and broader societal benefit.

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ABOUT THE AUTHORS / LES AUTEURS

Stephanie Fulford is an MNRM graduate of the Natural Resources Institute at the University of Manitoba. Email: stephfulford@gmail.com .

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

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Compte-rendu de livre

par David Longtin

Vers une théorie de l'économie sociale et solidaire. Sous la direction de David Hiez et Eric Lavillunière**.** Bruxelle : Éditions Larcier, 2013, 475 pp. ISBN : 9782804453367.

Cet ouvrage est né des réflexions collectives de chercheurs et de praticiens issus de l'économie sociale, solidaire et communautaire en France, au Québec et au Brésil réunis lors d'un séminaire à l'Université de Marne-la-Vallée et d'un colloque à l'Université du Luxembourg. Il tente de relever le défi de rapprocher les deux courants de l'économie sociale et de l'économie solidaire autour du concept d'économie sociale et solidaire (ESS), concept ayant pris son essor au début des années 2000. L'ouvrage collectif poursuit à la fois l'objectif théorique de dégager la spécificité de l'ESS afin de rompre avec la conception dichotomique de l'économie en fonction d'économies publique et privée et un projet politique, proposant un modèle de société alternatif au capitalisme.

Organisé en deux parties, l'ouvrage dresse d'abord les distinctions internes puis les contours externes de l'ESS; il présente ensuite les fondements historiques, philosophiques, politiques et économiques de concepts associés à l'ESS afin d'en cerner la spécificité. Un effort est fait afin de délimiter les divergences et les convergences entre les deux traditions constituantes de l'ESS, porteuses de principes éthiques et politiques distincts s'étant forgés à travers l'histoire, afin d'identifier les pistes et obstacles pour la construction d'un corpus théorique commun.

Appartenant à différentes disciplines, les auteurs établissent les distinctions conceptuelles qui délimitent les contours de l'ESS. Ainsi, dans un effort de reconnaissance des identités respectives des deux traditions, Jean-Louis Laville dégage la singularité de l'économie solidaire dans ses rapports à l'économique et au politique. Sa spécificité tiendrait au fait qu'elle promeut la pluralité des principes économiques ainsi que la démocratisation de l'économie en vertu des principes d'égalité et de solidarité au-delà des statuts et des formes juridiques d'entreprises. Dans le même sens, en se rapportant aux travaux de Jürgen Habermas et de Karl Polanyi, Éric Dacheux et Daniel Goujon argumentent en faveur de l'établissement d'un nouveau paradigme économique dont l'allocation des ressources productives reposerait sur la délibération, replaçant ainsi le marché parmi les modes de réglementation économique non marchands et non monétaires. Pour sa part, David Hiez examine les oppositions entre l'économie sociale et l'économie solidaire dans leurs rapports respectifs au droit, oppositions qui résulteraient de leur trajectoire d'institutionnalisation différente. Finalement, deux chapitres cernent la distinction entre l'ESS et les approches européennes et américaines de l'entrepreneuriat social (Jacques Defourny et Marthe Nyssens d'une part; Francesca Petrella et Nadine Richez-Battesti d'autre part).

L'ouvrage se donne aussi pour tâche de retracer les fondements de l'ESS au sein de traditions philosophiques et politiques modernes. Afin d'approfondir la pensée économique hétérodoxe contemporaine, Amélie Artis et Danièle Demoustier retracent l'histoire de la pensée communautaire de Robert Owen et Charles Fourier, de l'associationnisme des années 1840-1850 promu par Auguste Ott, Philippe Buchez et Louis Blanc, du solidarisme de la fin du 19e siècle préconisé par Léon Walras et Charles Gide et des analyses de la coopération et de l'économie sociale proposées par Georges Fauquet et Claude Vienney au tournant du 20e siècle. Dans cette optique, Laurent Gardin aborde l'influence de la pensée proudhonienne à l'égard du fédéralisme, du mutuellisme et de la justice et sa capacité à enrichir le corpus théorique de l'ESS. L'hypothèse d'une tradition de pensée spécifique à l'ESS est reprise par Jean-François Draperi qui soutient que cette dernière s'enracine dans les pratiques des mouvements associationnistes, coopérativistes et mutualistes du 19e et du 20e siècle, ayant porté trois projets de changement social distincts, soit les utopies d'une économie non capitaliste, d'une république coopérative de consommateurs et de l'intercoopération entre producteurs et usagers.

Malgré l'accent mis sur la tradition française, l'ouvrage présente une réflexion sur l'économie solidaire et populaire brésilienne militant en faveur d'une alternative au capitalisme contemporain par la revalorisation du travail associé (Pedro Cunca Bocayuva), ainsi qu'une perspective québécoise de recherche sur l'économie sociale, dont l'originalité repose sur l'articulation théorique avec le concept d'innovation sociale (Marie J. Bouchard et Benoît Lévesque). Dans une approche similaire, Franck Bessis et Isabelle Hillenkampf exposent une démarche pluridisciplinaire croisant une socio-économie inspirée de Polanyi avec l'économie des conventions, concevant l'économie comme un processus institutionnalisé se transformant à travers les innovations sociales émergeant de la réflexivité des acteurs.

L'ouvrage comprend également des études de cas soulevant des questionnements à l'égard du développement de l'ESS. Le cas du Centre de formation en économie solidaire de la région Nordeste au Brésil ouvre une réflexion sur la construction d'un paradigme éducatif en économie solidaire et son rôle dans la formation et la diffusion des pratiques (Ana Dubeux). Pour sa part, le cas de la reconversion du bassin de Longwy invite à la réflexion critique, à partir d'une sociologie des ressources, sur l'impact de l'économie solidaire sur le salariat et le développement de logiques territoriales d'assistance (Jean-Luc Deshayes). Sont abordés dans deux études de cas chacun la distinction entre l'économie solidaire et l'économie populaire (Patrick Giafaldoni et Claude Llenna) ou, au contraire, le rapprochement entre la responsabilité sociale des entreprises et l'ESS (Gloria Maffet et Annie Sinda).

La majorité des chapitres adopte un ton analytique, comparant diverses approches théoriques et disciplinaires afin de délimiter un champ propre à l'ESS et de dégager les éléments convergents et divergents permettant un rapprochement de ses deux courants fondateurs. Néanmoins, plusieurs auteurs adoptent un ton déontique, voire polémique. Cette forme d'argumentation s'explique en partie par la perspective épistémologique de recherche-action qui caractériserait, selon Draperi, l'ESS. Celle-ci valoriserait une démarche expérimentale--visant simultanément à produire des connaissances et à transformer les pratiques collectives--et une éthique promouvant l'introduction de règles et de valeurs démocratiques dans l'économie. D'ailleurs, comme l'exposent de nombreuses contributions, l'ESS s'enracine dans des projets de changement social portés par des mouvements préconisant la mise en pratique de principes éthiques et politiques dans les activités économiques.

Constituant un ouvrage collectif, ce livre faisait face au défi d'établir une cohérence entre les contributions variées des différents auteurs. Globalement, les diverses contributions permettent de cerner les contours du concept d'ESS, le départageant d'autres notions, telles l'entrepreneuriat social, l'économie populaire ou

l'économie capitaliste. L'ouvrage montre le potentiel de convergence entre les fondements théoriques, politiques et éthiques de l'économie sociale et de l'économie solidaire afin de fonder un projet de modèle économique alternatif.

Toutefois, l'apport des auteurs à cet objectif varie, certains abordant une notion spécifique, voire un cas empirique, sans établir les relations possibles entre l'économie sociale et l'économie solidaire. De plus, des divergences à la fois théoriques, éthiques et politiques persistent entre les chercheurs et praticiens, qui défendent parfois l'un des deux courants, malgré une volonté de rapprochement des points de vue. Dès lors, le livre apparaît plus comme une collection de contributions individuelles qu'un effort collectif de réflexion. À ce propos, l'absence de chapitre de conclusion procédant à une synthèse qui dégagerait les points de convergence et de divergence issus de la réflexion collective est illustrative.

L'AUTEUR / ABOUT THE AUTHOR

David Longtin est professionnel de recherche au Centre de recherche sur les innovations sociales de l'Université du Québec à Montréal. Courriel : longtin.david@uqam.ca .

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Book Review
by Omar V. Mora

Volunteer Work, Informal Learning and Social Action. *Edited by F. Duguid, K. Mündel, and D. Schugurensky.* Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 2013. 258 pp. ISBN: 9789462092310.

A great deal of scholarship exists on the connection between work and learning; however, much of this scholarship takes formal education and paid employment as the primary area of analysis. Literature on learning is overly saturated with the study of formal education, that is, institutions ranging from elementary schools to universities. One presupposition is that learning happens primarily in schools. Another is that it is easier to research learning in formal institutions than in the elusive dynamics of everyday life. Perhaps the presupposition is that learning happens primarily in schools. Or perhaps it is easier to research learning in formal institutions than in the elusive dynamics of everyday life. While some degree of attention has been paid to learning in non-formal educational settings, including adult education programs, workshops, and the like, very little research has been done—comparatively speaking—on informal learning. Similarly, academic literature on work tends to focus on paid employment. Although people devote great amounts of time and energy to household work and volunteer work, these areas have not attracted much research interest—again, comparatively speaking. If these two bodies of literature (informal learning on the one hand and volunteer work on the other) are marginal in the literature on education and work, it is not surprising that very little has been written on the connections between informal learning and volunteer work.

The book *Volunteer Work, Informal Learning and Social Action,* edited by Fiona Duguid, Karsten Mündel, and Daniel Schugurensky, constitutes an interesting attempt to address this deficit. The book takes a close look at a cross section of volunteer work, and the depth of informal learning that it yields. The volume is well organized and flows well, encompassing eleven chapters that move the reader through theoretical analysis, empirical research, and practical recommendations.

Schugurensky's introduction to the book provides a brief history of volunteerism and discusses current dynamics of volunteer work and learning in the context of the "knowledge economy." Particular attention is paid to tacit learning (learning that occurs unconsciously and unintentionally), raising provocative epistemological questions and outlining some of the challenges faced by researchers. The first chapter, co-written by the three editors, goes deeper into the themes discussed in the introduction and presents a solid conceptual analysis that sets up the overall framework to better contextualize the realities examined in the case studies. The second chapter, by Susan Stowe, analyzes data on volunteer work and informal learning in Canada and in other countries, and helps us to interpret that information in the context of contemporary economic and social policies.

The subsequent chapters focus on case studies, which are organized in three areas of volunteer work: community service, community representation, and community development. Service (Chapters three, four, and five) includes activities like delivering meals to seniors, coaching sports teams, driving children to music camps, helping in a food bank, teaching local language and culture to new immigrants or to migrant workers, coordinating a toy drive, or organizing a festival. Community representation (Chapters six, seven, and eight) refers to volunteer work undertaken on behalf of a community—acting as an unpaid representative in decision-making bodies like boards, committees, or councils. Community development (Chapters nine and ten) includes the three classic approaches proposed by Jack Rothman: social planning, locality development, and social action. In the concluding chapter, the editors, together with Megan Haggerty, connect the insights emerging from the case studies and provide a good analysis of motivations to volunteer, the breadth of learning acquired by the volunteers, and the connections between profiles of volunteers and types of learning.

This book provides us with important connections between what volunteers learn and how they learn it, which affords us further insight into unseen motivating factors for volunteerism and most importantly, why volunteers learn in ways that researchers and practitioners have not previously focused on. Taking into account the case studies, they revisit and amend the typology of volunteer work that they had presented in the first chapter. In other words, they challenge the presuppositions that volunteers tend to freely choose their work; that they are unpaid; that volunteers are typically part of a nonprofit organization; and that their work benefits the community in positive ways. Expanding these conceptions of what volunteerism looks like helps us better understand how informal learning occurs in nuanced ways.

All of these case studies were thought provoking because they provided a robust context in which to reconsider volunteering as work. I found the most riveting case study to be Chapter 5: "The Experiences of Immigrants Who Volunteer to Access the Labour Market: Pushing the Boundaries of 'Volunteerism,'" by Bonnie Slade, Yang Cathy Luo, and Schugurensky. The very term "volunteer" presupposes volition and autonomy. This chapter problematized that construct by showing how many immigrant communities are effectively coerced into "volunteering," and that some of this volunteering takes place in for-profit companies.

While the book articulates a nuanced way of looking at volunteer work and informal learning, these studies were conducted primarily in a Canadian social context. This presents some limitations for international and interdisciplinary discourses. For instance, if the book had looked more broadly, what epistemological considerations would be necessary to strengthen international perspectives comparatively? Irrespective of this minor shortcoming, I believe this book would be valuable in courses that centre on social transformation or social economy themes.

Much praise should be paid to the editors for pushing the discourse on how we study volunteers and their motivations, and most importantly what they themselves garner from the process. Furthermore, challenging the hegemony that many discourses on pedagogy have held historically, these scholars have furthered our epistemological consideration of what learning is, and how it helps us challenge our notions of service and action.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR / L'AUTEUR

Omar V. Mora is a graduate student in the M.A. in Social and Cultural Pedagogy Program at Arizona State University. Email: omar.mora@asu.edu .

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Book Review
by Jorge Sousa

Canadian Public Policy and the Social Economy. *Edited by R. Downing*. Victoria, BC: University of Victoria, 2012. 427 pp. ISBN 9781550584530.

Assembling Understandings: Findings from the Canadian Social Economy Research Partnerships, 2005-2011. *Edited by M. Thompson & J. Emmanuel.* Victoria, BC: University of Victoria, 2012. 165 pp. ISBN 9781550584578.

Understanding Canada's social economy as it exists today has been an ongoing challenge for academics, practitioners, and the general public. While there lacks clear consensus on what the social economy is, there has been no lack of effort to demonstrate its ubiquity. There have been several edited and authored books exploring different facets of the social economy released over the last number of years, many of which have been reviewed in this journal. I have found that keeping track of the diverse perspectives only adds to the confusion. What makes the three volumes recently released by the University of Victoria and the Canadian Community Economic Development Network different is that the multiple perspectives illustrative of the discourse of the social economy are fully evident throughout. The set serves as a good introduction to the different areas associated with the social economy. An added advantage is that they are available free of charge.

This review will be for two of the three volumes: *Canadian Public Policy and the Social Economy* and *Assembling Understandings: Findings from the Canadian Social Economy Research Partnerships*. A review of the third volume, *Community-University Research Partnerships: Reflections on the Canadian Social Economy Experience*, already appeared in this journal (Wasniewski, Ewa (2013). Specifically, the two volumes of the set I review here summarize public policy issues and research findings in Canadian social economy research in recent years. The different chapters in both of the volumes are accessible to a variety of readers and lay out the different areas associated with the social economy. In fact, all chapters have the involvement of both practitioners and academics. These two volumes represent one of the many outputs of the five-year project funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, referred to as the Canadian Social Economy Research Partnerships. Regular readers of this journal will know the project that I am referring to, so I will not go into any more detail other than opening the discussion and providing evidence concerning two of the primary objectives associated with the partnerships: research findings and public policy. I encourage new readers to refer to earlier volumes of this journal for more details on the research partnerships.

What the reader will quickly notice in these two volumes is the absence of a clear definition of the social economy. A strength of the books is that the authors meet the challenge of naming or characterizing the social economy head-on. While there appears to be incongruence with respect to definition, there is agreement in the following areas: the social economy exists within Canadian society and the crucial goals are to help identify it as a movement and to identify its efficacy on the well-being of Canadians. While the authors each explain the social economy in their own idiosyncratic way, they help add clarity to the confusion for the general public about whether the social economy represents a legitimate part of the economy, or if it is a humane alternative to the alienating affects of the private sector or a paternalistic public sector.

The two volumes demonstrate what I would refer to as two pillars of the social economy: public policy and evidence-based research. Both of these are covered quite extensively in the texts through the sharing of direct experience, as well as examples of how the social economy is manifested in everyday life. In the volume entitled *Canadian Public Policy and the Social Economy*, Rupert Downing assembled ten interesting and comprehensive chapters that range from descriptions of public policies as well as an understanding of key considerations in the development of public policy that are supportive of the social economy.

While it may seem peculiar that a volume should be devoted to public policy, the authors provide a concise and comprehensive demonstration to the reader of the breadth and scope of the idea of social economy in the public domain. In the ten chapters, the different authors were able to capture the key ideas associated with the social economy and its relevance to the public discourse in areas of social, environmental, and environmental policy. The volume offers both international and national ways of understanding the scope and breadth of the social economy.

I have often wondered why the social economy needs to be reliant on government to ensure its success. While I am not convinced that the social economy should be characterized as a public policy issue, the authors do make a strong case for why a discussion of the social economy needs to include public policy. For instance, Crystal Tremblay's chapters, ("Advancing the Social Economy for Socio-Economic Development: International Perspectives" and "Public Policy Trends and Instruments Supporting the Social Economy: International Experiences"), provide both overviews of public policy issues as well as the actual tools that utilize policy levers aimed at supporting the social economy. However, one of the concerns that I continue to have is the expectation that the social economy can transform society. I have often asked whether public policy should be involved in efforts leading or encouraging social transformation.

The volume outlining some key research findings, *Assembling Understandings: Findings from the Canadian Social Economy Research Partnerships*, takes the reader on an interesting journey to different areas of research. Editors Matthew Thompson and Joy Emmanuel have concisely assembled many of the key findings and understandings that emerged from the research partnerships. The eight chapters represent an impressive effort at synthesizing issues (e.g. financing and governance), functions (e.g. presence in the capitalist market), and institutions (e.g. co-operatives and indigenous contexts) that form the social economy. Their thorough review of numerous research outcomes provides an excellent introduction to some of the key debates and successes associated with the social economy. While it is clear from this volume that public policy contains useful levers to support the social economy, the different examples used throughout this volume provides a broad view of how the social economy could be understood as a self-reliant sector, as much as the public and private sectors are.

As an educator and academic practitioner, I am appreciative that these volumes have been released. However, I do find that the three-volume set suffers from the same shortcomings as many other similar texts

on the social economy. Here, I am referring to the absence of a coherent focus and framework linking the ideas. While the text and content is crucial for any individual interested in learning more about the social economy, the analysis is not theoretically grounded, even though much of the analysis is quite sophisticated. This sophistication may prevent the average reader from truly understanding the nature of the social economy. For instance, even though the authors all have experience in the social economy in one form or another, it does little to help aid a newcomer in understanding the embedded social and political critique that underlies much of our work. Furthermore, while these volumes will be of great use for practitioners and students, they do little to advance the field from a theoretical standpoint. I want to be clear that I am not implying that sharing experiences of best practices is unimportant and incongruent to theory. But in these volumes the reader is left to wonder what lens or framework could be applied in order to appreciate the different areas that form the social economy.

I feel the benefits of having these volumes released far outweigh any potential shortcomings. However, I believe it is important to remind readers that the social economy should be understood as being more than organizational forms or financing market reform. The social economy needs to be seen as equally integral as the public and private sectors in Canadian Society, and this will happen through evidence of successes as well as evidence of how the challenges are being addressed by social economy actors. We are much further ahead as a society because of the work of the research partnerships.

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR / L'AUTEUR

Jorge Sousa is Associate Professor and Coordinator of the Adult Education Specialization in the Department of Educational Policy Studies at the University of Alberta. Email: sousa@ualberta.ca .

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Book Review
by Sonya Scott

Accounting for Social Value. *Edited by L. Mook*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2013. 272 pp. ISBN: 9781442611467.

Laurie Mook's recent edited collection of essays on social accounting practices, *Accounting For Social Value* (2013), presents social accounting as a complex knowledge practice with implications both for social economy organizations and society at large. Building on her rather substantive list of influential publications in the field, Mook brings together a series of essays that re-imagine accounting for specialists and non-specialists alike. Social accounting is a practice defined as "a systematic analysis of the effects of an organization on its communities of interest or stakeholders, with stakeholder input as part of the data that are analyzed for the accounting statement" (Quarter, Mook, & Richmond, 2007, p. xxx). It has as its intention the broad measurement of an organization's performance (including economic, social, and environmental factors), and has, as its audience, a broad number of groups, extending to stakeholders throughout the community at large.

In this collection, Mook introduces the history of social accounting practices through three historical waves (1970s, 1990s onward, and 2000s onward) in terms of their methodology, expectations, and applicability. Each subsequent essay engages specific instantiations of social accounting practices "on the ground." In so doing, they each explore the successes and failures of social accounting practices, the challenges of implementation and establishing a common language of account, and the relevance of social accounting for contemporary social economy organizations.

As Max Weber pointed out in *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1905), the peculiarity and pervasiveness of the Occidental capitalist form was in part a consequence of rational bookkeeping. Indeed, accounting as a knowledge practice both shapes and transforms economic practices, at the same time as it attempts to reflect the "truth," or the measurable content, of the economic world. The dialectical nature of accounting as a social practice has been explored by many in the field (e.g., Bebbington, Brown, Frame, & Thomson, 2007; Hopper, Storey, & Wilmott, 1987; Morgan, 1988), and yet Chapter 9 in this volume, "The Role of Intermediaries in Social Accounting" by Katherine Ruff, brings to light the shifting register of truth in the history of accounting. What today appears to be a universally valid truth (e.g., the mathematical calculation of profit by means of financial accounting) was, at its inception, perceived as an immensely complex, even impossible, task. Ruff points out that "a common understanding of profit had to be created" (p. 232) before there could be a relative degree of uniformity in financial accounting. In much the same way, we see throughout all the essays in this collection that *social value* will need to be collectively imagined in order to create a common language with which to assess it. For such a reason the need for strong intermediaries,

those who "distill complex information" (p. 243) but are neither the stakeholders nor members of the organization at hand, runs as a theme throughout this collection. Quite poignantly, Bryn Sadownik (Chapter 6, "The Demonstrating Value Initiative") shows the importance of developing reporting and measurement mechanisms by exploring how the Demonstrating Value Framework (the result of a Vancouver community-based initiative that started up in 2004) "guides social enterprises to fully identify their information needs for managing, planning and demonstrating their value" (p. 140).

A fundamental contradiction runs throughout the text, however, whereby effective social accounting practices are heralded in terms of the revenue-oriented benefits they hold for the social economy organizations that use them. While stakeholder engagement and community inclusion are also lauded under the general banner of increased democratic participation in economic structures, ultimately the attraction of greater capital investment, publicity, and membership are the most frequently cited incentives to social accounting practices. To be fair, this concern would be inherent to any organization operating within profit-driven capitalist contexts, as it would to any discipline that aimed to transform a language first designed to effectively describe a uniform notion of profit. The complexity and frustrations of such a task are quite explicitly dealt with by most of the authors, and the failings and challenges of social accounting are one of the most powerful thematic interventions of this collection, always with an eye to improvement, increased social relevance, and broader implementation. As Leslie Brown and Elizabeth Hicks point out in Chapter 4 ("Stakeholder Engagement in the Design of Social Accounting and Reporting Tools"), while responsible social accounting can dramatically increase the democratic potential of organizations through greater transparency (p. 91), there is also the danger that "in the longer run people may simply become cynical as social accounting is used more as an effort to manage perceptions rather than an instrument for real change" (p. 88).

The challenges of social accounting in our current neoliberal context become quite apparent through essays treating cases such as: Assisi Organics, a social purpose business that produces garments in the much longer value chain of Fair Trade organic cotton produced in India (Darryl Reed, Ananya Muckherjee, J.J. McMurtry, & Manjula Cherkil, Chapter 3); the Consumers' Community Co-operative, a retail grocery chain opened in 2001 in Atlantic Canada that provides many lessons to be learned for social accounting due to their ultimate dissolution in 2008 (Brown & Hicks, Chapter 4); Alterna Savings, a credit union based in Ontario that carried a successful, though underreported, business micro-loan program for low-income members (Edward T. Jackson & Michele Tarsilla, Chapter 5); and Convention and Visitors' Bureaus throughout the United States, organizations with tremendous, though typically unreported, impact for stakeholders often overlooked by mainstream tourism management literature (Timothy J. Tyrrell & Robert J. Johnston, Chapter 7). Each of these essays critically explores the successes, failures, and possibilities for social accounting in their particular case study, giving insight into both current systemic pressures and the road ahead for the discipline and practice.

In the development of new accounting practices, the need for vision and leadership is key. The importance of stewardship and vision in institutional practice is introduced when Massimo Contrafatto and Jan Bebbington (Chapter 2) establish the connection between stewardship and accountability in the Scottish case of the Falkland Heritage Trust, an organization that protects historical, environmental, and cultural aspects of the Falkland estate. Here, within a discussion of the potentiality of the social audit process, we see that stewardship practices are "considerably wider, deeper and more radical than that most usually observed in the social accounting and corporate social responsibility literatures" (p. 52). The idea that new vision in already established institutions can play a valuable role in social change comes to bear on the Canadian university system as well, when McMurtry, Jacqueline Medalye, and Reed (Chapter 8) demonstrate the need for Fair Trade purchasing practices and coherent sustainable development policies in postsecondary institutions. In many ways, this entire volume presents a new and socially transformative vision of an accounting practice

where "systematic analysis of the responsible involvement of organizations in the society's social fabric, coupled with discussion to which a diverse spectrum of stakeholders are invited, embody the lively and communicative aspects of civil society" (p. 257). This collection will be of great value to social economy practitioners, accountants engaged in critical accounting practices, and scholars of business, economics, and the social sciences alike.

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR / L'AUTEUR

Sonya Scott teaches in the program of Business & Society at York University, Toronto, ON. Email: smscott@yorku.ca .

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Compte-rendu de livre
par Mélanie Claude

L'économie sociale et solidaire : de l'utopie aux pratiques. Par Matthieu Hély et Pascale Moulévrier Paris : Éditions La Dispute, 2013, 222 pp. ISBN : 9782843032417.

Cet ouvrage sociologique porte un regard critique sur l'économie sociale et solidaire en France. Par l'entremise d'un travail de déconstruction, Matthieu Hély et Pascale Moulévrier interrogent plusieurs idées reçues de l'économie sociale et solidaire (ESS) afin de mettre en évidence le « flou » qu'elle entretient avec le nouvel esprit du capitalisme et son rôle dans la reconfiguration des formes d'intervention de l'État. Pour rendre compte de la complexité des processus par lesquels l'ESS se positionne et se constitue comme « alternative », les auteurs passent par le quotidien des agents--les interactions, les pratiques et les discours--ainsi que l'histoire sociale des institutions. Plus particulièrement, ils choisissent comme point d'entrée le travail et les mécanismes d'appropriation de logiques.

D'entrée de jeu, les auteurs explicitent l'ambition de cet ouvrage. Il s'agit de « montrer l'économie sociale et solidaire telle qu'elle est : un secteur hétérogène, mais soucieux de produire un discours fédérateur, un secteur employeur de 10% des salariés en France, [et] un secteur consubstantiel au capitalisme depuis la fin du XXe siècle » (p. 9). Toutefois, certains lecteurs pourraient y voir, en filigrane, un autre objectif : l'élaboration d'une (autre) sociologie de l'ESS. En effet, les auteurs se situent en rupture par rapport aux analyses qui considèrent l'ESS comme susceptible d'être une « alternative » au capitalisme. Ils se montrent également critiques face à l'implication des « intellectuels militants » dans la construction du mouvement ainsi qu'à l'institutionnalisation de l'ESS.

Si les auteurs énoncent leur ambition et posent clairement les limites de cet ouvrage, on peut déplorer que les « observations » ou les « enquêtes » sur lesquelles repose l'argumentation ne soient pas explicitées. À la lumière du titre et des premiers chapitres, on peut penser que les pratiques étudiées lors des « enquêtes » menées par les auteurs seront à la base de l'argumentation. Or, au fur et à mesure que la lecture avance, leurs « observations » se perdent au profit d'une série d'études menées par d'autres chercheurs. On reconnaît que les aspects méthodologiques apparaissent rarement dans un ouvrage grand public, mais une référence en note de bas de page aux études et observations menées par les auteurs aurait permis au lecteur non seulement de s'y référer ultérieurement, mais aussi de comprendre la pertinence de celles-ci dans l'analyse critique.

Cet ouvrage se divise en trois temps. D'abord, les auteurs travaillent à la déconstruction des mythes invoqués par l'ESS pour se différencier de l'économie capitaliste. Ensuite, ils mettent en lumière le « flou » qui existe entre les frontières des secteurs public et privé, et auquel les entreprises de l'ESS participent malgré elles. Enfin, à partir de la perspective des dirigeants, des employeurs et des salariés, les auteurs explicitent la dialectique intégration/différenciation qu'entretient l'ESS à l'égard du monde du travail traditionnel.

En introduction, les auteurs font un bref état des lieux de même qu'une incursion dans l'histoire afin de montrer comment la genèse de l'ESS est intrinsèquement liée au capitalisme. Ils montrent comment les institutions de l'ESS ont conservé le « bénéfice du flou » en revendiquant, au fil des configurations historiques qu'elles ont traversées, « leur position d'entre-deux et leur légitimité historiquement acquise de "troisième voie", voire d'*outsider* permanent » (p. 24). Le premier chapitre vise à défaire trois mythes fondamentaux de l'ESS, soit ceux du salariat, de la démocratie et du « hors monde ». Par une relecture des processus sociaux de construction de l'ESS, les auteurs donnent au lecteur les outils nécessaires pour comprendre les fausses oppositions entre l'État, le marché et l'ESS. Les auteurs montrent que l'ESS est un espace social très hétérogène sur le plan des idéaux et des représentations que ses promoteurs ont développés d'elle. Le deuxième chapitre porte sur les affinités entre les pratiques des organisations de l'ESS et l'impératif de « modernisation de l'action publique » (p. 59). L'idée selon laquelle il y aurait un désengagement de l'État au profit des entreprises privées est remise en question par les auteurs. Par l'hypothèse d'un double mouvement de « publicisation du privé » et de « privatisation du public », les auteurs montrent que les organisations de l'ESS participent plutôt à la reconfiguration de l'État sans que ce dernier quitte ses fonctions d'intérêt général. Le troisième chapitre porte sur les stratégies organisationnelles développées afin de différencier l'ESS des autres secteurs d'employabilité. Les auteurs montrent comment à la fin des années 1970, l'ESS tente d'affirmer sa singularité par la notion d'utilité sociale, laquelle s'oppose à celle d'intérêt général associée à l'État. Dans le quatrième chapitre, les auteurs s'intéressent aux travailleurs. Selon leurs observations, ils estiment que les travailleurs de l'ESS, lesquels sont habituellement présentés comme des « militants », ont les mêmes attentes par rapport à l'emploi que les salariés sur le marché du travail.

L'originalité de cet ouvrage ne se situe pas tant dans les thématiques qu'il aborde car, comme le font voir certaines publications récentes, l'exploration du salariat dans l'ESS n'est pas un objet de recherche nouveau. Plutôt, elle se situe dans sa posture socioconstructiviste et critique. Cette dernière permet de s'éloigner des modes d'analyse visant à glorifier l'ESS dans le contexte de la crise économique et de la réorganisation de l'État. Puis, comme le mentionnent les auteurs, passer par la perspective des acteurs tout en s'intéressant aux processus sociaux de construction permet aux chercheurs d'éviter de considérer l'ESS uniquement comme un « monde de valeurs » et de la construire comme « espace social et économique » afin de se donner les moyens d'en comprendre les interactions et les pratiques quotidiennes ainsi que les « logiques d'existence et de pérennisation tant fondatrice que contemporaine » (p. 11).

Cet ouvrage est une contribution essentielle à l'esquisse d'*une autre sociologie de l'« autre économie »* (titre du chapitre d'introduction). En posant un regard critique sur les façons de faire, en reconnaissant les contradictions et les échecs, puis en s'intéressant, par une analyse des pratiques quotidiennes, aux « formes nécessaires d'aménagements techniques et moraux que suppose la pérennisation d'un marché "hors norme" » (p.12), Hély et Moulévrier ouvrent, certes, la voie.

Bien que ce livre porte principalement sur la France avec quelques références aux contextes européen et américain, le lecteur canadien y trouvera tout de même son compte dans les questions épistémologiques et axiologiques qu'il suscite et dans la richesse de la réflexion critique menée par les auteurs.

L'AUTEUR / ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Mélanie Claude est doctorante au département de sociologie et d'anthropologie de l'Université d'Ottawa. Sa thèse porte sur les entrepreneurs sociaux dans le contexte québécois. Courriel: mclau020@uottawa.ca .

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