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International Comparative Social Enterprise Models

Social Enterprise in Canada:
Context, Models and Institutions

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This paper is part of a series of Working Papers produced under the International Comparative Social Enterprise Models (ICSEM) Project.

Launched in July 2013, the ICSEM Project (www.iap-socent.be/icsem-project) is the result of a partnership between an Interuniversity Attraction Pole on Social Enterprise (IAP-SOCENT) funded by the Belgian Science Policy and the EMES International Research Network. It gathers around 200 researchers—ICSEM Research Partners—from some 50 countries across the world to document and analyze the diversity of social enterprise models and their eco-systems.

As intermediary products, ICSEM Working Papers provide a vehicle for a first dissemination of the Project's results to stimulate scholarly discussion and inform policy debates. A list of these papers is provided at the end of this document.

First and foremost, the production of these Working Papers relies on the efforts and commitment of Local ICSEM Research Partners. They are also enriched through discussion in the framework of Local ICSEM Talks in various countries, Regional ICSEM Symposiums and Global Meetings held alongside EMES International Conferences on Social Enterprise. We are grateful to all those who contribute in a way or another to these various events and achievements of the Project.

ICSEM Working Papers also owe much to the editorial work of Sophie Adam, Coordination Assistant, to whom we express special thanks. Finally, we gratefully acknowledge the role of our Supporting Partners, who are listed at the end of this document and presented on the Project's website.

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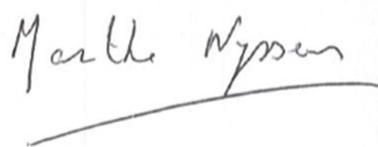
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ABSTRACT

This working paper is the Canadian component of the "International Comparative Social Enterprise Models" (ICSEM) project. The objective of this report is to examine social enterprises at the national level focusing on the context, models and institutions of social enterprises in Canada. The analysis shows regional difference in the historical development and conceptual understanding of social enterprises in Canada. The report finds that five main types of social enterprises emerge, which cut across the cultural and policy regimes in Canada: co-operatives, non-profit organizations, community development/interest organizations, First Nations businesses, and business with a social mission. Provincial government legislation and major enabling institutions (e.g. university institutions, social networks and movements, entrepreneurial spaces, and funding agencies) have a major influence on how we can understand the context and emergence of social enterprise models.

PRELIMINARY NOTE ON METHODOLOGY

The Canadian ICSEM team was formed after the initial ICSEM conference in Liege, under the leadership of J.J. McMurtry. He contacted the two national research organizations which would have members interested in the project—the Canadian Association for Studies in Co-operation (CASC) and the Association for Non-Profit and Social Economy Research (ANSER)—and received their endorsement. He then personally contacted prominent and emerging social enterprise researchers across Canada and invited them to join the project. Those that were interested joined regional research teams, and a national group of researchers was formed as an advisory committee for the project.

The researchers decided to adopt a horizontal, largely autonomous, and open report structure based on strong collaboration as well as the principle of autonomy in research. Research teams were therefore created in each "cultural" area of the country (Atlantic Canada, Quebec, Ontario, Western Canada and the North, and the First Peoples), and each one of those teams was encouraged to articulate the unique understandings of social enterprise within their region. Regional reports and case studies of "emblematic" social enterprises in each region were prepared to show the characteristics of the various models of social enterprises in Canada (Andres et al. 2014; Bouchard et al. 2014; Bouchard et al. 2014; Brouard et al. 2014; Elson and Hall 2014; Lionais 2014). The regional reports will emerge in a 2015 special issue of the Canadian Journal of Non-Profit and Social Economy Research / Revue canadienne de recherche sur les OSBL et l'économie sociale (ANSER J). Further, it is important to highlight that each research team was connected closely with practitioners, a connection that greatly enriched our regional report and case studies that emerged through this process. The theoretical framing of these regional reports form the basis of this report.

The reasons to structure this report this way are the result of both the fact that the conditions in Canada are indeed unique, but also that the concept and practice of social enterprise is in Canada, as it is around the world, contested and emergent. While there have been attempts to create frameworks by which we can understand social enterprise in a broader context (i.e. the third sector, community economic development or the social economy), these framing attempts have not yet been fully accepted (e.g. Borzaga and Defourny, p. 3). We felt that it would be most appropriate therefore to let the different voices of Social Enterprise have as much room to articulate themselves as possible in this report.

INTRODUCTION

The structure of this working paper reflects the aims of the ICSEM Project regarding the mapping of social enterprises models while it also tries to speak to the unique nature of the Canadian context, how different regions of Canada compare to each other, and how Canada as a whole compares to the rest of the world. The starkest internal comparison can be found in the social enterprise typologies found in the predominantly French-speaking province of Quebec and those present in the predominantly English-speaking regions of Canada. As a result of these distinct differences, there is an independent ICSEM working paper on Quebec (Bouchard et al. 2015).

In sum, the objective of this report is to examine social enterprises at the national level by comparing the sub-national context, models, and institutions within the provinces and major cultural groups of Canada. This working paper is consequently structured in the following ways. First, we present the specificity of the Canadian context. Secondly, we briefly present an analysis of the historical, contextual and conceptual understanding of social enterprises in Canada. Thirdly, we identify social enterprise models that highlight a typology with five models of practice, practices that are unevenly developed, but present in all areas. Fourthly, we describe the Canadian institutions, such as legal framework, public policies, university institutions, networks, spaces, reports, and funding agencies. The implications of our research are presented in the conclusion.

UNDERSTANDING CANADA

With a population of 35 million persons, Canada is a member of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and the Group of Eight (G8) most advanced economies in the world. Located in the northern part of North America, Canada is divided geographically into ten provinces and three territories and five main regions. These regions from east to west are: Atlantic Canada, Québec, Ontario, Western Canada and the territories of the North (see Table A).

Table A – Provinces, territories and regions in Canada

Provinces and territories		Regions
Alberta	AB	Western Canada
British Columbia	BC	Western Canada
Manitoba	MB	Western Canada
New Brunswick	NB	Atlantic Canada
Newfoundland and Labrador	NL	Atlantic Canada
Northwest Territories	NT	Territories
Nova Scotia	NS	Atlantic Canada
Nunavut	NU	Territories
Ontario	ON	Ontario
Prince Edward Island	PE	Atlantic Canada
Quebec	QC	Quebec
Saskatchewan	SK	Western Canada
Yukon	YT	Territories

Legislatively, Canada is governed at four levels: the federal, provincial/territorial, and local/municipal levels and by Aboriginal governments. Legislative responsibilities are divided between the different levels of government based on a long history of colonization and decolonization (the last province, Newfoundland, joined Canada in 1949; Quebec has almost left the federation twice; and many issues with Aboriginal government are yet to be resolved), which has created significant overlap and tensions between the various levels' governments around policy jurisdiction. This ambiguity, and sometimes outright conflict, at the legislative level creates numerous problems for emerging sectors and institutions, such as social enterprise, because it is not entirely clear which level of governmental jurisdiction they fall under, whose responsibility it is to promote these kinds of activity, how to harmonize these policies, and how to facilitate and formalize activity which emerges from the activity of practitioners as opposed to politicians. Finally, some government initiatives are seen in the context of colonialization (especially in the Francophone and Aboriginal communities), which hampers the development of clear national policies, practices, or frameworks. At the same time, the diversity of institutional and cultural contexts within a single nation creates room for experimentation and learning. We will return to this question of the state below.

Linguistically, Canada has two official languages: English and French. English and French are the first language of respectively around 60% and 25% of Canadians. Almost the entire population (98%) speaks some English or French. Francophones are located mainly (85%) in Québec, with significant francophone minorities living in Ontario, New Brunswick, Alberta, and Manitoba. In the 2011 Canadian Census, more than three quarters of the Canadian population reported having Europeans origins, with Aboriginal and First Nations representing around 4% of the Canadian population. It is important to note that demographically the First Nations populations are younger and their birth rate significantly higher than any other population group in the country, which, when combined with the persistent social problems of these communities, means that they are likely to participate in and benefit from social enterprise activity in the years ahead. Canada is, despite its public image as a land of farmers and nature, a dominantly urban society with a large majority (80%) of its population living in urban areas, and unevenly distributed along a narrow band within 150 kilometers of the United States border.

These demographic realities have had a significant influence on the emergence and practice of social enterprise in Canada. Social enterprises have embedded themselves, or are embedded in, these linguistic and cultural communities in important ways. Therefore to talk about social enterprises in Canada means that one must discuss the uniquely regional and cultural context within which they emerge. Even within these regional and cultural categories, some significant differences exist. For example, in Québec, and especially Montreal, social enterprise is not the dominant concept in the francophone community, who prefer to refer to the social economy; this is the result of significant and impressive work by a number of social movements and groups—notably the *Chantier de l'économie sociale*. However, inside the economically significant Anglophone minority in Quebec, and the affluent communities in Montreal, social enterprise is an emerging and increasingly influential conceptual framework. In contrast, the vibrant non-profit social enterprise sector in the western province of British Columbia is rooted in right-wing resistance to the welfare state, which was more developed in other provinces, and a left-populist embrace of communitarian modes of social service delivery. Consequently, for every assertion that follows about practices and typologies, it is important to remember that there are innovations and practices on the ground that challenge these claims. Therefore, readers should exercise caution with the necessary generalizations on the nature and practice of social enterprise that emerge below.

UNDERSTANDING CONCEPTS AND CONTEXT

Having outlined the broad sketch of the Canadian contexts for this working paper, this report now turns to the issue of weaving together the various traditions of social enterprise in the Canadian context outlined above, using three distinct frameworks—historical, contextual, and conceptual. Specifically, we will outline how the concept of social enterprise is contested in Canada, and the ways in which this contestation can be understood in order to develop a Canadian understanding of social enterprise that is both sensitive to the differences while articulating the similarities of this emerging sector.

Historical

A significant reason for the difficulty of establishing a unified conception of social enterprise in the Canadian context is the fact that the term has largely come from "outside" of existing practices and cultural histories. That is to say that there were longstanding, unique and specific practices that had developed in specific contexts long before the concept of social enterprise began to emerge. Further, these established practices, for example co-operatives, mutuals, or non-profits, have seen numerous "framing" concepts come and go (such as community economic development, the third sector, social economy, social purpose businesses) without necessarily leading to improvements in public awareness or legislative frameworks that would have facilitated their work. Indeed, one of the key experiences of the practitioners of social enterprise is that the concept is not one of their own making, but rather a concept which has taken hold in the minds of the public, policy makers, and, significantly, business and has been applied to them. Further, the cultural contexts within which these terms are employed (see for example McMurtry 2010) have developed independently of each other, and reflect significantly different historical realities. Most basically the Aboriginal, Anglophone, and Francophone communities have all had very different religious, colonial, and political realities since colonization, which cannot simply be erased by new academic definitions or government priorities.

This experience of social enterprise coming from "outside" has meant that for some communities the concept is treated with suspicion. For example, in Aboriginal communities the idea of any Federal or Provincial policy encouraging a particular type of business in these communities can be seen in the context of colonialization—especially given the history of residential schools that forcibly took young Aboriginal children away from their families in the name of providing "a better future". Or in the case of Quebec, Federal government programs have historically been imposed on the Francophone population without consultation, which has created a climate of suspicion towards any such policy. Since social enterprise combines the idea of a social mission with business activity, questions such as whose social mission is being forefront, by precisely which business means or operations, and in the service of what end, must be confronted within the layered and complex Canadian context.

Despite these limitations to the concept of social enterprise, as authors we have identified five endogenous cultural groupings for our report, namely Atlantic Canada, Quebec, Ontario, Western Canada and the North, and First Peoples. Within these groupings, we can also identify three important gateways for policy development on social enterprise—municipal/band government, provincial government and national government—which can have differential and sometimes contradictory understandings of social enterprise. Further, there are strong articulations of policy needs and practices of social enterprise within communities and social movements that have, for example in the case of Quebec, impacted

policy frameworks and can with confidence be looked on as sites of future policy development. These endogenous cultural groupings do not operate completely in a vacuum, but rather are colored by the surrounding context of forces that are at play around them.

Contextual

This report therefore must look at the larger context of social, political and economic forces within which the practice of social enterprise has emerged in Canada. In other words, we must recognize that the five cultural groupings are not just endogenous in their formation, but are heavily influenced by exogenous factors in ways that are somewhat unique, but that are also informed by comparison, learning and exchange. We have identified five exogenous influences that have differential impacts on social enterprise development in Canada: the United States of America, the United Kingdom, continental Europe, First Peoples' history and traditional practices, and a wide variety of immigrant communities.[1] It is important to note that none of these influences is singular or homogenous, but it is important to recognize their impacts and unique influences.

These five influences are often contradictory in the direction they provide for social enterprise. First, there is the strong influence of the United States and its focus on entrepreneurship and self-sufficiency—an influence that is especially powerful in Canadian Anglophone communities. Thus the dominant formulation of social enterprise in the Western, Ontario, and Atlantic regions as well as the Territories, especially from the point of view of government and funding bodies, is one that focuses on individual entrepreneurs creating successful businesses that have, as an important element, a broadly construed social purpose (e.g. employment or environmental need).

Secondly, and relatedly, there is the influence of the social enterprise movement in the UK— which is similar to that in the United States but with a more socially focused and developed policy component that has elements of community ownership and social care, growing as it did out of a more extensively developed, and more extensively retrenched, welfare state system. Thus the state can create policies (for example, the Green Energy Act in Ontario, which brings in a Feed-In-Tariff and community ownership models for alternative energy in the context of an increasingly deregulated energy grid) that encourage community ownership and control, as well as opportunities for social entrepreneurs. Or, as will be discussed below, the idea of a Community Interest Corporation has begun to take hold, especially in the Atlantic region, building on the experience in England. Again, this "British" model is gaining increasing political acceptance in Anglophone communities especially in policy, although implementation is underdeveloped and contested both politically and socially.

Thirdly, and this is especially true of Francophone and immigrant communities, there is the influence of a continental European understanding of social enterprise in line with the EMES definition, especially in Quebec. This conception tends to focus strongly on social movements and solidarity economics, with a focus also on democratic practice and community control. While these practices are by no means dominant outside of Quebec, they have strong roots in a variety of locations and communities. In fact, one can see hybrids of the first three forms in almost every jurisdiction in Canada.

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[1] For more details, see other ICSEM papers from those regions.

Fourthly, Aboriginal communities have developed their own understanding of social enterprise from their long history of colonial exploitation, experiences of racism, and economic marginalization. While not "outside" of the history of Canada per say, the influence of the innovations of some Aboriginal communities on others can be seen as an exogenous influence. Aboriginal communities across Canada also share a relationship to the federal government in a variety of policy arenas that are located at the provincial level for non-Aboriginal communities, including governance, infrastructure, housing and education. Crucial in these communities is the often-overlooked and shared fact that officially there is collective and generational ownership of reserve land, which creates opportunities (collective ownership) and barriers (no collateral for capital) to social enterprise development. These communities tend to have a focus on community economic development and, unlike other communities, less suspicion of large corporations (for example Membertou First Nation in Sydney, Nova Scotia) participating in that community economic development (from resource extraction to tourism), which forms another exogenous influence.

Finally, as a largely settler nation with a continuing and strong tradition of immigration, it is important to acknowledge the role that Canada's increasingly diverse (and urban) immigrant communities are playing in innovating in the field of social enterprise. These communities both influence social enterprise development through the innovations that they implement in order to acclimatize to unfriendly and often hostile conditions as well as through their contributions of forms of social enterprise that they bring from their experiences in the countries from which they came.

Conceptual

As a result of the wide range of cultures, regions, and influences in the Canadian social enterprise context, it should be no surprise that there is debate and tensions around the conceptualization of social enterprise in Canada. The ways in which these debates play out often reflect the historical and contextual contexts that are specific to Canada. There are consequently tensions in the patterns of emergence of these concepts that range from social movement articulation (i.e. the emergence of social economy in Quebec, or place-based business in Eastern Canada) to government imposition through policy (e.g. Ontario's creation of "community co-operatives" for alternative energy or its Impact Plan for Social Enterprise) which often happens without consultation of established organizations and movement players. Finally, the concept of social enterprise has in certain cases been "hijacked" by established for-profit businesses that enjoy the "branding" advantage the idea of social enterprise brings. All of these disagreements create a climate of contestation and confusion in the public sphere, which does, and will continue to, have an impact on the practice of social enterprise as it develops. In other words, what forms a social enterprise "should" or "could" take are not yet fully articulated (and perhaps should not be), and the idea of a standard typology is not firmly established nationally, despite the fact that there are strong regional understandings and practices (Elson and Hall 2012).

Despite all of these tensions however the undeniable reality across Canada is that social enterprise is a concept and practice that is taking hold "on the ground", and is a creative, emerging sector of the economy. Further, while not dominant, it is a concept that is explicitly used in every area of the country and has been formalized in legislation in a variety of jurisdictions. Academics and civil society activists have also taken up the term in a variety of ways, but importantly, policy makers, academics, and activists are just starting to catch up to the innovations on the ground. Forthcoming publications (Cruz Filho and Zerdani 2015;

Brouard, McMurtry and Vieta, 2015; McMurtry, Vieta, and Sengupta, 2015; Elson and Hall, 2015; Lionais, 2015) in a special issue of the ANSER Journal will outline the diverse and sometimes contradictory practices and understanding in various regions.

Given this rich tapestry of understanding, practice and influence, the authors of this paper, and the regional clusters generally, took several basic typology approaches to frame this working paper. The first was the EMES typology, which helps identify three key components of social enterprise: economic and entrepreneurial; social; and participatory governance. While there are a wide variety of "levels" of each of these three areas in each cultural region, this typology was useful in terms of establishing qualitative features of social enterprises. Even in the "absence" of some of these features, this definition was useful in identifying and examining social enterprise in a variety of contexts. In the Atlantic Canadian region and Quebec the EMES definition had the most impact amongst researchers and practitioners, but there are important exceptions in these regions. In Atlantic Canada the notions of "place" and "community" were particularly strong components of social enterprise (perhaps a result of the long history of this region's economic and geographic isolation), and in Quebec the idea of the social economy, which has strong elements of solidarity and social movement concerns as a result of hard-won experience of establishing the social economy in policy and practice, was seen as crucial to their self-conception and in many ways antithetical to the emergence of social enterprise in the North American context (see above).

Elson and Hall, authors of the Western (Alberta and British Columbia) report, describe a view of social enterprise as emergent and not yet established enough for solid typologies. However, they used a framework to mix the "taxonomy" approach to social enterprises (a focus on the legal and ownership structure of social enterprises) with a more qualitative approach that looks at the purpose and values of social enterprises. Madill et al. (2010) focus on the dimensions of social transformation, financial self-sufficiency and innovation to examine social enterprises. Bouchard et al. (2013) analyze a number of typologies and retain four dimensions between social purpose and economic activity, namely democratic governance, autonomy and independence, limited or prohibited profit distribution and organized production of goods and services. Again, those frameworks were considered by the researchers to be guides, rather than "set-in-stone" definitions, and this has led to unique interpretations of the practice of social enterprise in each cultural and regional context.

One can add to this debate the hesitation of some First Nations scholars (e.g. Wuttunee 2010), who reject both the concepts of social economy and social enterprise as colonial impositions, preferring to conceive of economic activity owned and operated by First Nations as "community capitalism". Further, in Western Canada and Ontario and for Aboriginal Peoples, the concept of participatory governance was not seen as important to the concept of social enterprise (for different reasons); rather the focus was on economic activity in the service of some kind of social impact. This report therefore tries to provide an overview of these issues, and engages with them, without imposing a particular typology (an approach which is in agreement with the intention of the ICSEM project).

Finally, it is important to highlight that in the Canadian context there are four important larger interrelated ideological contexts that color the debate on social enterprise across the country and within each cultural region; such ideological contexts are related to the historical and contextual issues outlined above. The first is the emergence, since the 1980s, of an increasingly hegemonic neo-liberal policy and economic framework. This ideological climate has both been an inspiration to, and limit for, the emergence of social enterprise in Canada and has pushed policy and practitioners towards an increasingly economic focused,

competitive and individualistic conception. Secondly, since the deep recession began, in 2008, there has been a climate of austerity in the Canadian, and indeed global, context which influences how social enterprises are seen—increasingly as more cost-effective providers of service delivery for governments—and the funding available for them. Arguably, however, the Canadian experience with austerity has deeper roots, to the budget cutbacks of the mid-1990s. Third, this climate of austerity has increased the pressure on social enterprise in Canada—the downloading of social services to regions or municipalities (the most emblematic of these are service cuts to Employment Insurance and cuts to the transfer payments from the Federal to Provincial governments). While David Cameron's "Big Society" concept is the most well-known articulation of this tendency, it is by no means the only one. One way in which this impulse has been expressed in the Canadian context is through the insistence/valorization of "partnerships" as a mode of service delivery—so opening the door to sub-national engagement with the sector. Fourthly, there has been an overall retreat of the Welfare State that has led to a belief that the state is not an efficient provider of social services, coupled with the promotion of notions of self-sufficiency for communities and community organizations. This has meant that there is increasing interest in social enterprise as a "third way" for the provision of social good, but also that there is increasing pressure on social enterprises to prove that they are an efficient way to deliver these social goods. "

These four ideological contexts influence conceptions of social enterprise in different regions, and also help identify different social responses from the representation of this ideological climate as one of opportunity for the "heroic" entrepreneur to a clarion call to civil society to foster collective entrepreneurship in response to the negative social impacts of these ideological agendas. The conceptual climate of social enterprise, while contested, has important shared elements, which we follow through in the section below.

IDENTIFICATION OF SOCIAL ENTERPRISE (SE) MODELS

Now that the historical, contextual, and conceptual frameworks of this working paper have been outlined, we move on to identifying a social enterprise typology that focuses on both the practice, but also the values, of social enterprise activity in Canada. To do so we highlight five types of practice in the country that are emblematic of social enterprise and are present—although unevenly developed—in all cultural contexts. We have taken this approach to get past the "noise" of social enterprise discussion and look at how it is actually practiced on the ground. From these practices we have identified certain values within social enterprise in the Canadian context.

We must remember that given the different histories and practices of the various social enterprises in Canada, these organizations have a desire to be classified in a number of different ways, depending on the audience and what is at stake in the classification (funding, public perception, regulatory rules, political climate, etc.). For example, co-operatives in Canada will variously identify as: social enterprises, social economy organizations, co-operatives, successful for-profit businesses, and sustainable, "green", and "good" enterprises. The issue for researchers is to penetrate these discourses by identifying the cultural, economic, and political contexts within which they are employed, and look to how co-operatives actually practice their values and undertake their business. From the various case studies undertaken in the region reports outlined above, we were struck as authors at the consistency of forms of social enterprise, as well as the value propositions they articulated in their practices.

Social enterprises models

We identified five main sets of social enterprise practice that cut across the cultural and policy regimes: co-operatives, non-profit organizations, community development/interest organizations, First Nation businesses, and business with a social mission. We identify these five models because they have clear, if diverse, fields of activity, distinct social missions and target groups, legislative supports, and governance models. Perhaps most importantly, they are almost exclusively the organizational forms that social enterprises take in the Canadian context. We will discuss each in turn.

The co-operative movement in Canada touches almost every economic sector (with the manufacturing sector being the major exception) and has developed six distinct forms to address the different needs of these economic activities. Crucial to the co-operative form are the values of member ownership and control through democratic processes and the economic betterment of members through product quality, price and/or dividend. First, and most common, are consumer co-operatives, which are focused on the delivery of specific consumer goods to members at affordable prices—the key examples being in natural and organic food, outdoor equipment, co-operative advocacy groups, and full-service supermarkets in rural and urban underprivileged areas (Neechi Foods in Winnipeg, Manitoba, is an excellent example of this type of social enterprise).

Secondly, there is the historically important form of producer co-operatives, which link up producers (usually agricultural producers, including fisheries) into marketing co-operatives to bring goods to market, thereby creating economies of scale for smaller producers as well as significant economic dividends for producers. In every region of Canada, producer co-operatives have emerged, and continue to emerge, especially in niche and high-quality food sectors like organic food. They have also been particularly important to the development of the economies in each region and cultural group, and continue to be an important part of the identity of these regions.

Thirdly, worker co-operatives have emerged to provide the social good of work and economic security for their members. While there are historical worker co-operatives in resource extraction in many parts of Canada, the key areas of emergence in the last thirty years are in goods and services such as fair trade products (namely coffee, tea, chocolate, and sugar) and retail, construction, and a variety of specialty services and goods.

Fourthly, financial and insurance co-operatives are technically a type of consumer co-operative, but have developed into their own unique type of co-operative, with specific legislation and economic clout beyond any other co-operative sector. While these co-operatives have been experiencing increasing mergers and acquisitions over the past decade, with very few new financial co-operatives emerging, they are important players as financers and facilitators of other forms of co-operatives and, potentially, social enterprise. For example, Vancity Credit Union and other British Columbia-based finance co-operatives have underwritten much of the social enterprise sector development in the province.

Fifthly, co-operatives have also innovated in their governance structures, creating new forms of co-operative, specifically federations and other amalgamated organizations, which have become facilitators of cooperative social enterprises. Perhaps the most famous international organization of this type is Mondragon in the Basque region of Spain. In Canada, the most famous forms of federated cooperatives are the Co-operators Insurance Co-operative and

Desjardins Credit Union. There are also new forms of co-operative emerging in both services (for example the provincial and national co-operative organizations) and products (federations of co-operative food-buying clubs for example) emerging as well as cooperatives that have their own specific legislative frameworks (such as renewable energy co-operatives in Ontario) which focus on achieving new and emerging social goals, member economic benefit, and regional economic development.

The sixth and final form of cooperative enterprise in Canada are the multi-stakeholder or, in Quebec, solidarity co-operatives, which combine different member groups (for example consumers and workers) in one co-operative to achieve the broad social goals articulated by those member groups within a single economic organization. So far, these have been very hard to develop, but are likely to become increasingly popular.

The co-operative "set" of social enterprises in Canada can be therefore seen to be active in a variety of fields of economic activity, to serve a broad and diverse series of social goals, and to employ a range of governance structures, depending on the membership and stakeholders with which the co-operative is concerned. It would not be an overstatement to claim that co-operatives have the most developed legislative frameworks and practical experience of all social enterprises in Canada, even if they are not usually considered by policy makers, or the public at large, as the most interesting form of social enterprise.

Non-profit organizations in Canada are also active in every region of Canada and have a long and varied history in the social enterprise realm. Unlike co-operatives however, the legislative frameworks that govern non-profits are clearly articulated. Despite provincial regulation of incorporation (e.g. via various provincial "society acts"), the fact that the federal government awards them charitable status means that they are much more closely connected to the federal government, as opposed to provincial or municipal entities, and therefore their organizational form is far less variant. This is not to say that the range of activities with which non-profits are involved is in any way singular. In fact, they are remarkably diverse in activity, even if their governance structures tend to be similar, with an independent management team and a volunteer board responsible for strategic decisions. There has been a recent change in legislation (2012) that has allowed non-profits to retain more of their earnings on a year-by-year basis, which means that it is very likely that they will be participating increasingly in social enterprise activity. This potential is building on the recent tendency for non-profits to be engaged not just in service delivery, which would not, under most definitions, be considered social enterprise proper, but also in incubating and becoming reliant upon income-generating enterprises, either as part of the core activities of the non-profit or as wholly-owned subsidiaries of these entities.

Community development/interest (CD/CI) organizations in Canada form an emergent set of social enterprises that are often on the cutting edge of policy and practice in Canada. Again, like co-operatives and non-profit organizations, CD/CI enterprises have a variety of fields of activities, social missions and target groups. However, unlike the previous two types of social enterprise, they are not as well articulated in policy, legislation or governance at the national level. Indeed, outside of Quebec and the Atlantic region, these organizations are largely self-regulating and entrepreneurial in their social goals and organizational structure. These are essentially organizations born of social movements or social movement actors. A good exemplar of these types of organization across Canada is the unregulated "fairly traded" or "level trading" organizations (as opposed to the certified "fair trade" and largely co-operative businesses). These business undoubtedly have a social mission; however, the regulation of their mission by the state, or an independent NGO-regulating body, is entirely absent. They

therefore rely on trust and the belief of their clientele in their authenticity, and the quality of their boards or staff, which raises questions about the guarantee of their social mission and their status as social enterprises. This type of unregulated and unauthenticated social enterprise loosely associated with a social mission or social movement is becoming more and more prevalent in an increasingly crowded "social business" marketplace and raises the question of the role of the state and NGOs in ensuring verifiable social content.

First Nations business forms the fourth set of social enterprises in the Canadian context. Again these social enterprises have a broad field of activity, including work integration, tourism, basic good provision, culturally specific goods and services, resource extraction and trade in commercial goods. However, what distinguishes this form of social enterprise from other social enterprise forms, such as co-operatives, non-profits, and community development/interest corporations, is their specific focus on Aboriginal community well-being as their primary social goal. In some cases (Membertou First Nation in Cape Breton being one), the economic activities which the First Nation is involved in are almost indistinguishable from capitalist businesses (such as brand name hotels, restaurants, and gas stations), except for the fact that they are incorporated and owned by First Nations communities who use the profits to develop community resources such as schools and infrastructure. In the context of ongoing economic colonialization, these social enterprises are distinct and challenge dominant understandings of social enterprises. For example, many First Nations' economic entities are, both in law and practice, collectively owned if they are located on band land or use band resources. Many of the sources of capital and resources that facilitate individual businesses are also directly connected to Aboriginal government or treaty rights. For example, the tax exemptions, as a result of treaty rights, can facilitate Aboriginal businesses (often in "sin" businesses such as casinos, gas stations, and cigarette and alcohol retailers) that can use the profits from these activities to fund social projects for the good of the community. As the youngest and fastest growing demographic group in Canada, Aboriginal communities have enormous potential as sites of social entrepreneurship and social enterprise activity.

Finally, businesses with a social mission form a distinct type of social enterprise, mainly in the central and western provinces of Canada, although the inclusion of these entities within the social enterprise family is contested. These are often traditional sole-proprietorship or even publically traded corporations that articulate a strong social mission in one area of their businesses. They can also be part of, or strongly associated with, foundations or other granting agencies. These forms of social enterprise have tended to focus significantly on work integration schemes that are to some degree facilitated by levels of government or on issues of sustainability and greenhouse gas emission reduction. Again, the types of activity that these organizations can be involved in are widely variable, because inclusion requires simply some kind of publically recognized social mission. What distinguishes them from the first three forms is that they are traditional for-profit businesses first. The fact that they are incorporated to achieve, or focus on, or are "retrofitted" to target an identifiable social mission is what their proponents argue makes them social enterprises. It is likely that, if the definition of social enterprise remains an open category in the public's minds and in policy circles, this type of social enterprise will become increasingly popular as businesses try to "social-wash" their activities.

Table B summarizes the five social enterprise models in Canada along the legal structure and ownership dimensions and provides a few examples of social enterprises for each model.

Table B – Summary of Canadian social enterprise models

Models	Co-operative	Non-profit organization	Community development /interest organization	First Nation businesses	Business with a social mission
Legal structure	- Co-operative	- Non-profit corporation - Charities (charitable organization, foundation (private, public)) - Association - Informal group	- Community enterprise - Community-owned organizations - Associations	- Non-profit corporation - For-profit corporation - Partnership - Unincorporated business	- For-profit corporation - Partnership - Unincorporated business - Community Interest Company (CIC) - Community Contribution Company (CCC)
Ownership	Individuals	Members	Community Government (local, provincial, federal)	First Nation	Public Individuals
Examples	MEC; Agropur, Co-op Atlantic, Desjardins, Alterna, Sumac Worker co-operative, Neechi Foods	FoodShare, SABRI	Carrefour Jeunesse Emploi, ZEC	KUTERRA Membertou	JW McConnell Foundation, Groupe Convex, Communauto

It is important to remind the reader that while these models of social enterprise have emerged across the country, they are substantially nested within the cultural contexts discussed above. For example, within Quebec, at least the first three of these five sets of social enterprises are nested within a strong policy and social movement context that is understood as the social economy. In fact, these models of social enterprise are often massaged to purpose by a myriad of organizations to advance their missions and goals—for example private foundations, public foundations, NGOs, etc. all develop and use these forms to articulate part of their social missions. Even when the model of social enterprise is in an emergent or minority position in a cultural context (business with a social mission in Quebec, for example), it still tends to reflect a cultural context (the minority Anglophone communities in Montreal, for example, as advocates for business with a social mission in Quebec). In other words, the climates that encourage social enterprises vary widely and are dependent on the history and context that have given rise to them. Further the fact that social enterprise models are *chosen* by a variety of social actors is a fact that cannot be ignored when discussing typologies and definitions. Social enterprises can be developed *sui generis* by communities, or individual entrepreneurs, or like-minded groups, based on a wide variety of social missions and goals, just as they can be "encouraged" by state policy at the national, provincial or municipal level or imposed "top-down" by businesses, non-profit organizations, or foundations.

Reflections on typology and theory

Details and examples of the types of social enterprises outlined above can be located in the regional reports that will be published in the spring 2015 edition of the ANSERJ journal. While these details will not be fleshed out here, it is important for us to engage with the theory of social enterprise, specifically the typologies as outlined by EMES. The authors of this report recognize that the EMES definition is not a prescriptive one, but rather outlines what Jacques Defourny has called "pole stars" or ideal types in relation to which social enterprises may be examined. That understood, we believe that it is useful to reflect on the ways in which the typologies outlined in this working paper do, and do not, map on to this universe of social enterprises. Specifically we briefly examine the three dimensions of social enterprise activity outlined in the EMES definition: economic and entrepreneurial, social, and participatory governance.

The EMES definition has three indicators that reflect the economic and entrepreneurial dimensions of social enterprises:
1. A continuous activity producing goods and/or selling services;
2. A significant level of economic risk;
3. A minimum amount of paid work.

There is little disagreement in any regional or cultural area of Canada that these three economic aspects of social enterprises as defined by EMES are central to social enterprises. In fact, there is a strong agreement across definitions of social enterprise generally that there must be some kind of economic activity as a necessary, if not sufficient, component of defining social enterprise. The concern with this component of the definition is: to what extent does the type of economic activity negatively impact the second component of the definition? Given that it is clear that economic activity is both the life-blood of human well-being and often the cause of some of its greatest misery, this is not a moot point. Can we overlook the negative social impacts of a social enterprise's economic activity when we assign it this designation?

While we do not propose an answer to this "wicked" question in this report, we do believe that social enterprise typology and theory must take seriously not just the identification of ideals in isolation, but also critically examine the integrated claims made across definitions and practices. In the Canadian context, the ways in which this question of the "integration" of economic and social values is answered is critical to understand the geography of the contestations of the concept of social enterprise. One cannot understand for example the focus on "place" in the Atlantic region without understanding that all economic activity is not equally "social", and therefore there is a desire to "bound" economic activity within a particular understanding of community need. Similarly, in Quebec, the suspicion of the concept of social enterprise is rooted in a (perhaps well founded) belief that this concept may be used to loosen or undo the victories won under the banner of the social economy and the social movements who participated in these struggles. In Aboriginal communities, the long history of federal government protection for trading companies and suppression of competing local business and cooperatives may complicate the possibilities for external support for emergent social enterprises.

So what then are the social indicators that could be critically integrated with the economic ones according to EMES? Three indicators encapsulate the social dimensions of social enterprises:
1. An explicit aim to benefit the community;
2. An initiative launched by a group of citizens or civil society organizations;
3. A limited profit distribution.

The first indicator is vulnerable to the same questions as the economic above. Specifically there is no shared understanding of "community" within Canada, nor clear knowledge of what "community benefits" are. However the requirement that these aims be explicit does at least provide the opportunity for claims to be examined and debated. There is significant divergence around indicators 2 and 3 within Canada. Specifically, given that the social enterprise landscape in Canada includes businesses with a social purpose, Aboriginal businesses, and co-operatives which are not always seen as civil society organizations, this "pole star" is not even on the radar for a significant component of social enterprises in Canada. The social content of social enterprises is therefore an important area of contestation, and one worth highlighting.

Indeed it might be argued that indicator 3 compounds this problem of social content, for if a limit to profit was applied to the more profit-focused organizations it would be an anathema to these social enterprises. Further, many emerging social enterprises (in alternative energy for example) are not initiated by citizens but by policy initiatives of the state, or they are a result of the combined efforts of both. In Quebec for example, a significant focus of the social economy social movement *le Chantier de l'économie sociale* has been to establish positive policy for social enterprises and the broader social economy. This of course is a challenge for many definitions of social enterprise, as the role of the state is seen as somehow diluting the role of entrepreneurs—both individual and collective. The twin issues of the role of profit and the role of the state in relation to the social mission of social enterprises has to be examined seriously if we are to understand the nature and genesis of the diversity of social enterprises in Canada.

The third set of indicators of EMES is clearly also social, but specifically targets the social good of democracy and participatory governance within social enterprises. The three indicators are:
1. A high degree of autonomy;
2. A decision-making power not based on capital ownership;
3. A participatory nature, which involves various parties affected by the activity.

The nature and degree of participation are also contested in various areas and cultural traditions in Canada. For example, capital ownership in for-profit social enterprises—a form particularly popular in the West of the country—is the locus of decision-making. More importantly, non-profit organizations that are increasingly active in the social enterprise field normally have memberships, but are not broadly participatory. Wholly owned subsidiaries of these non-profits, an increasingly popular form of social enterprise, have little direct participation of the parties involved outside of profit sharing. Finally, co-operatives, especially non-profit and worker co-operatives, have increasingly been using for-profit social enterprise subsidiaries as profit-generating entities that serve the overall social mission of the organization, but these are not in any meaningful way themselves participatory. While the authors believe that these ideal type indicators of social enterprise perhaps should be more of a focus of practice, the reality on the ground is contested and in fact is developing in ways that might be antithetical or perhaps even distinct from this ideal typology, at least in the Canadian context.

These observations can also be reflected upon in the context of the Elson and Hall understanding and framework. This framework is in important ways a Canadian attempt to address the issues outlined above, in part through the tradition of taxonomy definitions, where organizational type forms a specific and clear component of social enterprise definition as a (but not only) proxy for social mission. This taxonomy approach is further complemented by a "purpose" category that attempts to be broadly inclusive while identifying value propositions of the organizations that want to claim social enterprise status. The questions which challenge this model lie in the third, fourth, and fifth forms of social enterprise, which have no clear organizational model or policy framework through which one can do the taxonomic work of classification. Further, because this typology is so broadly inclusive, it is hard to see where the lines of social enterprise end and for-profit business begin. But it is also important to recognize that this inclusive approach is a reflection of the diversity of forms and the number of cultural groups participating in the Canadian social enterprise landscape and is meant to identify, rather than evaluate, the broad range of activity emerging under this banner.

SOCIAL ENTERPRISE INSTITUTIONS IN CANADA

As discussed above, when looking at social enterprise institutions in Canada, analysis should take into account the federal level, the provincial (including territories) level and the municipal level. Despite the lack of clarity around jurisdictions in relation to social enterprise, it is clear that the provincial level is the most active level of government in terms of fostering and nurturing social enterprises. In the area of corporate law and taxation, the federal level is more active. The municipal level of government is not really a major player in the field of social enterprises yet, except for some larger cities in the country, such as Toronto and Montréal, and through increasingly refined purchasing policies targeting support for specific social goals and enterprises.

In this section we will first describe the important Canadian institutions for social enterprise, presenting them under different dimensions such as legal framework, public policies, university and research institutions, networks, spaces, reports and funding agencies. Appendix A provides a list of websites for major institutions related to social enterprises in Canada that may be useful for researchers. Secondly, we will offer a global interpretation of the institutions in a Canadian context.

Legal framework

Different pieces of legislation interact in Canada. The major legislation at the federal level is probably the *Income Tax Act* (R.S.C., 1985, c.1 (5th supp.)), especially regarding taxation of charities and non-profits. The federal tax law serves as the anchor for the provincial tax laws on charities. Registered charities and non-profits are exempt from income tax. Registered charities, including foundations, have higher reporting requirements, as they have the ability to issue tax receipts for charitable donations.

Corporate laws exist at the federal level and in each province. General corporate structure laws are related to for-profit organizations, non-profits organizations or combining both. Specific laws are in place in many provinces for co-operatives, credits unions, *caisses populaires* and charities. Co-operatives represent the social enterprise models with the most developed legislative frameworks, with various laws in different provinces (House of Commons Canada 2012).

Only three laws in Canada are specifically designed for social enterprises (for further detail, see the regional reports in the forthcoming ANSER journal special issue). Nova Scotia passed legislation in 2012 for Community Interest Company (CIC), modeled after the UK policy. CICs are companies that serve a community purpose, which could include providing health, social, environmental, cultural and education services but exclude political purposes. The assets of a CIC are considered "locked" into the community that they serve; they cannot be sold off upon dissolution but must be transferred to another community-purpose entity (such as a charity or another CIC). There is no tax advantage to incorporating as a CIC.

In 2013, Québec passed legislation entitled the Social Economy Act (*Loi sur l'économie sociale*), to recognize the contribution of the social economy in the socioeconomic development in Québec and to establish the government role. The objective of the law is to promote the social economy, to help its development with tools and to facilitate access to government programs for social economy enterprises. The impact of this law on the development of social economy or social enterprise institutions is yet to be fully determined.

British Columbia also passed legislation in 2013 for Community Contribution Company (CCC), as hybrid corporations between for-profit and non-profit corporations. CCCs should serve a social purpose or a community purpose, which is defined broadly as beneficial to society or to a segment of society. There are limits on dividends paid and to assets distribution upon dissolution. There is no tax advantage to incorporating as a CCC (no tax exemptions or ability to issue tax receipts for charitable donations).

Public Policies

Even if Canada has a long history of organizations involved in community development/social economy, public policies about social enterprises in Canada are developing slowly and have started to develop in a systematic way only recently. There is no federal public policy on social enterprises, except maybe those connected with the related business rules in the income tax law applicable to charities. In fact, one might argue that the legislative environment at the federal level for social enterprises is less than welcoming. For example, the federal Conservative government of Stephan Harper has introduced policy to add constraints on the third sector, not encourage their growth, by demanding a higher level of scrutiny on registered charities and their political activities, especially if they are doing work in areas seen as being opposed to government policies, such as environmental issues.

The 2013 Québec legislation on Social Economy (*Loi sur l'économie sociale*) could be viewed as part of public policy. The legislation has been designed to recognize the *Chantier de l'économie sociale* and the *Conseil québécois de la coopération et de la mutualité* as having a privileged relationship with the government on social economy issues. The legislation was the result of a long process that has its roots in a report that was part of a Summit on the economy and employment in 1996. Other examples of Quebec government policies relevant to the social economy are those that privilege procurement by social economy enterprises, an action plan in 2008 regarding the integration of collective entrepreneurship, as well as City of Montréal's efforts to integrate social economy for economic and social development.

Since 2008 in Ontario, there have been innovation strategies in an effort to recognize social innovation and social businesses. For example, the Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration and the Ontario Trillium Foundation (2011, p. 35) engage in initiatives to build a stronger partnership with the not-for-profit sector. In 2012, an Office for Social Enterprises was created

as part of the Government of Ontario's Ministry of Economic Development, Trade and Employment. The objective of the Office for Social Enterprises is to promote the province's programs and services for Social Enterprises and to raise the profile of social entrepreneurship in Ontario and around the world. Given its relatively recent emergence, however, the actions of the Office for Social Enterprises are not really visible by the general public.

In 2013, the Government of Ontario released a report on the State of the Sector with a Profile of Ontario Not-for-Profit and Charitable Organizations (Ontario 2013a). It was followed by the Social Enterprise Strategy for Ontario (2013b). The Ontario strategy was a "plan to foster an innovative, coordinated and collaborative Social Enterprise sector, positioning Ontario as a global leader in Social Enterprise" (Ontario 2013b, p.1). Four pillars represent the foundation of the strategy: 1) connecting, coordinating, communicating; 2) building the social enterprise brand; 3) creating a vibrant social finance marketplace; and 4) delivering service, support and solutions.

Manitoba has released its "Manitoba Social Enterprise Strategy" in February 2015 that has some cutting-edge innovations in social enterprise policy (Manitoba 2015). Six pillars represent the foundation of the strategy: 1) enhance enterprise skills, 2) ensure access to capital and investment, 3) expand market opportunities, 4) promote and demonstrate the value of social enterprise, 5) design and implement regulatory framework, 6) support networks and community engagement. Again, results from the policy are still to be clearly seen.

The Ministry of Social Development and Social Innovation (SDSI) is committed to supporting and encouraging social innovation and social entrepreneurship in British Columbia. The ministry is the government leader for coordinating opportunities to encourage social policy innovative changes. As a member of the BC Partners for Social Impact, the ministry leads the co-ordination of government's work to promote and support social innovation and to create a legislative and policy framework to maximize social innovation in BC. The BC Social Innovation Council was established in 2011 to assist the Province and present recommendations related to social enterprises regulatory support. April 2014 and April 22, 2014 were declared respectively as Social Enterprise Month and Aboriginal Social Enterprise Day in BC. These recent entries into the social enterprise environment have yet to produce noticeable results though.

University and research institutions

Many Canadian universities have research centers and programs oriented toward social enterprises, social economy, cooperatives or non-profits. Those activities are mainly located in schools / departments in Business, Public Policy and Administration, Education, Social Science, Environment, Enterprise and Development.

In Atlantic Canada (Nova Scotia), a number of initiatives exist. The Social Economy and Sustainability Research Network / Partenariat sur l'économie sociale et la durabilité is managed from Mount Saint-Vincent University. Cape Breton University has the Community Economic Development (CED) Institute and offered a MBA in Community Economic Development. Saint Mary's University has the Centre of Excellence in Accounting and Reporting for Co-operatives (CEARC) and offered a Master of Management – Co-operatives and Credit Unions.

In Québec (Montréal), Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM) has a Canada Research Chair in social economy, the Guy-Bernier Chair in cooperation and the Centre de recherche sur les innovations sociales (CRISES) and offers a MBA in collective businesses and a graduate diploma in managing social and collective enterprises. The CRISES is an inter-university network including most Québec universities: UQAM, Université du Québec en Outaouais (UQO), Université Laval, Université de Sherbrooke, Concordia University, HEC Montréal, Université de Montréal, Université du Québec à Chicoutimi (UQAC). UQO offers a graduate program in managing collective enterprises. Concordia University offers a graduate diploma in Community Economic Development in the School of Community and Public Affairs. HEC Montréal has created the IDEOS initiatives (*initiatives pour le développement d'entreprises et d'organisations à vocation sociale*) to bring together the various efforts of the institution, including research groups on non-profits and entrepreneurship.

In Québec (Sherbrooke), the Institut de recherche et d'éducation pour les coopératives et les mutuelles de l'Université de Sherbrooke (IRECUS) offers programs and serves as a hub for research on cooperatives.

In Ontario (Ottawa), Carleton University has the Sprott Centre for Social Enterprises / Centre Sprott pour les entreprises sociales (SCSE / CSES) and the Carleton Centre for Community Innovation (3ci) and offers a Master / Diploma in Philanthropy and Non-profit Leadership (MPNL) and a MBA with an International Development Management concentration. In Ontario (Kingston), Queen's University has the Centre for Responsible Leadership (CRL) and the Public Policy and Third Sector Program Initiative (TSP).

In Ontario (Toronto), the University of Toronto has the Social Economy Centre (SEC), the Social Enterprise Initative @ Rotman, and the Mowat Centre, including the MowatNFP, focusing on the not-for-profit (NFP) sector in Canada. York University offers different programs such as the Social Sector Management Program, the MBA in Social Sector Management, the Graduate Diploma in Non-profit Management & Leadership and the Co-operative Management Certificate Program as well as an undergraduate degree in Business and Society with a focus on the Social Economy. Ryerson University has the Centre for Voluntary Sector Studies (CVSS) and offers a certificate program in Non-profit management. In Ontario (Waterloo), the University of Waterloo has the Waterloo Institute for Social Innovation and Resilience (WISIR), the Social Innovation Generation (SiG@Waterloo) and offers a Graduate Diploma in Social Innovation.

In Western Canada (Saskatchewan), the University of Saskatchewan has the Center for the Study of Cooperatives. In Western Canada (Alberta), Mount Royal University has the Institute for Community Prosperity (previously Institute of Nonprofit Studies (INS)) and offers programs in Social innovation and Non-profit. In Western Canada (British Columbia), the University of Victoria has the Centre for Co-operatives & Community-Based Economy and offers a Master of Arts in Community Development (MACD); the University of British Columbia has the ISIS Research Centre; Simon Fraser University has RADIUS, Social innovation lab and venture incubator.

The Canadian research community is organized around the Association of Nonprofit and Social Economy Research / Association de recherche sur les organismes sans but lucratif et l'économie sociale (ANSER/ARES). The association hosts an annual conference in conjunction with the Congress for the Humanities and Social Sciences. ANSERJ is the official journal of ANSER/ARES. ANSERJ (Canadian Journal of nonprofit and social economy research / Revue canadienne de recherche sur les OSBL et l'économie sociale) is an online, open-access dual

language (English and French) peer-review publication. Since 2010, ANSERJ has published two issues per year.

Another association, the Canadian Association for Studies in Co-operation / Association Canadienne pour les Études sur la Coopération (CASC/ACÉC) aims to promote research on co-operatives and co-operation. The association hosts an annual conference in conjunction with the Congress for the Humanities and Social Sciences.

The Philanthropist is an online, open-access quarterly review for practitioners, scholars, supporters and others engaged in the non-profit sector in Canada. Founded in 1972, it is supported by the Charity and Not-for-Profit Law Section of the Canadian Bar Association and Imagine Canada.

Networks

There are a wide range of national, provincial and local networks regarding social enterprises, social economy and non-profits. Some networks are bilingual or focus mainly on Anglophone or on Francophone community. Some national organizations have separate units or organizations in each province, while others operated from a head office in one province or in one or more cities for provincial organizations. Some networks focus on areas such as social enterprises, cooperatives, non-profits, and community development or a combination of different areas.

Examples are: Atlantic Canada Council for Community and Social Enterprise / Conseil atlantique pour la Communauté et l'entreprise sociale (ACCSE/CAESC); Chantier de l'économie sociale; Conseil québécois de la coopération et de la mutualité; Économie sociale Québec; Canadian Community Economic Development Network / Réseau canadien de développement économique communautaire (CCEDNet-RCDEC); Canadian Council on Social Development / Conseil canadien de développement social (CCSD); Ontario Nonprofit Network (ONN) and the ONN's Rural Social Enterprise Constellation (RSEC); Canadian Co-operative Association (CCA), Co-operatives and Mutuals Canada (CMC), Ontario Co-operative Association (On Co-op), Conseil de la Coopération de l'Ontario (CCO); Réseau de développement économique et d'employabilité (RDÉE Canada) and a provincial RDÉE; Social Enterprise Council of Canada / Conseil des entreprises sociales du Canada (SECC); Enterprising Nonprofits (enp) Canada and regional poles such as enp British Columbia, enp Toronto, enp Ottawa, enp Alberta, enp Manitoba and enp Nova Scotia; The Greater Toronto Area (GTA) Co-op Network; Social Enterprise Toronto (SET).

Spaces

Some spaces are physical, serving mainly local organizations, while others are virtual, serving a broader community. Examples are: MaRs Discovery District in Toronto, which provides resources—people, programs, physical facilities (1.5 million square feet), funding and networks, including the MaRS Centre for Impact Investing and the Centre for Social Innovation (CSI); the School for Social Entrepreneurs - Ontario (SSE-O); HUB Ottawa, a co-working community.

The Social Innovation Generation (SiG) is a partnership of the J.W. McConnell Family Foundation (SiG@ McConnell), the MaRS Discovery District (SiG@MaRS), the University of Waterloo (SiG@Waterloo), and SiG West in Vancouver. The Institut du Nouveau Monde

(INM), based in Montréal, offers a space for discussion and learning and has an interest to support social enterprises.

A number of local organizations are also active, such as the Centre for Innovative Social Enterprise Development (CISED) in Ottawa, Pillar Nonprofit Network in London, Community Opportunity and Innovation Network (COIN) in Peterborough and PARO Centre for Women's Enterprise in Northwestern Ontario.

Reports

In addition to government policy reports, a number of other reports were issued related to social enterprises in Canada. The Canadian Task Force on Social Finance (2010, p.3) published a report and, among the recommendations, we could mention the need to modernize the public policy framework for revenue-generating activities, including using the tax system; the "need for new hybrid corporate forms of social enterprises"; and the need to expand the eligibility criteria of government-sponsored business development programs for small business "to explicitly include the range of social enterprises".

The Social Enterprise Sector Survey is a series of surveys carried out since 2010 and covering British Columbia, Alberta, Manitoba, Ontario, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, Yukon, Northwest Territories and Nunavut (www.sess.ca). The Mowat Centre reported on the Social Enterprise opportunity in Ontario (McIsaac and Moody 2013). The recommendations suggest improving the infrastructure that supports social enterprise, enable connections across the ecosystem and build the brand for social enterprise. Social Enterprise Toronto (SET) reported on the Social Enterprise Survey in the Greater Toronto Area (Social Enterprise Toronto 2014). We could also mention more practical guides to start and develop social enterprises, such as the Canadian Social Enterprise Guide (published in 2006 and revised in 2010 by enp Canada) and a guide published in French by RDÉE-Ontario.

Funding agencies

A small number of foundations and government agencies are active in Canada to fund social enterprises on a large scale. Credit Unions such as Desjardins, Vancity and Alterna also play a role in funding. Some tax credit mechanisms are also used in the Atlantic provinces. The most important of these is in Nova Scotia, which established in 1998 the Community Economic Development Investment Fund (CEDIF) offering tax credit to investors who invested in Nova Scotia businesses. While the CEDIF program was not specifically designed with social enterprise in mind, it has become a common tool for raising finances for many share-holding social enterprises in Nova Scotia. Prince Edward Island has replicated the CEDIF with their Community Economic Development Business (CEDB) program with a tax credit as well.

The Fiducie du Chantier de l'économie sociale and the Réseau d'investissement social du Québec (RISQ) operate in Québec. The Ontario Trillium Foundation / Fondation Trillium de l'Ontario (OTF) is an agency of the Government of Ontario. The OTF is now mandated to allocate over $150 million annually. In 2012, OTF launched the Future Fund, a program to build capacity in the social enterprise space, focusing on youth entrepreneurs (Ontario 2013b).

In February 2015, the Government of Ontario announced an investment of $4 million providing funding to 11 organizations that support early-stage social enterprises (Ontario

2015). The Social Enterprise Demonstration Fund is a key commitment of the social enterprise Strategy for Ontario (2013b).

The J.W. McConnell Family Foundation is a private family foundation. Among its programs relevant for social enterprises are: indigenous-focused philanthropy, innoweave, social finance, social innovation fund, and social innovation generation. Launched in 2014, the new RECODE program provides social innovation and entrepreneurship opportunities for College and University students to become drivers of progress and change. A number of projects are funded in two categories, up to $250,000 and $500,000 respectively in the first round.

The mission of Trico Charitable Foundation, based in Calgary, Alberta, is to provoke innovation and build capacity in social entrepreneurship. By establishing a Social Innovation Endowment, Alberta has decided to bring money at the table to position the province as a leader in social enterprise.

Toronto Enterprise Fund (TEF) is a funding partnership of United Way Toronto, the City of Ontario, Ontario Ministry of Community and Social Services and the Government of Canada. TEF is supporting the implementation of social enterprises that provide transitional or permanent employment, or training leading to employment, for people who are marginalized.

Global interpretation

What is important for non-Canadian readers to understand is that the regionalism and particularism of the emergence of social enterprise is a reflection of how Canada is organized as a country, historically and constitutionally, with significant provincial autonomy a result. In each of the main social enterprise models, there are guiding national and provincial legislations that determine the scope of activity as well as a myriad of support and incubating institutions listed above.

The dynamic of institutions related to social enterprises mainly come from the practice rather than the official institutions. As a grassroots movement, social enterprises take their legitimacy in contributing to solve real-life social issues. In most parts of the country, the policy makers trail behind in organizing the sector. Recent efforts raise the level of commitment. Those actions may probably be due to the popularity of the social enterprise concepts and their application in various regions. Efforts by governments in Manitoba, Québec, Ontario, British Columbia and Nova Scotia to facilitate access to procurement by social enterprises are good examples of those interests and actions. Even if the interest is fairly new, it is encouraging to see a growing interest for social enterprises in Canada in the policy area. However, results from the policies still need to be seen.

In response to the on-the-ground practice of social enterprises, interest in research across the country, with many research centers and programs, is well established in Canada, as seen in many universities and research centers. However, most of them are small in size. A growing number of organizations and networks are supporting the efforts of social enterprises at the national, provincial and local levels. A small number of foundations or agencies related to government are active in offering funding to social enterprises efforts. Table C summarizes some policy and institutions related to social enterprises.

Table C – Summary of Canadian institutions related to social enterprises

	Governance	Financing	Growth & scale	Representation	Education & research
BC	ADM Committee Community Contribution Company		Purchasing portal	BC Partners for Social Impact	ENP(BC)
AB		Edmonton Community Foundation/ ENP-AB			ENP-AB
MB		Neighbourhoods Alive! Tax credit, Social Innovation Action Plan		CCEDNet MFNPO	ENP-MB
ON	Office for Social Enterprise Social Enterprise Strategy	Community Bonds		ONN	Incubation centres, seed grants; New Solutions Lab; ENP-Ottawa/ Toronto SiG Knowledge Hub
QC	Ministre des Affaires municipales, des Régions et de l'Occupation du territoire Social Economy Act	Fiducie du Chantier de l'économie sociale	Procurement policy	Chantier de l'économie sociale	Chantier de l'économie sociale
NB	Economic and Social Inclusion Corporation (ESIC) Social Enterprise Policy Framework	St John Community Loan Fund		Atlantic Council for Community and Social Enterprise	St John Community Loan Fund
NS	Community Interest Company	Loan guarantees Community Economic Development Investment Funds		Atlantic Council for Community and Social Enterprise	ENP-NS
Global	Social Enterprise Council of Canada ENP Canada			Co-operative associations	University programs and centres; Social Enterprise Sector Survey

IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSION

The objective of this working paper has been to examine social enterprises in Canada. An analysis of the historical, contextual and conceptual context for social enterprises in Canada was presented to provide a backdrop the emergence of social enterprises in Canada. From this backdrop, the working paper outlined and developed five typologies of social enterprise and then examined these through two conceptual frameworks. Finally the working paper identified a range of legal frameworks, public policies, and support institutions for social enterprises in Canada.

This working paper has stressed throughout that social enterprise as a concept and a practice is emergent and contested in the Canadian context. The reasons for this situation are variant, but are the result of a range of histories, practices, ideologies, and forces that are unique to Canada. However the fact that social enterprise is contested and emergent is not unique to Canada, but is in fact a global phenomenon. We hope that by participating in the dialogue facilitated by the ICSEM project, we can help shed light on the emergent field of social enterprise.

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